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WHOLE

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THE TRIAL

ACT I

KHIRI THE MAID SERVANT

Khiri

SOME people have the means to be good in gorgeous comfort, and others like us groan under the burden of their goodness. Their charity grows fat in their easy chairs, while we carry out their mission with the sweat of our brows. They reap undying fame and we early death.

A voice from without

Khiri! Khiri!

Khiri

There she calls! No time for poor me even to nurse my grievance!

ENTERS RANI KALYANI

Kalyani

Sulky as usual!

Khiri

That proves I am made of flesh and blood.

Kalyani

What is your latest grievance?

Khiri

That I made a wrong choice when I chose you for my mistress. Why should I come to a Rani's house, if I must serve a whole world of ragged riffraffs, cook for a needy neighbourhood bred in dirt, and wash out my fingers washing their dishes? And all this with nobody to help me!

Kalyani

Help you could have enough if your tongue did not sting out all the servants I brought to my house.

Khiri

You are right. I have a sensitive mind

and cannot bear the least wrong against me. This fastidious delicacy of mine dooms me to solitude. The servants you had were pure-blooded robbers, blessed with a dangerously innocent look.

Kalyani

And what about yourself?

Khiri

Holy Mother! I never claim to be an exception. I freely take all that I can lay my hands on. Yet I have but a single pair of them. The Creator made these to grab and to hold; therefore if you multiply hands about you, you divide your possessions.

Kalyani

But your solitude seems to be bursting with a crowd of nephews and nieces and a miscellaneous brood of cousins. Hasn't each of them a pair of hands for their share? You anger me and yet make me laugh.

Khiri

If only you laughed less and got angrier more, possibly you could have changed my nature.

Kalyani

Your nature change! Not even when you are dead.

Khiri

This is encouragingly true. It makes me hope that death will be cautious about claiming me. There! look at that lazy crowd waiting at your gate. Some of them have the story of a sick husband who obligingly never dies, and some of an uncle whose death remains for ever fresh with its endless claim to funeral rites. They bring their bags full of lies, to ex-

change them for solid silver. I never cease to wonder how certain people can have a special relish for being cheated.

Kalyani

The poor cheat because wealth is often meaner than poverty. However, tell me why, last evening, when I fed the poor, sweets were scarce and also milk.

Khiri

Very likely the pastryman and the milk-vendor like to give you a fair chance to be cheated.

ENTER NEIGHBOURING WOMEN

They shout

Long live Rani Kalyani!

Khiri

Listen to that! If their stomachs had missed their fill of good fare yesterday, their lungs would show it this morning.

Kalyani

Who is that girl with you, Piari? I never saw her before.

Second woman

It is the new bride come to our house. I have brought her for your blessing.

Khiri

It is easy to guess what you mean by blessing.

Kalyani

She has a sweet face.

Second woman

But not a particle of jewelry has she brought from her father's house.

Khiri

"They are all safely stored in your own chest," whisper those who are in the secret.

Kalyani

Come with me into my room.

(Kalyani goes with the woman and the bride)

First woman

The uncommon cheek of that woman.

Khiri

It is tiresomely common.

Third woman

But this surpasses anything that we know.

Khiri

Because it benefits somebody else but you.

Third woman

Your wit makes our sides burst with laughter.

First woman

Whatever we may say, our Rani has the biggest heart in the world.

Khiri

In other words, she is the biggest fool under the Sun.

Fourth woman

That is true. You remember how blind Andi was loaded with money, merely for fun, it seemed to me.

Third woman

And that old witch of a potter woman took away from her a real woolen rug as a reward for her facility in weeping.

Fourth woman

There is no harm in charity, but must it be foolish?

First woman

But she has such a sweet nature.

Khiri

A great deal of one's sweetness belongs to one's pocket.

Fourth woman

What I object to in her is her familiarity with vulgar people.

Third woman

She could easily have a better companion, to say the least, than Kedar's mother.

Fourth woman

It is simply courting the applause of the vulgar.

Khiri

Such is the way of the world. It is all give and take. She supplies food to our mouths, to gather back praise from them.

She gets the best of the bargain. For food is vulgar, but praise is for the great.

Fourth woman

There they come back from the Rani's room, that woman with the bride.

First woman

Show us what you have got.

Second woman

Nothing but a pair of bracelets.

Third woman

It sounds like a practical joke.

Fourth woman

You remember Piari got for her newly married daughter a gold chain besides a pair of earrings.

Second woman

Pity is not for the poor, but fortunate are they who have the reputation for it.

Fourth woman

The generosity of the rich is a mere hobby, it is only to please themselves.

Khiri

If only Lakshmi, the Goddess of Luck, were kind to me, I would show how to be kind in proper style.

Second woman

We pray that your wish may be fulfilled.

First woman

Stop your chatter! I hear the Rani's footsteps!

Fourth woman

(Loudly) Our Rani is an angel of mercy.

Third woman

Wealth has been blessed by the touch of her hands.

ENTERS KALYANI

Kalyani

What are you all so busy talking about?

Khiri

They have been furiously ploughing the ground of your good fame, harrowing,

hoeing and raking, weeding out every green thing that bore flowers.

Kalyani

Before you go home remember that if gifts had to flow parallel with expectations they would have run dry and disappeared from the world within a few days of creation. (She leaves the room).

Fourth woman

Isn't that spiteful? She must have been eavesdropping.

Khiri

No need for that. She is old enough to know by this time that the praise that grows to excess before her face is generally pruned thin behind her back.

Fourth woman

Really, you people ought to control your tongues.

Third woman

If only you can do it, it won't matter much if the rest of us fail.

Khiri

Enough for the day's work of detraction. Now you can go home with eased hearts and try to forget the smart of receiving favours. (The women go.—She calls—) Kini, Bini, Kashi!

(THE GIRLS COME)

Kashi

Yes, Granny.

Kini and Bini

Yes, aunt.

Khiri

Come and take your meal.

Girls

We are not hungry.

Khiri

For eating hunger is not essential, but opportunity is. You will find some milk in the cupboard and some sweets.

Kashi

You are doing nothing but eat all day. Appetite has its limits.

Khiri

But good things are immensely more limited. Bini, why don't I see the silver comb you had in your hair ?

Bini

Poor Khetu's girl—

Khiri

I understand. Benevolence! The plague is in the air in this house! It is fatal for a girl of your circumstances. Our Rani indulges in wasting her means only to prove that they can never be exhausted. But for you to give is to lose for ever, do you not see the difference? Now then, off to bed.

(They go).

ENTERS KALYANI

Khiri

Life has become a burden to me, Rani.

Kalyani

You seem to bear it with wonderful ease.

Khiri

I swear by your feet, I am serious. I have news from home, that my aunt, my father's youngest sister, is on her death-bed.

Kalyani

A year is hardly past since I paid you the funeral expenses of this very same aunt, the youngest one.

Khiri

What a pity! But you seem to have a keen memory only about my poor aunts.

Kalyani

Does it choke you to ask from me? Must you lie?

Khiri

Lies are necessary to give dignity to begging. Truth would be monotonous and mean.

Kalyani

But, have I ever denied you, when you asked?

Khiri

To neglect our weapons, when not needed, is the sure way to miss them in the time of need. But I must tell you that you encourage lies by believing them.

Kalyani

They will fail this time.

Khiri

I shall not despair about my next chance. Till then, my father's youngest sister shall never be mentioned again.

(Kalyani goes out laughing)

Mother Goddess of Luck, your favourite bird, the owl, must have daily carried you to this house. Could it by mistake alight on my shoulder, I would feed it with choice morsels of mice flesh till it became languid and lay at my door.

(ENTERS GODDESS LAKSHMI)

Khiri

Visitors again!

Lakshmi

I am willing to leave, if I am not wanted.

Khiri

I must not be rash. That seems to be a regular crown on your head. And yet you don't look ridiculous with it as a real queen would do. Tell me who you are.

Lakshmi

I am Lakshmi.

Khiri

Not from the stage?

Lakshmi

No, from my heaven.

Khiri

You must be tired. Do take your seat, and do not be in a hurry to leave. I know full well you have no mercy for those who have brains. It is, I suppose, because the clever ones need never die of starvation and only fools need your special favour.

Lakshmi

Are you not ashamed to make your living by cheating your mistress?

Khiri

It is because you are perverse in your choice that those who have minds live upon those who have money.

Lakshmi

Intellect I never despise, only the crooked minds I avoid.

Khiri

The intellect, which is too straight, is only another name for stupidity! But if you promise me your favour, I give you my solemn word that henceforth my dullness will delight your heart. I shall be content to remain a perfect bore shunned by all intelligent people.

Lakshmi

Do you think you will ever be able to spend a farthing in charity?

Khiri

With pleasure. For when charity grazes only at the fringe of one's surplus, it adds to the beauty of the view—and it can also be made paying by good management. Only change our mutual position, and you will find the Rani developing a marvellous talent for devising means to get what is not her own. On the other hand, I shall become perfectly silly in swallowing lies and parting with my possessions, and my temper will grow as insipid as that of an egregious saint.

Lakshmi

Your prayer is granted. I make you a Rani. The world will forget that you ever were a servant unless you yourself help it to remember.

ACT II

KHIRI, THE QUEEN

Khiri

Where is Kashi?

Kashi

Here I am.

Khiri

Where are your four attendants?

Kashi

It is a perfect misery to be dogged by servants day and night.

Khiri

Should the elephant ever complain of the weight of its tusks? Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

Teach this girl why she must be followed by attendants.

Malati

Remember that you are a Rani's granddaughter. In the Nawab's house, where I used to serve, the Begum had a litter of pet mongooses; each of them had four maids for their attendants, and sepoys besides.

Khiri

Kashi, do you hear?

Attendant

Moti of our neighbourhood craves audience.

Khiri

Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

What is the form of salutation expected from visitors in your Begum's house?

Malati

They have to walk forward, salaaming by touching the earth at each step, and then retire walking backward, salaaming again.

Khiri

Let Moti come before me in proper style.

MALATI BRINGS IN MOTI

Malati

Bend your head low. Touch the floor, and then touch the tip of your nose. Once again—not so fast—step properly.

Moti

Ah my poor back! How it aches!

Malati

Take dust on the tip of your nose three times.

Moti

I am rheumatic.

Malati

Once again.

Moti

Long live Rani Mother. Today, being the eleventh day of the moon, is for fasting and for almsgiving.

Khiri

Your Rani Mother can ascertain the phases of the moon even without your help, if she finds it profitable.

Moti

Let me receive alms from our Rani and take leave singing her praises.

Khiri

The first part of your prayer I prefer to ignore; the rest I graciously grant. You may leave immediately singing my praises. Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

Let this woman take her leave in proper style.

Moti

Then I go.

Malati

Not so easily. Bend your head down. Take up the dust of the floor on the tip of your nose. Once again. Once more.

(Moti goes.)

Khiri

Bini, what happened to the ring you had on your forefinger? Has it been stolen?

Bini

Not stolen.

Khiri

Then lost?

Bini

Not lost.

Khiri

Then someone has cheated you of it?

Bini

No.

Khiri

You must admit that a thing either remains, or is stolen, or lost, or

Bini

I have given it away.

Khiri

Which plainly means that someone has cheated you of it. Tell me, who has it?

Bini

Mallika. She is the poorest of all your servants, with her children starving. I have such a heap of rings, I thought . . .

Khiri

Listen to her! Only those of moderate means earn fame by spending in charity, while the rich in doing it earn ingratitude. Charity has no merit for those who possess too much. Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness.

Khiri

Mallika must be dismissed at once.

Malati

She shall be driven away.

Khiri

But not with the ring on her. What music is that outside my palace?

An attendant

A marriage procession.

Khiri

A marriage procession in front of the Rani's house! Suppose I happen to object, what is there to prevent me? Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

What do they do in a Nawab's house in such a case?

Malati

The bridegroom is taken to the prison, and, for three days and nights two amateur flute players practice their scales at each of his ears, and then he is hanged if he survives.

Khiri

Ask my guards to give everyone of the party ten strokes with a shoe.

First attendant

Only ten strokes! It almost sounds like a caress.

Second attendant

They ought to rejoice at this happy ending.

Third attendant

Our Rani has the gift of humour, for which God be praised.

ENTERS A MAID SERVANT

Maid

My pay has been in arrears for the last nine months. To slave and yet to borrow money to feed oneself is not to my taste. Either pay up my wages or allow me leave and go home.

Khiri

To pay up your wages is tolerably good, but it saves a lot of trouble to allow you to leave. Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness.

Khiri

What is your advice?

Malati

Let her be fined at least a hundred rupees.

Khiri

As she is poor I remit fifty rupees out of her fine.

First attendant

Rani, you are kind.

Second attendant

How lucky for her to get fifty rupees for nothing!

Third attendant

You can as well count it nine hundred and fifty rupees out of a thousand.

Fourth attendant

How few are there whose charity can bear such a drain.

Khiri

You do make me blush. (To the maid servant) Now you may go away with proper ceremony and finish the rest of your weeping at leisure outside my palace. (Malati takes away the maid making her walk backwards with salaams)

RE-ENTERS MALATI

Malati

Rani Kalyani is at your door.

Khiri

Has she come riding on her elephant?

Malati

No, walking. She is dusty all over.

Khiri

Must I admit her in?

First attendant

She should sit at a proper distance.

Second attendant

Let her stand behind your back.

Third attendant

She can be dismissed by saying that Your Highness is tired.

Khiri

Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

Advise me what to do.

Malati

Let all other seats be removed but your own.

Khiri

You are clever. Let my hundred and twenty slave girls stand in a row outside that door. Sashi, hold the state umbrella over my head. Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

Is it all right?

Malati

Perfect! like a picture!

Khiri

Bring her into my presence.

(Malati goes out and returns with

Kalyani)

Kalyani

Are you well?

Khiri

My desire is to keep well, but the rest of the world tries its best to wreck me.

Kalyani

I must have a talk with you in private.

Khiri

Nothing can be more private than this. Only yourself and I. These are mere servants. Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

Is it possible to send them away?

Malati

I shudder to think of it.

Kalyani

Then let me tell you briefly. Our Pathan King has forcibly robbed me of my lands.

Khiri

You are not joking? Then those villages Gopalnagar, Kanaiganj and

Kalyani

They no longer belong to me.

Khiri

That's interesting. Haven't you some cash left?

Kalyani

Nothing whatever.

Khiri

How funny! That sapphire necklace and those wonderful diamonds and that chain of rubies, seven rows deep

Kalyani

They are all taken away.

Khiri

Doesn't our scripture say that wealth is unstable like a water drop on a lotus

leaf? And your jewelled umbrella, and that throne with its canopy—I suppose they also have followed the rest.

Kalyani

Yes.

Khiri

This is instructive. Our sages truly say that prosperity is like a beautiful dream that makes the awakening all the more dismal. But have they left you your palace?

Kalyani

The soldiers are in possession.

Khiri

It does sound like a story—a Rani yesterday and today a beggar in the street. Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

What do you say?

Malati

Those who grow too high must have their fall.

Kalyani

If I may have shelter here for a short time I can try to recover my lost fortune.

Khiri

How unfortunate! My palace is crowded with my servants—no space left where a needle can be dropped. Of course, I could leave you my room and try to rough it in my country-house.

First attendant

Absurd!

Second

It will simply break our hearts.

Kalyani

I cannot dream of putting you to such inconvenience. I take my leave.

Khiri

Must you go so soon? By the by, if you still have some jewelry left, you may leave it with me for permanent safe keeping.

Kalyani

Nothing has been saved.

Khiri

How late it is. It gives me a headache if I am made to talk too much. I feel it already coming on. (Kalyani goes) See that my State chair and footstool are carefully put back in the store-room. Malati!

Malati

Yes, Your Highness!

Khiri

What do you think of this?

Malati

It makes one laugh to see the frog turning into a tadpole again.

An attendant

A woman craves your audience. Shall I send her away?

Khiri

No, no, call her in. I am in a delightful mood today.

ENTERS THE WOMAN.

The woman

I am in trouble.

Khiri

You want to pass it on to others?

The woman

Robbers came to my room last night.

Khiri

And you must take your revenge on me!

The woman

I ask for your pity.

Khiri

Pity for what you have lost yourself and nothing for what you ask me to lose?

The woman

If you must reject my prayer, tell me where I may get it granted.

Khiri

Kalyani is the proper person to suit you. My men will go and show you her place.

The woman

Her place is well known to me,—I go back to her! (Revealing herself) I am the Goddess Lakshmi!

Khiri

If you must leave me, do it in proper style.—Malati, Malati, Tarini! Where are my maids?

(ENTERS KALYANI)

Kalyani

Have you gone mad? It is still dark, and your shouts bid fair to wake the whole neighbourhood.

Khiri

What ugly dreams I have had all night! It is a new life to wake up from them. Stay a while, let me take the dust of your feet. You are my Rani, and I am your servant for ever.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

INDIAN SETTLERS IN AFRICA

II

I HAVE in my possession a pencil-written manuscript, which was given to me by an Indian friend, who travelled many long journeys with me in East Africa. We had talks together which sometimes continued far

into the night; and I always found his nature the same,—simple, religious, free from the least touch of racial bias, perfectly frank and open, and essentially truthful. He had a great wish to accompany me on all my journeys, and it would have been a delight to me

to have had him as a companion ; but he had family cares and anxieties which bound him. Before we parted, I asked him to put down on paper some notes concerning his own experiences in Uganda and East Africa, and he left me his pencil-written manuscript, from which I quote the following passages :—

“My own experiences during the War were chiefly in what is now the Conquered Territory of German East Africa. I was there shortly before the War. Though Indians were not treated in the same way as Europeans by the Germans, they were treated in a civilised manner. There was no segregation of races of any kind whatsoever. I am speaking of my experiences at Muanza, the chief German port on Lake Victoria Nyanza. Germans, Greeks, Arabs, Indians, Somalis, and others resided side by side in the same street on quite friendly terms and without any segregation restrictions. The women of one nation often passed their afternoons with their sisters of another nation in friendly talks. Children of all races played together in the streets and open spaces, their medium of talk being Swahili. The bare-footed German children of my neighbour would enter my house and take food with my children, enjoying our Indian *roti*. Indians had always full and free access to German Government officers without any ceremony. They could talk frankly with them, even on controversial subjects. Officers would take heed to any reasonable talk of Arabs, Indians, or natives.

I will give some definite examples to prove the nature of the treatment given to Indians by the German Government.

(1). I was out of employment during the war time. I had my wife and two children with me and a relative, who also was out of employment. I had no current means of maintaining my family, and I feared that what little I had in store would be consumed in a very short time, if I earned nothing. This was in war time, as I have related, and so I went to the German officer commanding and asked for permission to open a class to teach students English and Mathematics ; for I had been a teacher. The German Government being at war with the English, the commanding officer at first took objection to my application ; but when I explained to him, that I had no other means to maintain my wife and children, together with my

relative and myself, he gave me permission and I continued to teach all the while the Germans were in possession of the town.

(2). Towards the end of the campaign on the borders of Lake Victoria Nyanza, silver coins were getting very scarce. The German Government needed silver very badly, and all payments to the Government were required to be strictly in silver. I had to pay three rupees poll-tax to Government, but I had no silver. I explained my position to the officer who saw my distress. He told me I should be forced to pay ; but when I was just going away, he called me back and put three rupees, in silver, into my hand and told me to use it to pay the tax. He took it from his own pocket.

(3). Indians, who kept Oil Mills, used sometimes to burn their oil cakes at night. There being no means of export, they had no use for these cakes. This happened one night ; and it was reported that an Indian was signalling to the enemy, and he was arrested. We went to the Magistrate and explained the whole matter to his satisfaction. He promised to release the man arrested on the next day,—that day being Sunday. We pleaded that the guilty could be kept in prison on Sundays, but the innocent should not be allowed to stay in prison for a single moment. The man was released.

(4). An Indian was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for a political offence. On appeal, the Governor reduced the sentence to six months and passed a general rule that no political prisoner should be sentenced to more than six months by any local official. In case of a serious offence, the matter should be referred to the Governor.

(5). A German officer caused the death of his native servant by beating him. He was arrested and put under trial. He was in prison, when Muanza came into the hands of the British.

(6). Indian prisoners, even in criminal cases, were treated quite respectfully. They were never required to wear prison uniform. Food, if sent by their families, was allowed them. They were not required to labour in public, outside the prison compounds, but were taught tailoring, shoe-making, etc., indoors.

(7). During the War, there was, of course, control over food ; but there was no distinction made between Europeans and Indians in this matter. Law-abiding people were not

harrassed in any way, whatever might be their nationality.

(8). When the British forces bombarded Bukoba, where there were many British Indian subjects with their wives and children, the Germans gave protection to Indians in a camp eleven miles off, built specially for them. Again, when the Germans left Muanza they kept fifty native soldiers in the town up to the last moment to protect the Indians.

I shall now write down, as they come into my mind, some general considerations about the treatment of Indians in German East Africa, and then proceed to speak of Uganda and the East Africa Protectorate.

Before the War, the question of Indian immigration into German East Africa came up for settlement. A Royal Commission from Berlin was appointed, and after making full enquiries they decided that Indians were desirable, and that the country could not be developed without them. After that, the Indians had no restrictions about entering German East Africa.

The natives in German East Africa were not subject to any segregation measures. They were able to reside within the towns, if they so wished, in the Muanza district. Since there was very little colour prejudice, the German took the Indian to be his fellow citizen, and the Indian in his turn took the native to be his fellow-citizen. But I must say the Germans liked only law-abiding people; and so they did not desire the presence of any mischievous and wild people, like the Masais. They drove them away from their territory, back to British East Africa. They did not like 'reserves', such as the 'Masai Reserve', in British East Africa. They did not govern on that principle at all, as far as I could see. Of course, I am only speaking of the district which I knew, near lake Victoria Nyanza.

The Government had an Educational Department for native children. They engaged a German Headmaster, on Rs. 375 per month, and they had some six or seven teachers at the Muanza School. German, Swahili, and Mathematics, were the chief subjects taught. Each boy received five cents for food every day and free clothing every six months, and also free lodging in a boarding house attached to the school if he were a boarder. I myself attended that School for about six months, in 1916.

I can say this, that the natives were far

better treated in German East Africa than those on the Congo. Concerning morality, I am quite sorry to say that the lower strata, both of Indians and Europeans, kept native women in their houses.

"In Uganda, the colour prejudice is at once evident. Indians are considered decidedly inferior to Europeans, and even to natives; and the natives are taught to look down upon Indians. This is one of the roots of all the trouble.

Under 'segregation' principles, the Indians are forced to live in restricted areas. This restriction is often at the caprice of the Chief Government officer for the time being. For instance, a certain area at Entebbe was allotted to Indians. They erected buildings at great cost and trouble. Then a new area was assigned to them and they were induced to build houses. But now this new area, owing to certain natural reasons, has been neglected and at last abandoned. It has gone worse than the "Deserted Village" of Goldsmith. However, the officers still seem bent on following the same mistake. A new area at Jinja has been surveyed, and Indians of the old township are being induced, persuaded, or compelled, one way or another, to abandon the old place for the new. Though there is ample room everywhere for the European residents, they are to be allowed to occupy the old Indian area. This continual harrassing of the Indians is very objectionable.

In contrast with German East Africa there is no Educational Department in Uganda for native children's education; and I must add, for the sake of justice, there is none for European children also. I think this carelessness about education very harmful.

A very troubling and increasing vexation is the separation of races on the railways and steamers. We find now introduced everywhere the distinction written up,—'For Europeans',—'For non-Europeans'. This is regarded by Indians as intended to make Indians mix always with the natives, and to make all Europeans into one superior class.

I candidly believe that colour prejudice against natives on the part of Indians is a sin. They are my brothers and sisters, and I should feel no distinction whatever between them and myself. At the same time, the weaker sex, among Indians, is very helpless and timid and has to be protected. Many of the natives are still wild and savage and

frighten Indian women. I once saw a Somali forcibly enter a compartment reserved by an Indian family, and occupied by 3 males,—one of them eccentric,—his wife and five children. The Indian station-master and the Goanese guard tried their best to get him down, but it was of no avail.

In land policy, as far as I have studied, there is no distinction in Uganda. I should like to see all people on an equal footing and allowed to obtain land freehold on equal terms. There should also be educational facilities given, as soon as possible, both to European and to Indian children, as well as to the native children. There should be Government education for all. In the Mission Schools, I have heard that sometimes the Christian natives are taught to look down on the Indians as 'heathen'. This should not be done, for we are all of us brothers and sisters.

Concerning morality, human weakness prevails in Uganda, as in German East Africa, and Indians show a tendency that way. I know also of one Arab supplying native women to Europeans, and really things are bad. The people of Uganda themselves are very immoral, and this was the case long before Europeans or Indians entered the country. Venereal diseases prevail much among the people of Uganda. Other native races are not so notorious for that.

The treatment of natives by Europeans that I have seen, while residing in Uganda, is neither worse nor better than that which I have seen in German East Africa. I know of two cases of Europeans being punished in the law courts for ill treatment of natives.

There is no segregation of natives, and no reserves such as those in British East Africa. But it is wrong for Government to spend no money at all on educating the natives.

I have heard that the British East Africa Government once asked for natives from Uganda to do some menial work. But Uganda replied that their natives were not meant to do the menial work of British East Africa. They would rather keep to themselves. I think this is a good thing, because it is not good for people of Uganda to go to British East Africa as menials.

About British East Africa I do not know so much, because most of my time has been spent in Uganda and German East Africa.

One thing is at once to be noticed. After the coming of the South Africans the colour prejudice has gone very high.

There is a marked difference between British East Africa and what I found in German East Africa and Uganda. In British East Africa all sorts of restrictions abound and things are going every day from bad to worse. In large areas of the country, land cannot be purchased by Indians at all; and no lands from Europeans are allowed to be transferred by purchase to Indians. In the townships, segregation is being carried out more and more definitely and Indians are being harrassed. The colour prejudice is stronger in British East Africa than anywhere else, much worse than Uganda.

Major Grogan has been very active in advocating a policy against Indians. He insulted Sir Edward Northey at a dinner, and asked him if he had come into the country with any powers of his own, or merely as a 'telephone girl' to give out messages from London. That was very insulting. I have heard that the anti-Indian policy, which is now being so strongly advocated, is due to Major Grogan, the same Major Grogan who was once imprisoned for flogging a native before the Court House in Nairobi.

As to treatment, I have seen on the railways that Indians are frequently insulted. They have often to endure insults from native porters, who push them on purpose and are encouraged to do so by Europeans. In order to get on to the platform, Indians are obliged to purchase platform tickets, which are not needed by Europeans; and the oldest carriages are kept for the use of Indians. Everywhere, the South African anti-Indian influence is being felt, and things are each day going from bad to worse as I have said.

I travelled yesterday, by the third class, on the Thika Railway, in order to see for myself what happened to Indian third class passengers. I found that the African native did not wish of his own accord, to get into the carriage where Indians were seated; but he would be told to go in, and pushed in, by the native railway porters. I suspect some one must have told the porters to do this.

I see that the Economic Commission Report recommends a purely industrial education for the native. But why not intellectual also? Are they not human creatures, just the same as ourselves, and therefore



Mr. C. F. Andrews Received by the Indian Community at Nairobi Station.

capable of intellectual knowledge? Again the Economic Report says, on page 33,—'In every direction the sphere of the Indian is not complementary, but competitive with those of the European and the African.'

This idea, I have found, is the root of all the evil. It is the main reason of the colour prejudice in all the colonies. Neither Europeans, nor, I must say, Indians, go to foreign countries as mere philanthropists, but rather as exploiters. Europeans have never cared one straw for American Indians, aboriginal Australians, Tasmanians, and other weak races. And though outwardly they profess to protect the Africans from the ravages of the Indians, it is not really the case. They seek to remove the Indians, not because they wish to protect the natives, but because they want to remove competition.

For this very same reason, as far as I am able to judge, they do not wish to allow Germans in the Colonies. I know very well that the German Government in East Africa

was not worse than the British, but they make it out to be injurious to the natives because they want to destroy competition. They say they must protect the native against the bad treatment of the Germans.

Even if they would admit the German back after a little while, they would not like to allow the Indian to remain; because the Indian, with his very plain manner of life can live at far less expense; and so the Indian creates very keen competition.

There is one great difference between South Africa and East Africa. In South Africa, both Europeans and Indians are closely in touch with the natives; whereas, in East Africa, with the exception of some European settlers, it is only the Indian trader who are in close touch with the natives. Hence, in East Africa, there is all this talk of the evil results of Indian contact with the natives, which is not heard in South Africa. Otherwise, I cannot believe that the European

is superior in the matters of morals to the Indian. I have seen things happening with my own eyes which show that the European is not morally superior. I said that both races are victims to immorality and exploitation,* and that is the truth of the whole matter. In chastity neither race can teach anything to the naked Kavirondo; while the Baganda were very immoral long before any foreigners entered Uganda. This talk of the Commission about Indian immorality,—as though the Indian alone was weak in these matters,—is altogether one-sided, and it should not have been brought forward.

European settlers, I have often noticed, are supplied with native labour by the Government officials, while Indians have to arrange for their own labour. Yet everywhere the European settlers complain that their native labourers run away; but I have seldom heard of such complaints from Indians. The deep reason is the different treatment given to the natives. Europeans know that they can still go on applying to the officials for more labour, and so they do not take care to treat the labourers well. But Indians, not being able to rely on Government help, have to treat their labourers well and pay higher wages; and thus the natives prefer to come and work for Indians.

I admit fully that Indians are backward in sanitation and that this is one of their worst faults. But I have to find fault also with Government in this matter, to some extent. For since there are separate quarters for Europeans and Indians, the Government takes full care of the sanitary drainage and cleaning and watering of the European area, almost totally neglecting the Indian quarter. In consequence, the Indians are the first victims of epidemic diseases. In German East Africa, where I lived, there were no separate quarters; and in consequence the whole township was cleaned and watered each day, and epidemic diseases very rarely occurred.

We may be told that the poverty of India sent over to Africa the bubonic plague. This may very likely be true. But is it not equally true that the European War sent over to Africa and to India the Influenza epidemic? And did not the Influenza epidemic, which the war brought with it, kill many as six millions of people in India alone, and more than a crore of people in the world?

Nature is a great judge, and we cannot defy her judgments. Nature says to us, that we are all brothers and sisters together in this world; and if we break any least of her laws, we shall have to undergo punishment to that extent. It is the same everywhere. We, Hindus, have ill treated the low-caste Shudras; and we are undergoing punishment for this; and until we undo the wrongs done to them, we shall not be able to call ourselves sons of God. This last War (I wish it would prove the 'last', but I fear it cannot be so,) teaches us the same lesson. If the Europeans here, in East Africa, learn the lesson and treat Indians and natives and every one with equal treatment, then we Indians will learn in turn to treat all as our brothers and forget our differences.

I agree with you, after our long talk last night, when you say that Indians should not consent, to be separated racially, having a franchise of their own, cutting out, as it were, little colonies for themselves in these foreign countries, and dividing themselves off from their brothers by high walls which they can hardly look over, I agree with you that this is not humane, but narrow and selfish and against true religion. I have always held that the ideals of patriotism and nationalism, are not humane, and so Indians should not help in creating race distinctions, at least in a foreign country. I believe in common, not separate, elections; in common, not racial parliaments or councils. I believe in this, because I believe in one God, who is our Father, and we are all His children. Thus far I agree.

But, with all deference to your views of humanity, which coincide with mine, I differ from your views as to who should receive the vote. You stated that the test, not only of the candidate for the Council, but for the electorate itself, should be the knowledge of the language of the Government. Now, as far as I can see, the test for the *candidate* should be the ability to understand the great questions which face the Government so as to come to solutions and to express them. And so it is necessary for the candidate to know the State language. But I differ from you, when we come to the test of the *voter*. There the test should not be ability to express views in the State language, but simply common-sense. The most intelligent voters are often those, who do not read books and newspapers, but think a great deal, while they go about

their business, and when they sit quietly by themselves. So, it is not necessary for the voter to learn the State language, if it is foreign. It is only necessary for the voter to be a man of commonsense.

If any candidate wants to win an election and does not understand the language of the voters, then he should learn the language of the voters. This is better than that the voters should be compelled to learn the State language.

You explained, in your argument last night, that the people of Uganda, if they wished to have votes in the British part of the Administration, might have to learn English, before getting the vote. But is that a good position? We shall soon be asking for votes for our sisters, as well as for ourselves. Can we force *them* to learn English? Should the people of Uganda and other nations be forced to learn English? I think it very troublesome and unnatural.

Now, concerning a State language in East Africa, is English a natural State language? For the sake of inconveniences caused to a certain number of Englishmen and Indians and other foreigners, which make them dislike the trouble of learning thoroughly the native language, can we force, as time goes on, the numberless natives, who wish to qualify themselves for a vote, to learn a most troublesome language like English? Is it not more reasonable, that we few foreigners, in order to live among them and exploit their country, should learn the native language and govern them through the native language? Even for exploiting,—to look at the most selfish side,—is it not safer? I think, therefore, that in Uganda the State language should be Luganda and not English; that not only at Mengo (the native capital) but also at Entebbe (the European capital) everything should be carried on in Luganda, and not in English. I see that Mahatma Gandhi is advocating that Hindi should be the State language for India, and not English. In German East Africa, Swahili was the language of the German Government and also the language of the people.

and reach Mombasa about December 28th and sail for India. I hope to go to the Shantiniketan Ashrama, which you love so much; for I wish to spend some quiet days there. I am finishing this very early in the morning, because I am afraid I shall not see you again, as you are now in the Hospital. I wished very much to discuss the matter once more with you; but these are my views."

This was the end of the MSS. which my friend left with me at Kampala, in Uganda, before starting back across the Great Lake. I have read over his words many times since, and I value them for the fairness of their admissions and for their obvious sincerity and simplicity.

The picture which I retain most vividly of him in my mind is the characteristic one, where he was seated in a retired corner on the deck of the steamer "Clement Hill" during our journey across the Lake. A large illustrated volume of Luther's version of the Bible, in German, was on his lap, and his English New Testament by his side, open at his favourite chapters, the Sermon on the Mount. He is a Hindu, rejoicing in what is to him the supreme teaching of his religion, namely, Ahimsa,—that harmlessness to all God's creatures, whose positive side is Love. He had gone, so he told me, to school under the German head master, at Muanza, and had been seated day after day with the children, in order to learn German, because a copy of Luther's version had been given to him and he had been told that its rendering of the Sermon on the Mount threw a new light on its inner meaning.

I wish indeed he could have been spared from his family duties to accompany me to South Africa; for I felt again and again, when we talked over many things together, that his simple, direct, religious outlook upon life might have helped me more towards the solution of the problems which were awaiting me, on my arrival in Johannesburg, than any conventional political discussions.

(To be continued)

I leave here about 7 a. m. for Nairobi,

Shantiniketan

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES OF INDIAN CAPITAL

BY DHIRENDRA KUMAR SARKAR.

1. THE ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF INDIA.

CAPITAL in India does not seem any longer to be shy. We have risen above the conditions when the charge may have been considerably true. Nay, progress appears to be so cumulative that the field of activity for Indian capital to-day is not confined solely to India but is being extended willy-nilly to other parts of the world,—by the sheer momentum of commercial enterprise. Students of economic history are aware that trade was international or rather inter-racial first and became "national" afterwards. This law of the development of intercourse between peoples is apparently being verified over again by the conditions of financial *Wanderlust* that the present boom has set in motion in India.

It is but as a phase of this economic expansion of India that the banking world has been interpreting the travels of distinguished experts like Sir Vithaldas Thackersey of Bombay, Sir M. Visvesarayya of Mysore, Mr. J. C. Banerjee (engineer) of Calcutta, and of numerous other industrial and commercial agents from different centers of India to the United States. And of course the firsthand investigations of these men could not but have been enriching Indian business experience with the concrete realities of the trade crisis that confront the entrepreneurs and captains of industry everywhere.

2. CREDIT IN FOREIGN MARKETS.

So far as the prospective importers and wholesale dealers of India are concerned there can be no information more valuable to them than the fact that, no matter what the references of their banks, and no matter what the usual method of doing business in India, no American manufacturers are prepared to extend any credit now. Payments for anything shipped from the United States will have to be

made before the goods leave the country. Banks are discouraging any extensive foreign loans, even domestic loans are greatly restricted. Business is practically on a cash basis to-day.

But the merchants at the Indian end of the transaction do not seem to adequately realize the situation. Hence a lot of unnecessary delay, annoyance, and loss of business. Scores of businessmen from India are now in the U. S., who expected to get credit on the strength of the references from banks through whom they usually conduct their transactions. They are disappointed and have been sending cables to their firms to open credit in this country. In many instances the short telegraphic messages they send out are not quite intelligible to the firms at home. So their agents here have to lose time and spend money for nothing. The circumstances at once suggest to the Indian money market a responsibility of the highest importance.

3. CONDITIONS OF SUPPLY IN AMERICA.

In the first place, India is absolutely an unknown quantity in the American business mind. In the second place, the aftermath of the war has given rise to several risks of an unprecedented character. The supply of goods has gone down appreciably owing to the extension of demand from all quarters of the globe, the strikes of working men, and the steady improvement in the conditions of labor which invariably mean shorter hours and hence less production in certain cases.

Now it is pretty certain that India's demand for American goods is on the rising curve and admits of very little delay on the supply side. The demand is practically tending to be what theorists would describe as "rigid" with very little elasticity. On account of the present uncertain conditions on this side of the globe the most

prudent way of doing business therefore would be for Indian purchasers to accompany all orders with "irrevocable letters of credit" approximately covering cost, freight, insurance, etc. The manufacturers of machineries often demand 10 to 30 per cent in advance along with the order to make it binding, the balance on preparing shipment or on railroad "bill of lading".

It must be remembered by our importers that in America today the manufacturers are not going after new business. They are glad if they can only supply the normal requirements of their old customers. Speculation is, moreover, running rampant here, manufacturers consequently have hardly any goods in hand. These have been contracted for by middlemen for months and years ahead,—especially in steel and hardware industries. Buyers from Central and Southern Europe, from Japan and China as well as from Latin America have come to the United States to obtain whatever they can from the spot dealers. They are uniformly discovering that manufacturers' prices, wherever available, have no stability. Nor can the manufacturers assure in all instances that goods would be supplied according to the samples which were furnished several months or even weeks ago. It is easily conceivable why at such a long distance as India satisfactory business transaction is difficult, if not impossible, through manufacturers' samples, catalogues or pricelists.

There are already several Indian experiences which go to show that a willing and responsible buyer who opened credit with the order could not get the goods because the original samples could not be satisfied by the actual production, and of course the latest prices were about 25 to 75 per cent higher than the prices originally quoted. The best thing to do under the circumstances is to accredit the agents with a flexible amount of freedom in regard to the qualities and prices, and secondly to organize some sort of an American branch or agency [not only for the handling of purchases but also for keeping the houses in India regularly informed as to the fluctuations and possibilities in the production side of American commerce.

This latter point needs a little elucidation. Many Indian importers of general merchandise seem to cherish the hope of dealing direct with the American manufacturers. This they attempt to accomplish through advertisements in trade journals. In these days of scientific advertising nothing is so far from the practicable. Such a hope on the part of Indian and other foreign importers is based on an ignorance of the actual conditions here. It is notorious in business circles that a thirdhand dealer quite often quotes prices as manufacturer telling his customers that such and such are the market conditions. But even if proper connection were available, to deal directly with some twenty different lines of manufacture in a satisfactory manner from a distance like that of India which takes at least four weeks for a one way mail, is a very expensive and arduous affair. A reliable agency working on a "commission basis" should therefore be sought or better opened by the leading business interests of India. Automatically then there arises another responsibility of the first rate before Indian capitalists and banking institutions.

4. THE FINANCE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

As a rule the subject of foreign trade is unfamiliar and quite abstract to most of our reading public. It may not be out of place here to give a glimpse into the mechanism of international commerce, especially into its financial side. Suppose an Indian merchant should like to venture on extending his operations in America. As he is likely to be unknown in this country to begin with, the business can be consummated in the first instance only if he remits cash with the order through some bank. He may have good banking references and his standing in his commercial circle may be excellent, but the American seller has no chance of knowing anything about these particulars *unless they are obtainable in this country*. It has to be understood that banks in India who have agents here do not send reports unless they are asked by any party from this side or instructed by the importers in India.

who are contemplating business here. His procedure will be to make arrangements with his local bank to instruct its agents in New York to issue an "irrevocable letter of credit" in the name of the firm which is to supply the order. This "letter" is to cover the approximate cost, etc., of the transaction. The payments can then be made by the bank when documents are submitted to it.

Or, the merchant may have credit already established in New York. In that case he has only to advise his bank or commercial agents to finance a certain amount of the transactions with which he may have authorized the order-supplier. But if the merchant's business connections and standing are already well referred to by any banking institution, of course, the supplier can arrange to get credit for sixty days at the local rate of interest which is generally 6 to 7 per cent by making payments for 25 to 35 per cent of the purchasing amount against documents. As already mentioned, banks are not encouraging loans. The latter procedure can therefore be expected only of highly financed commission houses. Generally speaking, it should not be counted on as playing any important part in foreign business these days.

For one, however, who is on his maiden trip to the world of foreign commerce the best method is to start some transactions by paying cash against documents. Arrangements for credit for future transactions can subsequently be made without much difficulty on reasonable terms, which however will be regulated according to the usual procedure in which banks in this country offer facilities towards financing foreign trade.

5. AN INDIAN AGENCY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The need for an Indian Agency permanently located in the U. S. must already have been felt by the large dealers and shrewd novices in foreign commerce. For it takes time and considerable local knowledge of all sorts to get at the right source of supplies. And transient agents such as can be deputed by the business houses in

India can hardly be expected to acquire that experience by spending a few days in New York or Chicago.

Very few Indian houses indeed have the facilities for making their purchases in this the world's biggest market. They fail therefore to take advantage of the diversity of prices and qualities offered. Most of them depend on the samples or catalogues sent out by some enterprising firms. And of course not many concerns are in a position to send their own agents abroad. Some of the prominent leaders in business should therefore make it a point to establish an Agency consisting of Indian interests. It should work as a clearing house of exports and imports. Through the services of such a clearing house the Indian merchants will get goods direct from manufacturers or at the best obtainable prices. Owing to the purchases being made by a local representative there will accrue an appreciable profit in the competitive market as regards prices and qualities. And as the Agency should be directed by Indian experts, the traders at home may rely on persons who understand Indian tastes and conditions as well as possess American experience.

The Agency could handle not only the imports to India but also might be depended on for the export side of Indian trade. In the United States jute, gunny bags, tea, coffee, rubber, shellac, myrobalans, indigo, turmeric, tamarind, nux vomica, all kinds of crude drugs, essential oils, manganese ores, mica and other Indian products are always in good demand. The Agency could bring about direct connection of Indian exporters with the American manufacturers and consumers.

Few people are aware that trade between India and the United States has all this time been indirect, i.e., handled through intermediate channels like English export and import houses. The tendency today seems to be towards the promotion of a direct transaction between the two countries. There is besides an extraordinary phenomenon that is bringing about this commercial revolution. On account of favorable exchange rates for the direct transfer of rupee into dollars (without

BASTAR, THE LAND OF THE "RAKSHASAS"

15

passing through the sterling stage) there is the chance of a tremendous saving for Indian importers. And already there are facilities that could be easily availed of. For the International Banking Corporation of New York has a branch in Calcutta, and the Tata Industrial Bank is the Indian correspondent of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

In addition there must be mentioned the direct shipping connections between Indian and American ports. These sailings every

alternate week from each end are the most favorable conditions conducive to an advantageous trade relation.

Circumstances then seem to be ripe from all sides for building up an Indian Agency in New York for the handling of direct transaction between the U. S. and India. The consequent responsibility of Indian capital in foreign countries becomes necessarily an important subject of investigation to the students of finance, exchange and banking.

BASTAR, THE LAND OF THE "RAKSHASAS"

THE Feudatory State of Bastar in the Central Provinces covers an area of over 13,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Feudatory State of Kanker, on the south by the Madras Presidency, on the east by the territories of the Raja of Jaipur in the Madras Presidency, and on the west by the dominions of the Nizam. The river Godavari which forms the boundary between Bastar State and the Nizam's territory was of old the scene of many events, pathetic and heroic, in the journey of Rāma, Laxman and Sitā to the south. The forest of Dandaka, Panchavati and Janāsthāna and the mountain-home of Vāli and Sugriva so graphically painted by the poet Bhavabhūti in his play Uttara-Rāmacharitam are by tradition and popular belief placed in Bastar. In Bastar are the town of Dhumagudam, the capital of the Rākshasa king Kharjūsen, and mount Rūmfā the home of Vāli. Dhumagudam on the Godavari was the place from which Shoorpanakhā came to make love to Rāma and was jilted by him. Vāli was killed and his widow married his younger brother Sugriva the ally of Rāma. The custom of marrying the deceased husband's younger brother still exists among the ancient tribes of Bastar. Mount Rūmfā has a variety of fruits growing wild, the chief of which is a

very large-sized and deliciously-flavoured orange. To those who maintain that the orange is not a native of India but has been imported by Western nations, this will come as a great surprise. If the ancient Rishis did depend upon fruits and bulbous plants for their maintenance, they probably could not have selected a better place than the jungles of Bastar where the more primitive tribes are to this day unacquainted with the art of agriculture and are largely dependent upon the bounty of the sylvan deities for their nourishment. Tradition also relates that the Pāndavas during their wanderings resided incognito in the unknown recesses of the mountains of Bastar. On a hill near the village of Pujari Kanker, on the Godavari, are shown the footprints of the Pāndavas to which the devout resort periodically on a pilgrimage.

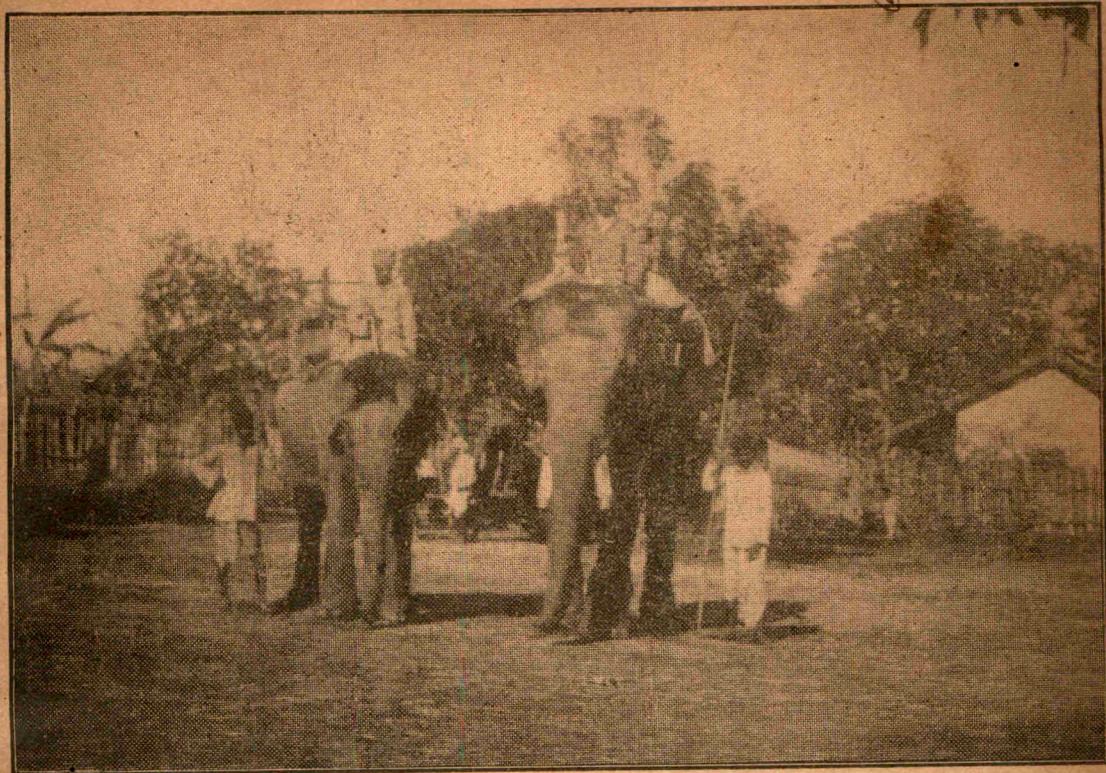
Such is Bastar, the land of Rāma's Vana-Vāsa, in whose primeval forests of sāl and teak have roamed from ancient times all varieties of game including the wild buffalo, the Indian bison, and the Indian Bārāsinghā or Gavnā. This sportsman's paradise, during last Easter, clothed in the glory of spring, with the early morning breezes heavy with the scent of the blossom of the mango and of the innumerable jungle trees and creepers, resembled the paradise of Ind, by its

comparative inaccessibility, the charm of its forest life, and the music of its birds, chief among which are the famous Bastar Mainā, the Bhimraj, the golden oriole and the rare variety of green pigeon known as Kāvā Hariyal. Bastar might justly be described as the Cashmere of the Central Provinces.

By the kindness of Mr. Crawford, the Political Agent of C. P. Feudatories, I was permitted to shoot a wild buffalo and a bison in the Mākdi block reserved for the Raja Bahadur Shri Jawahir Singhji of Sarangarh. Shooting in Bastar is well regulated for visitors, each sportsman being permitted to shoot one bull buffalo and one hull bison per year. Unfortunately the local people, especially the village Shikāris, are armed, and unless they could be absolutely restricted, big game will be exterminated in course of time. The road to Jagdalpur, the capital of Bastar State, 184 miles from Raipur, on the B. N. Ry., is maintained in splendid condition. Up to Dhumtari, 46 miles from Raipur, is a narrow gauge railway run by the B. N. R. From Dhumtari the road goes on to the little town of Kānker, which has two very pretty tanks filled with lotuses, and the green gardens of which form an oasis in the desert plains of the Raipur District. After leaving Kānker the road goes through jungle country till the frontier of Bastar is reached and the undulating nature of the hills in Bastar breaks the monotony of the straight road which however is throughout in excellent condition and motorable. At Keskāl, situated on the top of the Telin Ghat, from which a beautiful panoramic view of the hills and plains below comparable to the view from Panchgaria is obtained, is a temple believed to possess the power of driving away epidemic diseases from the State. Here are to be seen numerous articles of silver and other metals brought by grateful survivors to the god whose kindly intervention saved them from Influenza, known as the Angrezi Bimari. Well may the sceptic say with Bacon, "men mark where they hit, but mark not where they miss." Later on we saw in the jungles the remnants of the ceremony

of Bidāi or departure performed by the jungle tribes when influenza was raging in their small villages. The villagers would get together and fix two poles in the ground on the village boundary and having decorated them with leaves and sacrificed goats, pigs and fowls to the Influenza deified, request him to take his departure from their village. Keskāl is 2000 ft. above sea-level and the sudden and steep ascent of the Telin Ghat brings one into the cooler regions of the forest plateau of the northern half of the State. The chauffeur, appropriately called by the local tribes the Pechwālā, has to be rather circumspect while negotiating the ascent, as amongst the victims of the Telin Ghati was a Diwan of Bastar State in recent years.

Pharasgam, 122 miles from Raipur, was our first temporary Camp. A tiger beat was unsuccessful owing to the failure of the "Stops" to do their duty. A mouse-deer (*Tragulus Miminua*), known locally as Khebdi, came up to the Māchān in great trepidation, but was allowed to pass unmolested as nobler game was expected. This miniature deer, little larger than the jule-hare, has pretty white spots on the back and is quite common in the denser jungles of Bastar. From Pharasgam to Themgam the way lies through the jungle and Gopalprasad and Chanchalpyari carried us throughout the stages and were of great assistance in the chase of the wild buffalo, the primary object of the trip. Camp Mākdi named after Mākud, a monkey, derives its name from the troop of Langurs who have made a big bunyan tree in the camping ground their home. It is a picturesque spot with good water in the midst of thick jungle. The tribe of Muriās worship this bunyan tree, the worship consisting entirely of a picnic, of which drinking and dancing form the chief feature. Chaitan Singh, the Circle Inspector, our guide, philosopher and friend, was a polyglot and conversed fluently in the dialects of the various tribes such as the Hālbās, Bhatrās, Purjās, Gudbās, Telangās, Mādiās and Muriās. As we approached Torundi the path was blocked by a rope and a small carpet was



Gopalprasad and Chanchalpyari.

placed in the middle of it. On either side of the path was a smiling group of jungle beauties. This custom is known as Bât-chheknâ. Whenever a ruling chief is passing he is stopped by a rope thus tied and is reminded that with a little buksheesh he may proceed unmolested on his journey.

The jungle tribes of Bastar are expert hunters. Most of the tribes are practically omnivorous and beef is a favourite food with them. The fermented juice of the palms known as salafi toddy and sendi and the liquor extracted from Mahuwâ flowers are the only joy known to them besides their passion for dancing. The slaughter of animals, especially of cows, for food and for sacrificial purposes, is carried on on a very large scale. Such cow slaughter has gone on without any interference from the ruling family which is Hindu. The Raj family of Bastar claims descent from the Kings of Warangal in the Deccan. Tradition relates that the goddess Danteshwari gave a sword to

the first Raja of Bastar, Annam Dev, and asked him to lead the way promising to follow him. On the way Annam Dev turned back to see if the Devi was behind him upon which she stopped and transformed herself into stone at Danterwada, where a temple was built by the Raja and it has since been endowed and enriched by his descendants. The Bastar Raj is regarded as a grant by the Danteshwari Devi in whose name the State is ruled and the reigning Raja is her Pujâri or high priest. And yet except in the town of Jagdalpur where the small colony of Hindus has partially Hinduised the tribesmen, the slaughter of cows for food is continuing and Bastar to this day remains the land of the Rākshasas. The aborigines have no need for Brahmans at their marriages or deaths or for the gods and goddesses of Brahmanism. The aborigines are believers in witchcraft and magic, and the Gonds of the wild regions are notorious sorcerers. Chaitan Singh and even the Mahomedan Mahout shared the

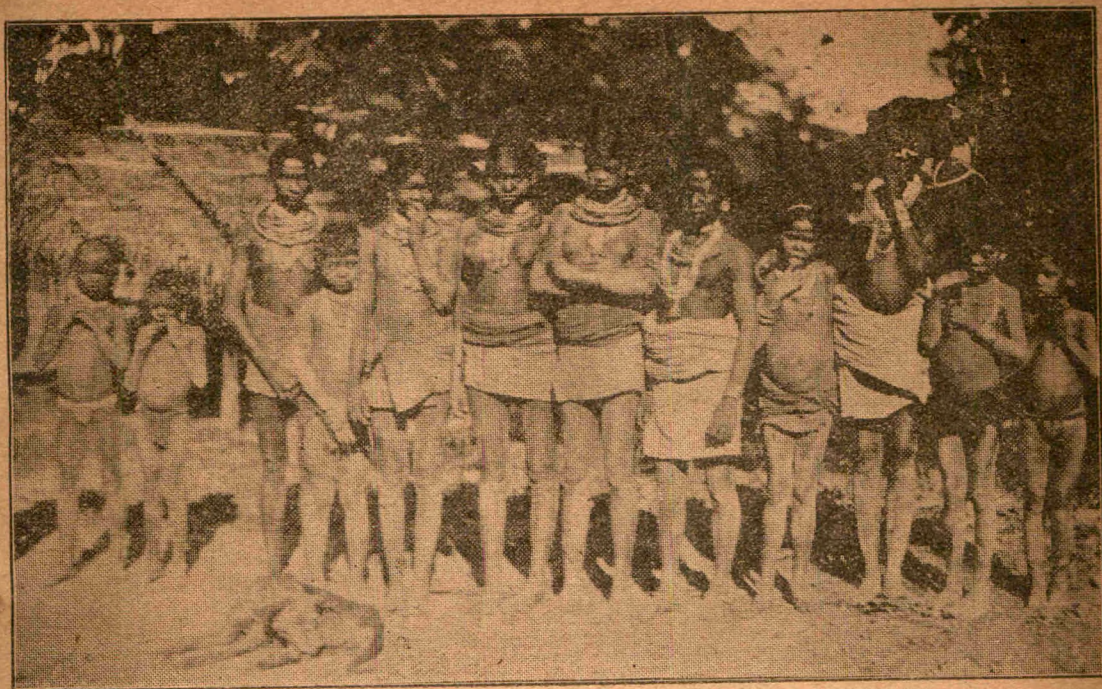


Mādiā Dance, the Men wearing Bison Horns on their Heads.

belief in the evil eye and promptly covered up a hare that was shot on the march to prevent the evil eye affecting it and rendering it dangerous for food! The religion of the aborigines is simple—there are no temples and no images and worship consists of the blood and flesh of cows, pigs, goats and fowls, to drive away epidemics or to pray for rain. Among the principal tribes of Bastar are the Mādiās, Muriās, Bhatrās, Gadhbās, Telangās and Purjās. The Hālbās are Hindus and do not eat beef. Among the minor tribes are Kostās or workers in silk and Ghassiās or syces. The Ghassiās speak a dialect of their own and eat the flesh of the tiger, the leopard and the bear, but do not eat beef. The Gadhbās are the only ones who eat monkey but they will not eat the red-faced monkey.

The Mādiās are perhaps the most primitive tribe of the aborigines of India and in all probability are the descendants of some of those tribes whom our ancestors called the Rākshasas. Their language, Mādi, is not understood by the other tribes, and Mādi is different from Chhatrigarhi as well as Telugu spoken on

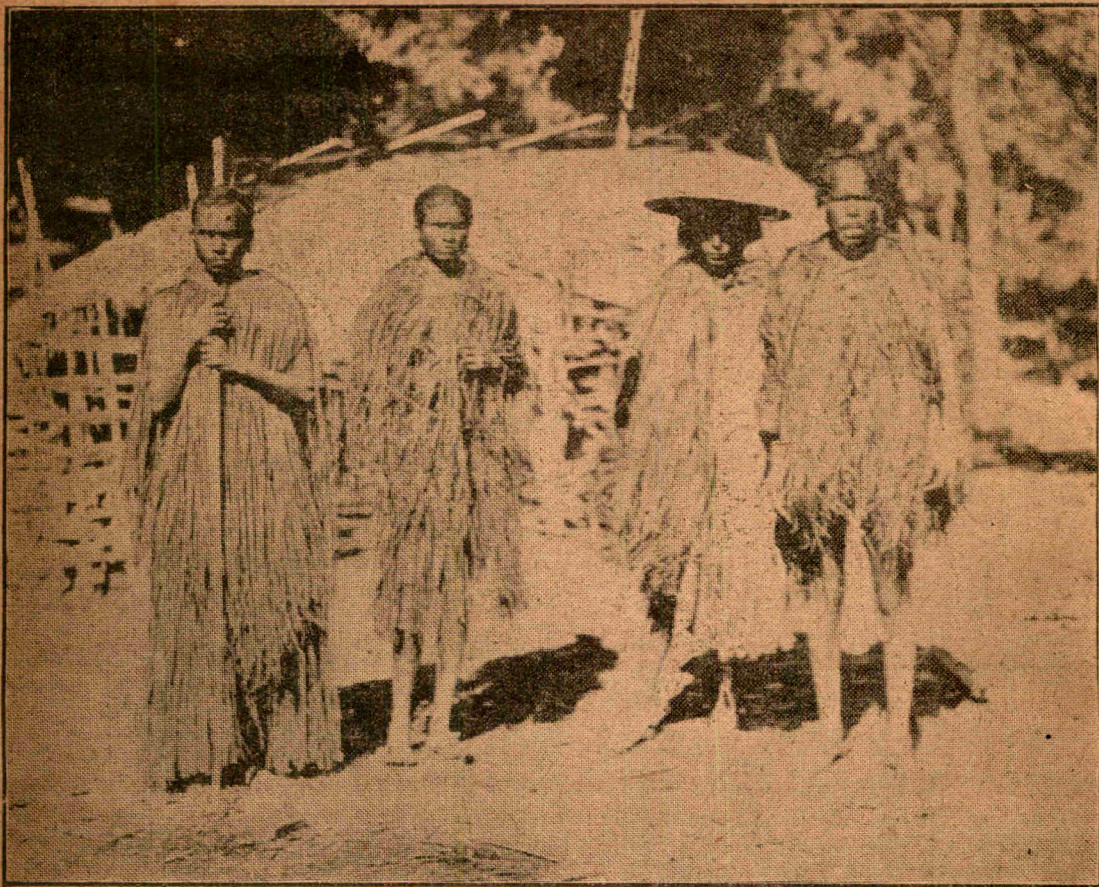
the Jaipur border. The Telangās in Bastar do not eat beef, on the contrary they respect the cow so much that they use her for agricultural purposes and regard the crops raised by the co-operation of the mother cow and the mother earth as sacred food. The Telangās consider themselves fully dressed with only a narrow loin-cloth and an inevitable ten yard long turban on the head. They smoke a kind of jungle cigar about a foot long which is called "chutta". The country of the Mādiās, called Mādiān, is on the hills of the Abhujmād. The Mādiās do not cultivate rice as they are unacquainted with the art of agriculture, nor do they possess any cattle for agriculture. They only grow by extensive cultivation very inferior crops of hill corn known as Kāng, Kosrā and Bājra. Kosrā is the same as the Nāchnā of the Deccan hills and the Mādiās boil it in water and call it "pej"—boiled rice is called by them Chāur pej. The Mādiās live mainly on the produce of trees such as Tendū, Chār Mahuwā, Seonā, Salafi and Sendi, Peng, Buhār and Kolyār. The fruits of some and the leaves of other trees are used for food. Salafi and Sendi trees are



Mādiā Women.

cut down in a famine year and the dried up sap and softer interior portion ground down into flour, of which bread is made. The Mādias, like the other jungle tribes, are devoted to intoxicating drinks. The juice of the various palm trees is free to the subjects of Bastar. Any one may extract it for his own use, but sale of it is forbidden. The liquor made from Mahuwā flowers alone is sold by a Thikedar, although no restriction is imposed on the collection by the people of Mahuwā flowers which largely enters into the domestic economy of the jungle tribes, being food for both man and beast. The Mādias do not eat monkeys, tiger, leopard or bear. On the death of a Mādiā, his sister's son has to beat a drum to summon the relatives, the body being kept, pending their arrival, for two or three days. When the relatives arrive, a cow is killed and her tail is given in the hand of the deceased, after which the body is burnt. The assembled relatives eat the flesh of the cow, drink liquor which is freely provided and keep up the tribal dance for days. The Mādias, men and women, are expert dancers and there are many very interest-

ing and different varieties of dances. The horns of the bison are worn on the head during the dance by the men. A few days later the ceremony called Gātāpnā is performed. On this occasion more cows are slaughtered and eaten in honour of the deceased in whose memory a stone is put up by the roadside in a place selected for the purpose. An unmarried man has no right to a stone after death. The Mādias burn their dead except children and those adults who have died of small-pox. The Mādiā men in remote hills have no dress of any kind and in this respect they resemble the African aborigines described in Roosevelt's Game Trails in East Africa. During the monsoons the Mādias wear, for protection, a kind of overcoat made of ropes. The women tie a piece of cloth round the waist, the portion above it being left exposed. It is said that to touch a Mādiā woman on the shoulder, but nowhere else above the waist, is regarded by her as an outrage to her modesty. They also wear huge iron rings round their necks. The Mādias are a very simple and law abiding people. The one crime known among them is homicide for

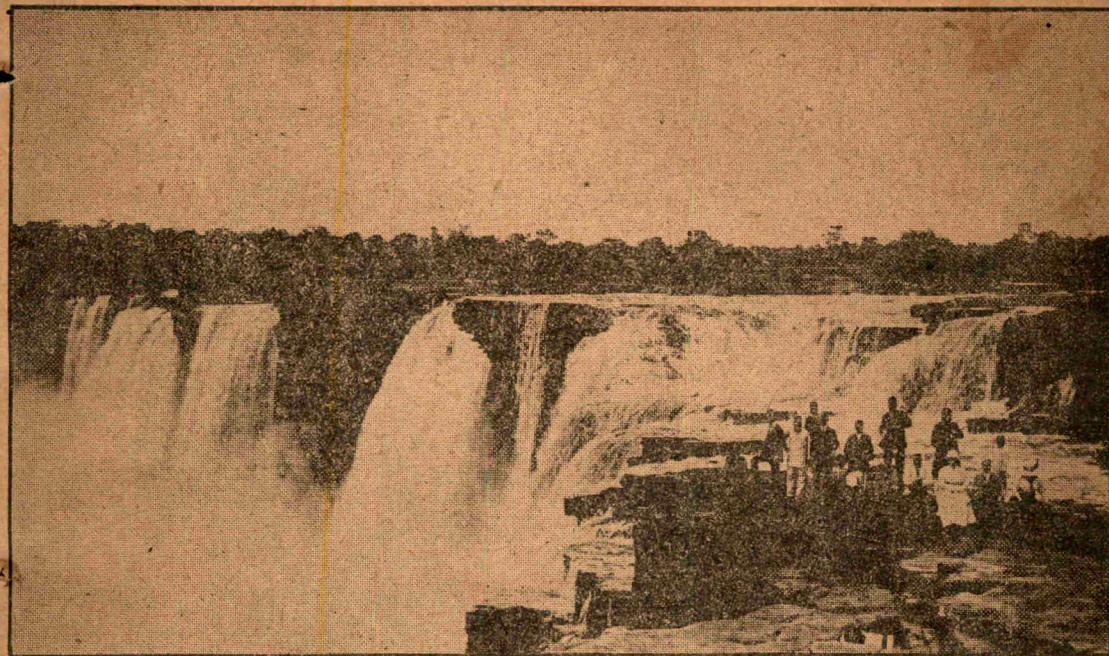


Mādiās wearing Swadeshi 'Waterproofs'.

the possession of land or for an offence against their women. They do not have recourse to poisoning or other subtle means of causing death. The Mādiā, armed with his Gāgrā, a weapon not unlike a Kukri, makes short work of his enemy and then goes and straightaway makes a confession which is never retracted. Theft and robbery are unknown among them. The Mādiās are said to be honest, truthful and chaste.

The Muriās are also beef-eaters. They are believed to be Gonds who were the Mul Nivāsi or original inhabitants of the country. The Muriās, consider themselves higher than the Mādiās. They live in different regions and do not understand Mādi. The Muriās grow rice by the system of Dāhi. Large jungle tracts are set on fire and the burnt trees and grass become the manure for the ground

thus acquired. In these days the jungle is preserved by the State by demarking the reserved area by a line cut through the dense part of it. The Muriās fell trees from the jungle allotted to each village and carry them to the fields and burn them after spreading them over the cultivated land. This is called Dāhi or burning. Dāhi land yields a bumper harvest if well guarded from wild animals. The Muriās have a system of marriage by selection which apparently would meet with the approval of Mr. Bernard Shaw. At the age which nature suggests for marriage young Muriās of both sexes go to a place called Ghotul Ghar, a hut at a little distance from the village, and dance and sing together in the evenings. Partners are here selected and the lovers give to their sweethearts combs with which the belles dress the hair of their beaux. This



Chitrakot Falls.

is the commencement of the courtship. The young people spend the night in the Ghotul Ghar and formalities of marriage, if any, are held subsequently. No married women are allowed in the Ghotul. The Murias also make use of cow's flesh and liquor for funeral ceremonies. Three years after the death of a prominent member of a Muria family the survivors entertain friends and relatives according to their means and position. The ceremony is called Dhol Mārṇā. Huge drums are beaten day and night for a week or two according to the vow of the host to summon the guests. The assembled multitude is fed on the flesh of the cows and bullocks slaughtered for the occasion and carousing and dancing is kept up for the fixed number of days.

The Muria religion consists of the worship of the Mātāgudi who is decently housed near the village and to whom pigs, fowls and goats are sacrificed. Dancing and drinking are necessary parts of the ceremony. Dheema Dev, the rain god, is worshipped only in times of drought. His temple is in the jungle and consists of four stakes fixed in the ground to form a

square with cross stakes on top. A stake in the middle represents the rain god. The temple has no covering on top possibly to give a chance to the rain god to realize that there is fear of deluge in case it rains excessively. His worship is also conducted by the slaughter of animals. The Murias are expert in the knowledge of woodcraft and the language of birds and beasts. They hunt in large organized parties and their depredations have greatly reduced the chance of sport in forests which at one time were filled with game. Their way of hunting bison is by surrounding him and then dividing themselves into two parties. The one works in front of the bison and the other from behind him. When the Bison is sufficiently worried he charges one of the parties, whereupon that party take to their heels in silence and the other party pursue the bison yelling and shouting till the bison turns back upon his pursuers. It is now the turn of the first party to worry the bison from behind by shouting and yelling and if near enough by shooting with their arrows. If the bison comes too near, the expert Muria climbs up a tree or hangs on to boughs.



Fishing on the Indravati River.

This method of pursuing and being pursued by the bison is repeated till the bison gets exhausted and is killed by his tormentors. The Murias believe that a bison can jump at a man who has climbed up a tree. The bison is believed also to throw foam at a man, by snorting, which sets up such unbearable irritation that by excessive scratching the unfortunate man eventually falls down and is gored by the bison. What would happen if the man up the tree had a coat and trousers could not be explained by my Muria guide!

In the month of Chaitra the women observe Chait-parab by bathing and decorating themselves in the mornings and dancing in the evenings with bunches of peacock feathers in their hands. During this period it is the custom of Bastar to organize a general drive by several thousand beaters through miles and miles of jungle country and through parganās. If during the drive the beaters come across villages, they sleep the night there and continue the drive with unabated zeal next morning till at the close of it a large quantity of game, irrespective of age or sex, is killed. This is known

as Joor Parudh. The poet Bāna, who according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar flourished in the 7th century A. C., has given a vivid description of a drive of this kind organized by the tribe of Shabaras or Bheels in the Kādambari. The following extract from the Kādambari may be said to be a fairly accurate account of the Gonds and Murias of Bastar. "I could not, therefore, but feel, oh what misguided lives the Shabaras lead and how distasteful to all good people is their conduct! For their religious ideas favour human sacrifice. Flesh and liquor prescribed by the virtuous are their nourishment, hunting is their only industry, the cry of the jackal is their scripture, owls are their prophets, their wisdom consists in their knowledge of birds; dogs are their friends, their kingdom is in lonely forests; excessive drinking is the only form of jubilation known to them; bows, the means of compassing wicked deeds, are their friends; arrows with poisoned mouths resembling snakes are their assistants; their music is to infatuate the innocent deer, their wives are the women of others taken captive, their residence is among savage tigers, religious

worship is performed by the blood of slaughtered animals, flesh is their sacrificial offering, their occupation is theft, beads are their ornaments, their ointment is of the rut of the wild elephant, the forest in which they happen to reside is by them completely destroyed root and branch." (Kādambari, p. 32.)

Want of space forbids the recounting here of our adventures in the jungles of Torundi and Amraoti in the quest after the wild buffalo. The trip was eminently successful, the coveted trophy having been toiled for and secured.

To one who is conversant with Marathi there would hardly be any language difficulty in Bastar. Hālbi is spoken by the majority and is understood by most of the tribes. To a native of Mahārāshtra, Hālbi would be Marathi with a slight provincial variation. The Hālbas are Hindus and follow the Brahmanical faith; they are strikingly like the Maharrattas in appearance and physique. To those who hold that the real Mahārāshtra is not merely the Deccan but at one time included the whole of the Madhya Desha or Central Provinces, Hālbi will present the most interesting language proofs. Lariya, Uriya and Chhatisgarhi, so akin to Marathi, may with advantage be studied by the curious linguist.

The last days of our trip were devoted to Jagdalpur, the capital of the State, and Chitrakot, the splendid waterfall, 22 miles from the city. When Bastar town, the ancient capital, was occupied by the Maharratta forces of the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur, the then ruling chief shifted his headquarters to Jagdalpur on the other side of the river Indravati. The descendants of the invaders are still to be found in Bastar and Marathi is one of the languages spoken by a few in the State. The town of Jagdalpur is not free from wild animals and leopards and cheetahs often take up temporary quarters in the heart of the busti. Chitrakot, a village on the Indravati, has a magnificent waterfall of 96 ft., which never runs dry. It has already attracted the attention of Messrs. Tata & Sons Ltd., who have acquired land at Rao Ghat for iron ore and manganese.



Raja Bahadur Shri Jawahir Singhji of Sarangarh State, C. P.

Chaitan Singh is on the right holding the Snipe.

At Kondegam, the headquarters of the tehsil, there is a dak bungalow and a small bazar in which the enterprising natives of Kathiawad deal in grain. The Kathiawadi, whether as trader, carpenter, mason, or contractor, is in great demand all over the C. P. Last X'mas I came across one in the far away jungles of the Phuljhar Zemindari. This enterprising young Bania took part in the tiger beat, suitably dressed in Khaki, and his enthusiasm and keen appreciation of the success of the shoot were worthy of the native Gond. Kondegam has a splendid jheel near the village tank where fifteen couple of snipe including the long-billed English snipe were picked up in an hour's

shoot on the last day by the Raja Baha-dur of Sarangarh.

The arms were then finally cleaned and put away till the next vacation. And we bade farewell to the jungles murmuring the lines from Kalidasa :—

"May the wild buffalos plunge in the water of the puddles and agitate it by repeatedly striking it with their horns, let

the herds of deer forming groups under the shade of trees occupy themselves in rumination, may the wild boars enjoy and trample upon the Mustagrass in the pools and may our bow, having its string fastening undone, get repose." (Shakuntala, Act II, 40).

Bar Library,
Calcutta.

RANJITRAO S. PANDIT.

A CHRISTMAS DAY IN CENTRAL AFRICA

[The following article is the substance of a lecture which was delivered at Nairobi, on December 28th, 1920, after a visit to Uganda. I have omitted the opening sentences which were only of local interest. C. F. A.]

THE disabilities under which Indians suffer, when they go abroad, are so heavy, that it becomes natural and instinctive to turn first of all to the political sphere, in order to obtain some redress, however slight and inadequate. But though I have felt, as you yourselves have done, this strong drawing towards political action, yet more and more I have felt dissatisfied with politics alone. Personally, I have discovered that I could never do my best work in that field, and I have always shrunk back from it. For the purely political aims, while they have an importance which I could not underrate, have at the same time this failing, that they are apt to deal with outward effects, rather than with inward causes. Too often, they attempt to mitigate some painful symptom of the disease, without probing down to the root of the evil itself.

But the religious life of man, if truly lived, goes deeper. It seeks to discover, not the present needs, but the ultimate facts of human existence. Its one supreme aim is to discover in the soul of man those final sanctions, on which all political construction, if it is to be strong, must be based.

Today is the first Sunday after Christmas : it comes between Christmas and the New Year. It is a solemn time of the year to us, who are Christians, and you will pardon me if my words take a deeper tone at such a season. This last Christmas day, which I have just spent on the borders of Lake Nyanza, has left a deep impression on my mind. It was passed under peculiar circumstances, and it has given me a message which I feel I may hand on to you. I shall have to explain a good deal first, which relates to my own life ; and then, I think, I shall be able to make the message perfectly plain.

Many of you have been taught at some time or other, in the course of your school days, how in our home-life in England, we are accustomed to meet together in families each Christmas season. It was at these times, when I was young, that it used to be my great delight to sit by my mother's side while she told us the Christmas stories of our Bible. My brothers and sisters would sit with me in a circle. She would tell us, how Christ was once a baby in his mother Mary's arms and how the poor mother when the time of her delivery came, had nowhere to lay her head ; she had to give birth to her child in the manger of a stable where the cattle were feeding. The people of the place were so busy with their own affairs that they could not make room for her in the inn. So Christ was born in a stable, and this was intended to be a sign to us in all ages, that God loves the poor and neglected people of the earth, and does not in any way despise them.

My mother was fond of telling us, how the cattle came up to Mary, as she lay there in her weakness, and how they gazed at her, as though they wished to tell her that they understood her pain. We, children, could picture to ourselves from illustrations we had seen in our story-books, the cattle in the stable watching over the mother and her baby child,—perhaps some camel, with its long neck bending down towards the manger ; or the ass, which had borne its heavy burden all the day ; or the cow, with its big, soft, wondering eyes, we used to think of all these animals looking on ; and our mother used to warn us, that we must never do harm to the dumb beasts, who serve mankind so faithfully. For when worldly, money-seeking men were unwilling to make room for Christ, the humble beasts of the field had drawn near to welcome him in love.

But perhaps the picture which we used to like best of all was her own vivid description of the shepherds, as they watched their flocks on that Christmas night under the stars in

the cold wintry fields. We listened silently while our mother repeated to us the words of the Bible,—

There were shepherds abiding in the fields, keeping watch over their flocks by night.

And lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them and they were sore afraid.

And the angel said unto them, "Fear not. For behold, I bring you tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

"For unto you is born this day, in the City of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

"And this shall be a sign unto you. Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger."

And suddenly there was, with the angel, a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and saying,—

*"Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace, goodwill towards men."*

We, her children, used to learn those words by heart, and she would ask us to repeat them to her without a mistake after she had read them to us. Then she would go on to explain to us, that although there were many quarrels going on in the world every day, yet at Christmas, at least, there should be peace and goodwill in all hearts towards all mankind. She told us, if we ourselves had any bitterness at that season, we should cease to cherish it.

The snow would be falling outside in the street, while our mother spoke to us; and in the distance we could hear the church bells faintly sounding with almost human voices. They seemed to be repeating the Christmas message of peace and goodwill. A warmth of love would come into our young hearts as we listened to our mother's words.

As I grew older, my mother explained to me more fully that, when I became a man, whatever happened to me in the outside world, I must never in my inmost heart bear ill-will towards any human being; because we were all alike children of one Heavenly Father, who loved us equally and impartially. For Christ had taught us, saying,—

"One is your Father in heaven and all ye are brethren."

She told me that just as there ought to be no bitterness between brothers and sisters in one family, so there ought to be no bitterness, leading to war and bloodshed, in the larger family of mankind. Each one of us ought to do everything that was in our power to prevent war, by ruling our own inner lives and subduing our lower passions of malice and revenge. Thus we could each help to bring to pass the fulfilment of that message which the angels sang at the birth of Christ,—

Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.

Each Christmas Day, since then, I have tried to remember her teaching and her wish. I can bear witness to the fact that, the longer I have lived and the older I have grown, the more I have realised the fundamental truth of the instruction which my mother gave me and its practical value. It has seemed to me to reach far deeper, as an ultimate remedy for war, than any plans, however great, of man's political devising, whether they be Hague Conferences or Leagues of Nations; for it touches the heart of man and keeps it pure from that which is the root cause of war and strife.

This year, my Christmas Day began under conditions which made it somewhat hard to find the quiet time I needed for thought and meditation. For I had been obliged by illness, owing to an enforced delay in the Hospital, while in Uganda, to cross the Lake Victoria Nyanza by the weekly steamer that was due to arrive on the East Africa side of the Lake on Christmas morning. There was all the bustle and noise and confusion that was inevitable when a steamer is nearing port.

If I may confess it to you, I had a sense of depression and loneliness all through the opening hours of this last Christmas Day. I pictured to myself my own brothers and sisters meeting together and keeping their Christmas together at home, and I felt a sadness that I could not be with them. The memory of those earlier Christmas seasons, when my mother was with us, came back to me, making my heart ache with the sense of being far away from those I love.

But a little before noon, the great ship was moored close up to the wharf. I was taken by Indian friends among the Indian population, and at the end of the town we visited the railway quarters where the poorer Indian families live, who work in the railway yards. There was evidently much suffering there visible in the faces of the mothers and the children, and I was told that the place was very malarial and unhealthy. I saw the Indian mothers with their little children, and the vision flashed upon me with a sudden illumination of joy that this was my true home and these were my true brothers and sisters, with whom I was to spend my Christmas. And almost at the same moment, the words from Gitanjali were brought to my memory with a new and wonderful fullness of meaning and power,—

Here is Thy footstool, and there rest Thy feet, where live the poorest, and lowliest, and lost.

I need hardly tell you how, when these thoughts came thronging into my mind, the previous depression and loneliness vanished in a moment, and a great peace filled my heart. After this inner light had dispelled the darkness, I would not have wished to be anywhere

in the world but in those railway quarters and among the Indian families at Kisumu on the borders of the Lake.

And so, in the end, this last Christmas Day, which has just passed by, became one of the happiest in all my life. The Indian community, when evening came, flocked down to the station to bid me farewell and my heart was very full. The Indian women and the children from the railway quarters waved their 'good bye' as the train went slowly past. A great happiness had been given to me that day and it will remain with me in years to come.

If this simple narrative of what happened was at all expressed my meaning, you will have guessed that the message which, above all others, I wish to leave with you is that contained in the closing words of the Christmas song itself,—

Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.

It is not easy to sing that song here, in East and Central Africa, where racial hatreds abound, and yet I leave it with you. I know all well the insults and humiliations, which you have to suffer at the hands of those who are able to use with impunity the prestige and power of a ruling race. And yet I would all the more entreat you to give heed to the words,—

Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.

I am not asking you to feebly tolerate injustice, or to be weakly submissive in the face of wrong-doing. I am not asking you to refrain from an indignation, that is both righteous and just. I wish you to be brave, resist injustice, and to claim that which is right. But I would have you, all the while, maintain unswerving and unalterable goodwill in your hearts, remembering the words,—

Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.

I have heard the story of an old white-haired English nobleman, in the time of the revolution, who maintained an almost Christ-like tenderness and forbearance in the midst of contumely and wrong. When asked how he was able to keep such control over his lower nature, he replied.—“By remembering that I was born a gentleman.”

There is a noble birthright of moral greatness, which every son of India possesses by inheritance; for it was in India that these truths of universal goodwill were first proclaimed. It is to your own birth-right of moral truth that I am calling you. Believe me, it is no cowardly policy to which I invite you, but an adventure of faith and endurance which requires the bravest man among the brave rightly to accomplish. It means a victory, not over another, but in a man's own inner spirit, a victory of the good over the evil in oneself. It means a determination, come what will, so to rule within, that no evil passion shall arise. It means to win complete mastery in the centre of the heart,—the mastery of love.

Gautama, the Buddha, from his seat near Benares, preached to all mankind this truth when he said,—

*Overcome anger with kindness;
Overcome untruth with truth,
Overcome hatred with love.*

Guru Nanak proclaimed in the Panjab the same sovereign message, in these words,—

*Farid, if a man smite thee on the face,
Stoop and kiss his feet;
So enterest thou the joy of the Lord.*

The New Testament is full of kindred utterances: it is the very spirit of Christ and of the Gospel. Thus, the great saints and sages of all generations of mankind, those who have been called the friends of God, have spoken with one voice. No other truth of humanity has had such full and noble witness borne to it in every age. We are the heirs of these great records of the past. Let us not prove false to our inheritance.

Therefore, in the face of all that is hostile to you in East Africa, my message this Christmas-tide is both simple and direct. Do not return hatred for hatred, evil for evil, insult for insult, but keep your own hearts pure and sweet and clean. Beyond and above all these lower racial passions of the present hour, the truth of humanity abides,—

One is your Father, in heaven, and all ye are brethren.

C. F. ANDREWS.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Three Important New Books on Asia

By Rev. J. T. Sunderland, M.A., D.D.,
New York, U. S. A.

Asia is assuming an enormous new importance in the world. All Europe is recognising

this. There are a thousand signs that we in America are doing the same. Of course this means that we must have more books about Asia. Fortunately three new volumes of great value have been given to us recently through American publishing houses. One is “The New

Map of Asia," by Herbert Adams Gibbons (The Century Co., New York); another, "The Awakening of Asia," by H. M. Hyndman (Boni and Liveright, New York); the third, "The Opium Monopoly," by Helen N. La Motte (Macmillan). All three are interestingly and attractively written; they give us information up to today; and they come from authors of standing and give every evidence of being trustworthy.

"THE NEW MAP OF ASIA."

Mr. Gibbons is an American scholar and writer who has had much experience in Turkey, Egypt and the Balkan states, and has written extensively on European, Asiatic and African subjects. In a sense his is a history of Asia during the past twenty years; but it is more than a history; it is also an interpretation, and it gives us much information of an earlier date than the present century. The period of which it particularly treats is perhaps the most critical in the entire history of the Asiatic continent. The book tells us the amazing story of how nearly three quarters of the continent has been brought into subjection to the nations of the West, has been made virtually a political and economic annex to Europe. It pictures to us graphically and with facts, figures and maps, Russia marching with giant tread to the far-off Pacific and seizing all northern Asia; the long attempt of Portugal to obtain Asiatic possessions, which ended in failure; the various successes and failures of Holland, which ended by giving her colonies in the East Indies seven times as extensive and seven times as populous as our Philippines; France's futile attempts in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to establish a colonial empire in Asia, and in the nineteenth century her seizure of Annam, Tonkin and other territory from China and Siam; the attempt of Russia and Great Britain to partition and appropriate Persia; Great Britain's conquest of India and other extensive Asiatic lands; the encroachments of the different European nations upon China; the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire; the Rise of Japan, etc.

Mr. Gibbons maintains that Europe's conquests in Asia have had no moral justification. They have all been based upon the principles of the Prussian militarists and of the German Imperial government—principles which America fought Germany to destroy. European eminent domain in Asia is the doctrine of the German *Uebermensch* put into practice. To use Mr. Gibbons' words, European dominance in Asia as we see it today cannot be justified "unless one believes either (a) that our particular idea of civilization is so essential to the world's happiness and well-being that it must be built up and spread and maintained by force; or (b) that so-called 'superior races' have the right to exploit, or at least to direct the destinies of, so-

called 'inferior races'; or (c) that the bestowal of material blessings upon people is adequate compensation for denying them the right of governing themselves."

Mr. Gibbons' book shows clearly that Asia of right belongs to the Asiatic peoples as truly as Europe of right belongs to the European peoples; that the wars waged by Europe by means of which little by little she has extended her domain and brought Asia into political and economic subjection have been as unjustifiable as would have been similar wars waged by Asia to conquer Europe and reduce her peoples to political and economic subjection; that the subjection of three quarters of the human race to the other one quarter means not only injustice but an unstable equilibrium in the world, and therefore perpetual danger of wars so long as it continues; and that justice, freedom and self-rule for the great historic civilized peoples of Asia are a necessity if we are ever to have anything like world peace.

"THE AWAKENING OF ASIA."

Mr. Hyndman is a well known English writer who for many years has been a recognized authority upon Asia and especially upon India. His book covers somewhat the same ground as that of Mr. Gibbons, but in a different way. The two works supplement and confirm each other. Although Mr. Hyndman deals to some extent with all Asia, he gives his main attention to India, China and Japan.

To Japan he devotes four chapters. These form the least valuable part of his book, because they show prejudice against the Japanese people, prejudice which seems strange in view of the intelligence, justice and fairness with which he treats China and India.

To China he devotes six chapters. These are admirable. In them he tells in a most interesting way the stories of China's long past, of the coming of Christianity to China, of opium in China, of the Boxer Rising and its consequences, of the remarkable reforms which the Emperor Huang-Hsu attempted to introduce, and of the rise and growth of the present Republic. One cannot read these illuminating pages without getting a new view of the intelligence and moral strength of the Chinese people, of the value of their civilization, of their remarkable achievements during the past twenty years in driving out opium, in remodelling their whole educational system in harmony with modern principles and ideals, and in setting up a republican government.

China has done great things in the face of enormous difficulties. Mr. Hyndman believes she will accomplish great things in the future. But the difficulties that she still has to meet are stupendous. Her most dangerous enemies are the European powers, which in the past have seized her seaports and great slices of her territory, set up "spheres of influence" with

her borders without her consent, forced opium upon her at the cannon's mouth, stolen franchises of priceless value whenever they have desired them, dictated her tariffs, taken control of her taxes, forced loans upon her at their own terms and compelled her to spend them as they commanded, and so on to the end of a long and shameful chapter. The same powers will play the same game in the future if they can. Will China be able to thwart them? Will the moral sentiment of the world support her in her efforts to thwart them?

Coming to India, Mr. Hyndman gives us only three chapters, but they are of considerable length, and on the whole they are the most important in the book. Hardly any other Englishman knows India so well. Every person should read these chapters who wants to become intelligent concerning the real India, the India of a great past and a remarkable civilization, the India that has produced great literatures, great arts and great religions, the India that for a hundred and fifty years has been held in subjection by a foreign power which has exploited her, drained away her wealth, impoverished her, refused to give her education and made her people hewers of wood and drawers of water for her conquerors, and the India that is now protesting to the world against this bondage and is entering upon a tremendous struggle for freedom.

"THE OPIUM MONOPOLY."

Miss La Motte, the author of this work, is an American writer who for several years has been devoting herself to studies of the Orient. A book published by her a year ago, entitled "Pekin Dust," is attracting wide attention and is perhaps the most illuminating work on present-day China and China's real relations to the European Powers and to Japan, that has appeared from any pen. No one should miss it who cares to understand inside conditions and events in Peking during the war,—the things which the censors would not let us know.

Her "Opium Monopoly" has been written since her "Pekin Dust" and promises to attract even wider attention. It is a small work, and is confined to one subject, but that subject, is a serious one not only for Asia but for all the world. There is no more shocking story in modern history than that of Great Britain waging two wars to force opium upon China in such quantities as to practically poison the whole nation. At last the Chinese government by earnest, determined and most persistent efforts has stopped the open importation of the drug; although it is still smuggled to a limited extent. But all Asia is suffering from it, particularly India. Practically all the opium of the world is produced and controlled by Great Britain; she has the world-monopoly of it. She causes, virtually compels, the Indian

people to produce it; devoting from 200,000 to 600,000 acres of the richest Indian soil, which ought to be used for growing food for the starving people, to the cultivation of poppies for the manufacture of this world-poison.

Miss La Motte tells us how she became interested in this subject and thus how she came to write her book. Her story is worth repeating. She says: "On my way to Japan, in the July of 1916, I met a young Hindu on the boat, who was outspoken and indignant over the British policy of establishing the opium trade in India, as one of the departments of the Indian Government. Of all the phases of British rule in India it was this policy that excited him most, and which caused him most ardently to wish that India had some form of self-government, some voice in the control and management of her own affairs, so that the country could protect itself from this evil. Without this, he declared, his country was powerless to put a stop to this, traffic imposed upon it by a foreign government, and he greatly deplored the slow but steady demoralization of the nation which was in consequence taking place; for the British rulers of the land not only sold the opium to the other nations of Asia, but insisted upon an extensive sale of it to the people of India. As this young Hindu produced his facts and figures, showing what all this meant to his people—this gradual undermining of their moral fiber and economic efficiency—I grew more and more interested. That such conditions existed were to me unheard of, and unbelievable. It seemed incredible that in this age, with the consensus of public opinion sternly opposed to the sale and distribution of habit-forming drugs, and with legislation to curb and restrict such practices incorporated in the laws of all ethical and civilized governments, that here, on the other side of the world, I should come upon opium traffic conducted as a government monopoly. Not only that, but conducted by one of the greatest and most highly civilized nations of the world, a nation which I have always looked up to as being in the very forefront of advanced, progressive and humane ideals. So shocked was I by what this young Hindu told me, that I flatly refused to believe him. I listened to what he had to say on the subject, but thinking that however earnest he might be, however sincere in his sense of outrage at such a policy, he must be mistaken. I decided not to take his word for it, but to look into the matter for myself."

Then she tells how she did look into the matter for herself,—studying government blue books and other official documents, and getting information from the highest authorities in all the principal countries of the East. The result was, she found not only that all the Hindu young man had said was true, but that he had not told half the truth. Great Britain not only insists upon supplying opium to all her subject races, forcing its sale upon them, but she sup-

plies it to all the other European governments that have colonies and dependencies in Asia and Africa, and they force its sale among their subject races. There are in India 17,369 drug shops, maintained by the authority of the government, contrary to the wish of the people, where opium and intoxicating liquors are sold. The annual government revenue from opium in India, according to the latest statistics, is more than £ 15,000,000. Surely we cannot wonder at Miss La Motte's comment when she says: "A nation that can subjugate 300,000,000 helpless people, and then turn them into drug addicts—for the sake of revenue—is a nation that commits a cold-blooded atrocity unparalleled by any atrocity committed in the rage and heat of war."

Where is there any hope for the Indian people? They hate and dread the poison which is slowly undermining the physical vitality and the moral life of the nation, and would gladly banish it as China has done. But so long as they are dominated by a foreign power that is willing to sacrifice the health, happiness and life of millions of its subjects for revenue, they are helpless. Their only hope, as the Hindu youngman said, is in home rule.

1. Self-government in the Philippines:—

By Maximo M. Kalaw, Chief of the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines. Illustrated with Photographs, New York, the Century Co. 1919. Pp. 210.

2. A Guide Book on the Philippine Question:—

by Maximo M. Kalaw, Secretary of the Philippine Mission to the United States. Washington, D. C. 1919. Pp. 40.

The notice printed on the cover of the first of these books—the second is a pamphlet—runs as follows: "This book reports the concrete evidence as to the Filipinos' development of the qualities of mind and character that justifies the belief that they can govern themselves independently of outside assistance, and that therefore, in the American view, they should be permitted to do so. It is indeed . . . a book that is positively thrilling; for it tells of one of the most inspiring experiments in national unselfishness on record. It indicates how, in a little more than 20 years, an oriental people who had long been misgoverned, with patient guidance and constant assistance from a big nation that played the part of a brother, has grown up to the estate of responsible manhood. The book is an up-to-date account of what the Philippines have accomplished in the industries, in agriculture, in education, in self-government and in all those fields wherein civilised people must achieve results in order to live in modern times and with modern people."

The preamble of the Jones Law, or Philippine Autonomy Act, passed by the American Congress on August 29, 1916, declares that "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their

sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognise their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." "Even before the complete restoration of peace, schools were established, public improvements were undertaken, and sanitary measures adopted for the upbuilding of the Filipino race. Freedom of speech, of the press and of thought were declared to be inviolable rules, and thus the American Government, instead of stifling the political aspirations of the people and making them forget their idea of independence, or compelling them to keep it within their breast, has given them a greater consciousness of kind, has united them into a more responsive whole, and has encouraged them to demand with greater insistence an independent national existence."

President Wilson has said: "By their counsel and experience rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible to withdraw our supervision." The following extracts are given from President Wilson's speeches during the War in order to strengthen the case for complete independence: "What we demand is that the world be made safe . . . for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression." "We are glad . . . to fight . . . for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life . . . for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations." "Every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." "Peace should rest upon the rights of people, not the rights of the government,—the rights of people great and small, weak and powerful,—their equal rights to freedom and security and self-government and to participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world." And to the Filipinos President Wilson has said that "the end [of America's connection with the Philippines] is almost in sight," and has uttered the following encouraging words: "I hope and believe that the future holds brighter fortunes for states which have hitherto been the prey of great powers."

Referring to the 'mixture of a representative institution and an irresponsible executive and administration' which prevailed in the Philippines in the early days of the American occupation (and which prevails in India today), the author says: "That type of government has failed wherever it has been established." In Governor Harrison the Philippines have a sincere and devoted friend. He proceeded to make all Executive appointments on the principle laid

down by him in the following speech: "I am a firm believer that an executive should consult the people, through their representatives, as to who shall serve them in office. *This is the vital nerve of self-government* (italics ours). It should never be possible, and it will now never be so here, for an Executive to ride ruthlessly over the people he is sent here to govern, without due regard for their sentiments and due consideration of their wishes." Save and except the 'tenuous connection' of the Governor, who conforms to the type of the English governor of a self-governing colony ruling upon the advice of the local cabinet, the Filipinos today enjoy complete domestic autonomy. The Council of State which really governs the country is composed of eight members, all Filipinos, except the Vice-governor. The legislative is divided into two houses, the Assembly and the Senate, which are composed entirely of Filipinos. The Chief Justice and most of the judges are Filipinos. They try nationals and foreigners alike, the judicial system being quite up-to-date. There are no ex-territorial rights, as in China, or separate Courts for Europeans in criminal cases, as in India. "The first action of the Council of State indicative of a new force in the Philippine Government was the recommendation that thirty million pesos be appropriated for free education. The recommendation was approved by the legislature, and a law was written on the statute book of the Philippines which will give the rudiments of instruction to every child of school age in the Philippines." "Let it be said that at the present day the cry for more schools is resounding in every nook and corner of the Archipelago... This impelling movement for popular education, this yearning of an entire people for intellectual advancement, is evidence of already awakened national consciousness to secure for themselves and their posterity the means of their happiness and prosperity."

Upon the termination of hostilities in Europe, the Philippine Legislature unanimously adopted a resolution from which we extract the following: "The Filipino people believe that Providence in choosing the American people as the leaders in this stupendous and immortal enterprise, has ordained in His high designs, that through the complete development and application to all peoples of the principles which have given birth to the United States, the fruit of victory, gained at the cost of untold sacrifice, shall not have come to naught. That the world be made safe for Democracy; that the rights and liberties of the small nations be forever secured and guaranteed; that the people, desiring to be free, be liberated and allowed to establish, without fear or hindrance, a government of their own choosing, and to change it at will, when so demanded by their best interest; that the weak be not at the mercy of the strong and that the spirit of selfishness and domination be destroyed and that there be established in its

place, among all free men of the world, a new kingdom of constructive and equalitarian justice, based upon foundations that will make it universally secure and permanent. And when all these things shall have been accomplished, the universal belief shall have been confirmed, that the war which has happily ended has been fought in the interest of free humanity and the everlasting peace of the world."

"There have been a few people who believed that a policy of independence would stagnate business, and halt the economic development of the Islands. To them the mere mention of independence would be enough to scare prospective capital away." The same cry has been raised by the European merchants in India, but as English capital is flowing in in ever larger volume in spite of Anglo-Indian croakers, so it has been the case in Republican China, as we find from a recent review in this magazine, and so also is the case in the Philippines, where complete internal autonomy has been established. "...the announced business calamity has failed to materialize. On the contrary, the last five years have been for the Philippines the years of greatest prosperity and highest economic development."

"Another 'platitude' that was given currency in the Philippines was that the economic independence must precede political independence [it is curious to reflect how lovers of despotism all over the world think alike, for this is exactly the argument we have all heard *ad nauseum* in India] and that therefore the people should quit demanding political rights and work for economic independence first. Our experience of the last five years has meant just the opposite; that no people can advance economically unless the political instrumentalities are given them first; that *the greatest instrument of economic progress is political autonomy* (italics ours).... The Filipino people, freed from misgivings as to the political future of their country, have begun in earnest to attend to the economic development of the Islands. A bureau of commerce and industry has been created by the Philippine legislature, to foster commerce. A large amount was also appropriated to finance scholarships abroad, and many deserving young men have thus been enabled to acquire extensive business education abroad. Only a few years ago promising youngmen were urged to study only law or medicine. Today agricultural, industrial and commercial pursuits are no longer despised. The Filipinos are fast learning business organization and management from the Americans. Ten years ago the commercial aspirations of the few who had the audacity to seek financial backing from their countrymen for some enterprise were cooled by the distrust and pessimism of the people. Today the whole country has caught the fever of commercial expansion, and business undertakings are springing up everywhere with Filipino capital

and management." And this statement is supported by very interesting facts and figures, such as the establishment of the Philippine National Bank, almost all the officials of which are Filipinos, and the capital of which is going up by leaps and bounds, the Engineering Companies, the Steamship Companies of which there are five, the cocoanut oil factories, the foreign export and import houses, the tanneries, breweries, cigar and cigarette factories, the nationalisation of railways and roads (which have been opened through the most inaccessible parts of the interior with magnificent bridges), the sugar mills or centrals, the Government-subsidised coal and mineral resources development companies, the bureaux of Labour, Health, Sanitation and the like, for the details of which we refer the reader to this 'thrilling record of an experiment in human brotherhood.'

Local self-government has been extended to every part, even the most remote and backward, of the "35 regular and 12 special provinces, and there are 792 municipalities entirely elected and autonomous. All except three provincial governors, who are the chief executives in the provinces, are Filipinos. Numerous provincial and municipal buildings have been built. "Native Filipino officials," says Governor General Harrison, "are today governing one thousand municipalities and forty-two provinces, economically, efficiently, and for the good of the entire people." "I have found the native Filipino official to be honest, efficient and as capable of administering executive positions as any man I have met anywhere in the world."

There are 10,000,000 Christians (Roman Catholics, being converted by the Spanish conquerors about 1570), and 500,000 non-Christians (Mahomedan Moros and aborigines). The treatment of the non-Christian tribes is an object lesson to us in India who have our fifty millions of people belonging to the depressed communities. After the establishment of complete internal autonomy in 1917, a Bureau of non-Christian tribes was established with "the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between and complete fusion of all the Christian and non-Christian elements populating the provinces of the Archipelago." The aboriginal nomads "are being made to understand that it is the purpose of the government to organise them politically into fixed and permanent communities, aid them to live and work, protect them from involuntary servitude and abuse, educate their children, and show them the advantage of leading a civilised life on a par with their civilised brothers. To assure the success of this work, the organisation and extension of public schools throughout the non-Christian territory has been given special emphasis." As the non-Christian population is far from self-supporting, "millions of pesos have to be taken every year from the pockets of the Christian people for the uplift of

their backward brothers." A great factor in "the problem of final unification and nationalisation of the people of the Philippines" is the provision of a large number of teachers, doctors and nurses for the non-Christians. The combination of schools and dispensaries makes a strong appeal to the non-Christian people. "In this connection it must be said that kind treatment and modern medicine have proved greater civilising factors than bayonets and kraggs." The bandits have disbanded of themselves, and outlaws have ceased to exist. The American commander of the constabulary says: "Force without limit has been used for three hundred years, but apparently with little, if any permanent results." And now, "teachers, doctors and nurses from all over the Islands have carried a message of friendship and love and have established more firmly the national solidarity of Christians and non-Christians than the severest policy of blood and iron would have done." As for the Moros, who are Mahomedans, the schools have brought their standard nearer that of their Christian brothers. Seven out of the ninety members of the lower House and two out of the twenty-four members of the Senate are appointed from among the non-Christians to represent them. The Mahomedan Filipinos sit side by side with the Christian Filipinos in the legislative halls to work out the destinies of their common country. The Mahomedan members are allowed to take the oath of office on the Koran. As a result of all this, religious fanaticism and jealousy among the Mahomedans has declined and Senator Haji Butu, the most prominent Moro leader, says: "We are one in spirit and one in blood." And the Sultan of Sulu has formally renounced his claim to sovereignty over his Mahomedan subjects in favour of the civil government, thus effecting a complete separation of Church and State in the Moro country. The amalgamation of Christian and Mahomedan Filipinos has been further helped by the policy of immigration undertaken by the government by which Christians from the densely peopled islands of the Archipelago are encouraged to settle in the virgin fields of the Moro country.

The author disposes of the so-called Japanese menace by calling it a myth, the climate alone being an insuperable obstacle to Japanese colonisation, and quotes prominent Japanese writers in support of his statement. Then he proceeds to make out a case for complete independence. "The Philippines are asking only for an opportunity for free and unhampered development of their people and natural resources, so that they can in their humble way, contribute to the civilisation and progress of mankind." They possess certain advantages. Their country has no land frontiers which give rise to international complications. They have no institutions of royalty, nobility, or blood distinctions. They have no caste or arbitrary customs. They are

Christians for three hundred years. The University of Manila was established in 1611 being thus twentyfive years older than Harvard, and today over seventy per cent of the population over ten years of age are literate. "In spirit the Philippines are today the most democratic country of the Far East." Above all, the Filipinos differ from the rest of Asia in the status of their women. According to an American writer, she is "a woman unique in the Orient, a woman in whose development there has been neither seclusion, nor oppression, nor servitude." There are over fifty women's clubs. Apolinario Mabini, the greatest political writer the Filipinos have produced, drove home to the people the following creed of democracy: "Thou shalt not recognise in the country the authority of any person who has not been elected by thee and thy countrymen." "The entire Archipelago, through scientific cultivation, the development of its natural resources, the harnessing of its wonderful waterpowers and the development of its commerce, can be converted into a veritable paradise." "Is it any wonder, therefore, that the Filipino people should have such a splendid optimism as regards their country's future? They are convinced that in a modest way they have a manifest destiny to fulfil. This destiny cannot be realised unless they are independent of all foreign control, free to develop their country and their genius in their own way. It must be confessed that the domestic autonomy, which they now enjoy, fails to satisfy them completely. It is simply a privilege conceded them, the United States still continuing to be the absolute arbiter of their destiny. The Filipino people have no voice in their foreign affairs and thus they have to limit their activities to purely local matters and cannot participate in those world enterprises which are, in these days of international intercourse and communication, the greatest factors in the growth and progress of nations..... The American flag still symbolises to them the sovereignty of a foreign people, no matter how lightly or generously exercised that sovereignty may be. The United States Congress can take away any rights or privileges that have been granted to them. Their Bill of Rights can be taken away at any moment..... Nations, like individuals, accomplish more when they encounter difficulties and look ahead to a sublime ideal for their guide. Under a flag of their own, as a member of the concert of free nations confronted by greater problems and even much greater difficulties,—who can foretell what further strides the Filipino people may not make and what greater surprises they may not give the expectant world?"

The reader will not fail to observe in the above passage the triumphant note of a young nation emerging into full manhood, full of confidence and hope, and thoroughly optimistic of its outlook on the world and as to its own

capacity to achieve success in it. It is not afraid to face difficulties, rather it welcomes them, as in the attempt to overcome them it sees the only way to build up the national character. There are still about 700 Americans in the Philippines, mostly teachers, professors and scientists, and Governor Harrison says that they are a class of men who would be desired by the Filipinos even if they had complete independence. Men like speaker Osmena of the House of Representatives and President Quezon of the Senate, would, in the opinion of the same authority, adorn any office. Freedom, as we know, is the best of tonics, and the Filipinos have tasted largely of it in the short space of twentytwo years that have elapsed since the American occupation of 1898. With such leaders as these, the Philippines are bound to forge ahead, and shine as a bright star in the eastern firmament. We hope that in years to come educated Indians will find it profitable to visit the Philippines in large numbers and obtain firsthand information about the progressive methods of government adopted by these interesting people. We have no doubt that they will receive a cordial welcome. As a preparation for such visit, the book and the pamphlet before us may be studied with advantage, and we strongly recommend them to our readers.

POLITICUS.

Religion and Culture.

RELIGION AND CULTURE: by Frederick Schleiter, Ph. D. 12mo, cloth. Pp. x+206. \$2.00 net. Columbia University Press. New York City. 1919.

This is a book on the evolution of religion, not from the philosophical standpoint, but as it can be traced by utilising primitive data as a basis for the interpretation of contemporary cultural phenomena. Magic, spirit worship, emanations, totemism, belief in the virtues of stones, &c., are all discussed, and the author enunciates what is claimed as a new principle, viz., the principle of convergence, which, as far as we have been able to ascertain from our cursory glance through this book, means nothing more than the wellknown fact that all psychical phenomena have evolved from a number of causes, which have converged to produce the result which we see before us, and that no such phenomenon can be said to be the result of a single contributory cause. The author criticises the widespread belief that the idea of God arises late in the history of civilisation and produces evidence to show that the concept of a Supreme Being is found among some of the most primitive peoples.

Since the study of comparative ethics, religion and sociology has come into vogue, India has come to the fore in the literature on such subjects. But it is bracketed there with darkest Australia, Africa, and America before the advent of Europeans, and Veddahs, Gonds,

Bhils and Sonthals are the only people mentioned, as if India contains none but primitive races. The ancient literature of India is ransacked for supporting pet theories on the 'origin' of things, as if Indian literature does not contain any developed ideas and suggestions, but only the primitive germs from which such ideas have developed, of course among the civilised white races of Europe and America. Herbert Spencer maintained correspondents in India to find out facts, from the habits and notions of the aboriginal races of India, in support of his theories. Max Müller explored the ancient literature of India in an analogous spirit, though in a somewhat more reverent vein. For ethnologists, antiquarians, philologists and dilettantis of all sorts on the look out for new theories by which to make a name for themselves, India is a rich treasure-house. It is the land of mystery, and facts in support of any and every kind of proposition can be picked out of the inexhaustible resources it offers. But while there is no want of dogmatists to theorise on the primitive customs and beliefs of Ancient India and of the aborigines of Modern India; the Modern Civilised Indian has few friends among the *savants* of the West, because he is so little interesting, and hardly furnishes any data upon which to build their theories. And yet it is the living man in India, and not the aborigines who dwell in out of the way corners and can hardly be said to be living in any real sense, who, one would suppose, should attract the attention of the intellectual centres of the West. And those who, by their contributions to literature, aim at leaving the world a little better and happier than what they found it, should find ampler material in the condition of the Indian as he is today than as he was in prehistoric times. To this task, therefore, we would invite the *savants* of the West, and India would give them every assistance and welcome.

These observations are not suggested by anything in particular that we have come across in the book before us. The references to India and primitive Indians are not numerous. But our observations are meant for all writers of the type to which the author belongs. He uses learned phraseology throughout the book, but the ideas he conveys do not appear to us to be very profound.

Logos.

Oldest Hindu Drama.

Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft 1; Bruchstuecke Buddhistischer Dramen herausgegeben von Heinrich Lueders. Reimer. Berlin. 1911.

One continental publication of special interest to Indologists which appeared nearly a decade ago has for some unaccountable reason not received that recognition and publicity in India which the inherent merit of the work and the epoch-making importance of its contents demand. We allow ourselves therefore the privilege of inserting here a rather belated notice

of the book which is entitled *Bruchstuecke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Fragments of Buddhist Dramas) by Prof. Heinrich Lueders of the University of Berlin. This work represents the first fascicle of a series of annotated editions of Short Sanskrit Texts included in the important finds of the Prussian Turfan Expeditions. The dramas under reference, which are unfortunately all fragmentary, were found by Dr. von Le Coq in one of the cave temples of Ming Oi by Kysyl, west of Kucha. The largest fragment, which is made up of eight or nine smaller pieces is 34.5 cm. long. Though found in Turfan the manuscripts must have originated in India, as is made evident by the editor of these fragments. Moreover in the light shed by palaeography on their script, Prof. Lueders feels justified in assuming that the manuscripts were written in the time of the Indo-Scythian dynasty of Kushans. Not only are they the oldest Indian manuscripts which we possess, but they contain also fragments of the oldest Hindu dramas preserved. One of the dramas to which these fragments belong was an allegorical play introducing among others, the personified qualities of Buddhi, Dhriti and Kirtti as characters. In another we have the figures of the Buddha, Sariputra, Maudgalyayana, and Kaundinya among the *dramatis personae*. It is evident that they are all Buddhist plays. It is interesting to note that the characteristic figure of the Vidushaka of the Hindu drama is not absent from these plays. This is not the place to enter into the complicated question of the bearing of this find on literary-historical problems, but we may advert here very briefly to the specimens of Middle Indian Dialects (otherwise Prakrits) which are preserved in these dramas. As in the classical Hindu drama we have here the regular alternation of Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects. Here we can again distinguish at least three different dialects—Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ardhamagadhi. But the really important fact in this connection is that the dialects of these dramas represent older stages of the Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ardhamagadhi of the dramas hitherto known. Accordingly Prof. Lueders calls them Old Sauraseni, Old Magadhi, and Old Ardhamagadhi.

The volume contains six plates reproducing photolithographic facsimiles of the palm-leaf fragments as also a transliteration of the texts in Roman characters. The introduction is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Indian Palaeography and Middle Indian dialects. The author of these dramas, as shown by Prof. Lueders in a subsequent publication, was no other than Ashvaghosha, that prodigy of learning who has left his mark on every branch of literature and philosophy which he touched. We earnestly recommend this work for careful study to all students of the Indian drama, epigraphy and linguistics.

! "EPIGRAPHIST."

India at the Death of Akbar :

I. INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR: *An Economic Study*, by W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., late of the Indian Civil Service. Macmillan & Co. Price 12 net.

A lack of sufficient knowledge of the past economic conditions of a country is always a stumbling-block in the way of a proper understanding and appreciation of its existing economic organisation. Every student of Indian Economics knows how much the progress of the study has been retarded by the absence of definite and reliable information about our country's past economic conditions. The time is not yet ripe for writing a full and comprehensive treatise on the economic history of India, like Mr. Cunningham's *History of British Industry and Commerce*, which can give the student all the light he seeks on the subject. Mr. R. C. Dutt's books deal with comparatively recent and wellknown periods of Indian History and they neither cover the entire industrial field nor are their angle of vision exactly what a scientific student might desire. Any book which can establish a claim to be a serious and impartial contribution to the subject deserves a welcome. Mr. Moreland, whose contributions to Indian economic literature are already well-known, has done yeoman's service by bringing out this monograph which throws some light on the economic life of India at a particularly interesting period of her history. Just as the reign of Elizabeth is taken as the beginning of modern England so we may, perhaps with less truth, say that modern India dates from the reign of Akbar. It is with the latter part of this reign that Mr. Moreland's work is mainly concerned, though many of his conclusions are capable of a much wider application. The material for the study is drawn chiefly from the writings of contemporary Mahomedan writers and from such scrappy information as has been left behind by the numerous European travellers who visited the country in the 16th and 17th century. The reliability of such information, from a scientific point of view, is much discounted by the well-known fondness for exaggeration in early writers (both Mahomedan and European) by the lack of proper statistical and analytical methods of study, and by the difficulties of communication which often made the writers depend on hearsay information for descriptions of distant and out of the way places. In the circumstances it is natural to expect that the conclusions reached by the author, though some care has been taken to sift the evidence, should only be provisional, and he would not himself claim for them any degree of finality. Sometimes these conclusions (such as the author's statistics of the foreign trade of India in Akbar's reign) are based on arguments which though ingenious are so far-fetched as to be almost wholly unreliable. But still the value of the study as a general economic record of Akbar's times is beyond dispute.

The ordinary reader will probably rise from the study of the book with a feeling of depression. He will find how little the economic life of India has changed during the last three centuries though she has passed through so many political changes. There has been nothing akin to an industrial revolution such as has made the countries of the West wealthy and prosperous. The general conditions and methods of agriculture remain the same as in Akbar's days; the

only noticeable change has been in the direction of the introduction of a number of new crops which, however, have not materially increased the income of those engaged in agriculture, and they form today, as they did in Akbar's time, the vast majority of the Indian population. The industrial organisation also remains very much the same as in the reign of Akbar with the exception of the decay of certain indigenous industries and the growth of a number of modern factories engaged in machine production. Of the decayed indigenous industries the most important was handloom cotton weaving, which occupied such a prominent position in the national economy of those days that one European traveller states, probably with some exaggeration, that "every one from the Cape of Good Hope to China, man and woman, is clothed from head to foot" in the products of Indian looms. The only considerable advance has been in the growth of foreign commerce which has, according to the author's calculations, increased two-hundred-fold since Akbar's time. But these changes, such as they are, have not substantially improved the condition of the people or raised their standard of life to any appreciable extent. The rise of a middle class has led to a somewhat more equitable distribution of wealth making for greater general well-being and the glaring inequality between the rich and the poor noticed by many of the early travellers has become less marked—that's all. At page 282, the author asks the question whether India [in the 16th century] was rich in the sense of having an adequate income per head of the population, and his survey of the economic conditions of the country leads him to answer the question as follows:—"India was almost certainly not richer than she is now, and probably she was a little poorer. It is true that the country produced commodities which were eagerly sought for by other nations, and that by the sale of these commodities a steady influx of the precious metals was secured, so that people who viewed India from outside, and under the influence of economic theories which are now discarded, might be excused for forming an erroneous judgment of her wealth; but when we escape from the fascination exercised by a spectacular foreign commerce, and concentrate our attention on the resources of the country as a whole, our final verdict must be that, then as now, India was desperately poor. The information which is available suggests to me that the average income of commodities was probably even smaller than now [though money had nearly seven times its present purchasing power in the 16th century]; it does not suffice to afford definite proof that the stream of wealth has increased, but it justifies the conclusion that the deficiency of production which is the outstanding fact at the present day was, at the least, equally prominent at the close of the 16th century" (p. 294). So the only remedy for the existing poverty of the country is to try by every possible means to increase production per head of the population.

We have here space only to give the author's picture of the economic life of the various classes of society at the close of Akbar's reign. With every detail of this picture we may not agree, but very few will doubt the accuracy of the general outlines. The picture brings out the points of contrast between the economic life of the people in those days and now. This is what the author says:—

"The upper classes, small in numbers and consist-

ing largely of foreigners, enjoyed incomes which were very great relatively to reasonable needs, and as a rule they spent those incomes lavishly on objects of luxury and display. They did practically nothing towards promoting the economic development of the country, and such part of their income as was not spent was hoarded in unproductive forms. The single benefit resulting from their activities was indirect: Their patronage of foreign merchants, dictated solely by the desire for novelty, in fact facilitated the opening of new channels of trade, and thus paved the way for economic developments in the future. Enjoying this patronage, the merchants on the coast adopted a somewhat similar style of living, but elsewhere it was dangerous for traders or men of business to indulge in open expenditure, and, like the rest of the middle classes, they lived inconspicuous and probably frugal lives. The great bulk of the population lived on the same economic plane as now; we cannot be sure whether they had a little more or a little less to eat, but they probably had fewer clothes, and they were certainly worse off in regard to household utensils and to some of the minor conveniences and gratifications of life, while they enjoyed practically nothing in the way of communal services and advantages. That is the picture itself: in the background is the shadow of famine, a word which has changed its meaning within the last century. In Akbar's time, and long afterwards, it meant complete, if temporary, economic chaos, marked by features which, repulsive as they are, must not be left out—destruction of homes, sale of children into slavery, hopeless wandering in search of food, and finally starvation, with cannibalism as the only possible alternative. It is against this background that the splendours of Agra or Vijayanagar must be viewed."

The Indian Income Tax.

2. THE INDIAN INCOME TAX: *Its History, Theory, and Practice*, by Shankar Madhav Pagar, M.A., Ph.D. (Columbia), for some time Director of Commerce, Industry and Statistics, Baroda State. Pp. 219. Price Rs. 3-8-0, or 8 shillings.

This very interesting monograph on the Indian Income Tax, for the preparation of which the author is indebted to the suggestion of Prof. Seligman of Columbia University, the great authority on all matters pertaining to taxation, will be hailed with delight by students of Indian Finance. It lifts the veil from at least one corner of the Indian tax system. The Income Tax is one of the few direct imposts levied by civilised governments today and forms a very effective instrument in the hands of modern Finance Ministers faced with sudden deficits or called upon to meet emergency calls. It is a comparatively recent imposition: though in a crude form its existence can be traced to an earlier period, it is really a product of the 19th century. When first adopted it was everywhere regarded as an emergency tax, but the necessities of modern governments have turned it into a normal measure for raising revenues. In India, the Income Tax was first introduced in 1860 to meet the deficit caused by the Mutiny; but owing to the difficulties of collection and the poor yield, it was abolished in 1865. It was re-imposed in 1869 and given up four years later. The present Income Tax, the third of its kind in India, dates from 1886 and the rules and regulations on the subject have been consolidated and simplified by the

Act of 1918, which also raised the taxable minimum from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000.

A study of the Income Tax figures brings out, more clearly than anything else, the exceeding poverty of the Indian people. The total number of persons liable to the payment of the tax in British India was, in 1913-14 (when the taxable minimum was Rs. 1000), only 331,000 out of a population of more than 250 millions; and of this number people with incomes below Rs. 2000 a year formed 65 p.c. or about two-thirds of the total. This means that in the whole of British India there are only slightly over 100,000 persons whose income ranges over Rs. 2000 a year! In 1913-14, the total gross yield of the tax was less than three crores of rupees and the incidence per head of the population about 2 annas.

The Income Tax is primarily a tax on the incomes of labour and capital; so there is a *priori* ground for the exemption of all incomes derived from agricultural land from the burden of the tax, since these already pay the land revenue and to tax them again would be double taxation. The Income Tax Acts of 1860 and 1869 did not, however, show any special consideration to agricultural incomes, and, in the opinion of the author, "in the permanently settled provinces as Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, where the landlord continues to pay from year to year the same amount of land revenue to the State, it is unjust and inequitable to exempt the agricultural profits, whether due to improvements made by the landlord or the tenant which are not assessed to the land revenue from the payment of the tax." Especially is such exemption unfair in case of the incomes of those tenure-holders in permanently settled tracts who hold land from the zemindars and do not pay anything direct to the State except probably a trifle in the shape of local cesses. It can be easily proved that "the distinction drawn by the Government between incomes derived from agriculture and those derived from other sources is untenable in practice as well as in theory." There are other industries, such as the tea, coffee, and rubber plantations, whose incomes are not assessed to the Income Tax on the plea that they are agricultural industries and as such not liable to the tax, though there is no reasonable grounds for such assumption. Companies registered in England whose incomes are partly or wholly derived in India—and they are among the most prosperous enterprises in the country—and shipping Companies doing business in India, are similarly exempted from the payment of the Indian Income Tax because they are liable to be assessed to the Income Tax in England. Pensions and furlough allowances of Government officials drawn outside the country, though paid out of the Indian Exchequer, escape taxation for the same reason. Thus the country is unfairly deprived of a large amount of revenue year after year. There is no reason why incomes made in India or derived mainly from Indian sources should not be liable to the Indian Income Tax. A poor country like India should not be made to suffer unnecessary losses for the benefit of a rich country like England. It is some consolation to note that in the last Income Tax Act an attempt has been made to remedy some of these evils by bringing tea plantations, indigo factories, and shipping Companies partly under the operations of the Act.

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, by M. R. Bhide, M. A. Paper cover, pp. 66. Price Re. 1.4. Published by N. B. & Co. 368 Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.

In the 'Foreword' the author says: "Of course in the writing of the following pages the university text 'Dicey's Law of the Constitution' the only authoritative book on the subject has been freely used." The book, in fact, is not a new synthesis of the existing treatises on the British Constitutional law but a mere "students' guide" or summary of Dicey's "Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution." It closely follows in language, and in arrangement Dicey's book on the topic and may be of some help to students preparing for university examinations with constitutional law as one of their subjects.

Printing in India leaves much to be desired when compared with printing in England and it should be the object of all authors and publishers to see that whatever they publish is strictly accurate in typography and in substance. In this book I find that the author in his attempt to condense the matter has in many places rendered the meaning obscure and the style faulty. For example see the sentence at page 9, line 21, beginning with "The supposition" and also the sentence at page 17 top, ending with "which ostensibly carried, etc.," as also the sentence in the same page, line 26, beginning with "In Belgium..... constitutions."

I would not have mentioned these shortcomings if the book was not meant for students preparing for university examinations.

B. CHATTERJI.

THE EIGHT HEROINES

REFINEMENT in the elegant arts of love is among the most striking features of Indian art and literature. The polished courtier in the age of Augustus conning by heart the precepts of the *Ars Amoris* of Ovid and making advances to some lady of aristocratic birth; the gifted troubadour of the Middle Ages fascinating the hearts of damsels in his happy wanderings; the French beau with his dainty pieces of *vers de societe* full of pretty compliments to his mistress or the Italian gallant reciting his carefully prepared serenade in the cold night to his mistress in the upper window—none of these can compare with the exponents of the same lyric feeling in India, more comprehensive in their treatment and more profound in their depth. One sees it not only in the epics of dim antiquity and the literary masterpieces of the classical period, but also in the lyric literature of the middle ages, especially in the work of the Vaishnava poets of Bengal, in the songs of Jayadeva, Vidyapati and Chandidas, who have besides managed to invest their work with spiritual associations. It is again a perennial source of inspiration in Indian painting even, from which alone it is possible to evolve a knowledge of the ways in which the Indian has sought to sound the depths and explore the vast expanse of Love.

A book of Love compiled by the student based on all the available Indian sources will assume almost encyclopaedic proportions, for here not only is it that "love took up the harp of life and smote on all the chords with might", but it has also studied every possible variation of the music on each of them. The moods of love and its almost infinite manifestations have formed the subject of elaborate study; so also the different situations of the lovers in the entire course of its sway. It was probably inevitable that even when such an ethereal feeling and the persons subjected to its influence, were sought to be analysed and classified into groups, there should have been a large element of artificiality and mere convention, the distinctions being sometimes only good as distinctions, even as Butler suggested of the rhetorician's rules that they taught nothing but 'naming his tools'. But as furnishing the background for almost all the art and literature of love in India, they are full of interest and deserve to be studied.

An attempt is made here to examine one of the numerous departments of the illimitable subject, the characterisation by Hindu writers of eight types of heroines, in accordance with the moods or relations in which they stand towards their lovers. The most romantic of them is the *Abhisari*.

kā described by Dhanañjaya in the *Dasarūpa* as "one who, love-sick, goes to her lover or makes him come to her," a constant theme of Indian love-poetry. Some of the finest descriptions of the *Abhisārikā* are in the songs of Vidyāpati, devoted to an exquisite idealisation of Rādhā's amorous dalliance with Krishna.

The *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva has a number of similar pictures of Radha seeking the bowers on the Jumna bank, unmindful, for the time-being, of any other concerns in life. Without any idea of conforming to this traditional classification, Rabindranath Tagore has also described the *Abhisarika* in the *Gardener* :

"When I go alone at night to my love tryst, birds do not sing, the wind does not stir, the houses on both sides of the street stand silent. It is my own anklets that grow loud at every step and I am ashamed,"³

or again with a touch of mysticism,

"I run as a musk-deer runs in the shadow of the forest mad with his own perfume. The night is the night of Mid-May, the breeze is the breeze of the South. I lose my way and wander, I seek what I cannot get, I get what I do not seek."

The idea that the *Abhisarika* is not deterred by any obstacles is carried to such grotesque lengths that in a Kangra painting devoted to the subject, serpents are represented as curling round the heroine's feet and two ghastly spirits in a tree-trunk smile their ugly smile on her, but still she proceeds to her place of tryst.⁴

Readers of English poetry will have no difficulty in re-calling Margaret of Branksome in Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, as a clever and daring *Abhisarika* in going to meet Lord Henry of Cranstoun, the bitter enemy of her family :

Why does fair Margaret so early wake
And don her kirtle so hastie;
And the silken knots, which in hurry

she would make,
Why tremble her slender fingers to tie;
Why does she stop and look often around,
As she glides down the secret stair;
And why does she pat the shaggy

blood-hound,
As she rouses him up from his lair;
And though she passes the postern alone,
Why is not the watchman's bugle blown?
The Ladye steps in doubt and dread,

Lest her watchful mother hear her tread;
The Ladye caresses the rough blood-hound,
Lest his voice should waken the castle round.
The watchman's bugle is not blown,
For he was her foster-father's son,
And she glides through the greenwood at

dawn of light
To meet Baron Henry her own true knight.

The *Svādhinapatikā* is "one whose lover sits by her side and is at her service and takes pleasure in it."⁵ It is hardly necessary to say that this type of happy lover is not intended to represent a hen-pecked husband, but one who has found his realisation in love and glories in it. The essence of this idea is found described curiously enough, in one of the poems of Thomas Hood :

Love, see thy lover humbled at thy feet,
Not in servility, but homage sweet,
Gladly inclined :—and with my bended knee
Think that my inward spirit bows to thee—
More proud indeed than when I stand or climb

Elsewhere :—there is no statue so sublime,
As Love's in all the world, and e'en to kiss
The pedestal is still a better bliss
Than all ambitions. O! love's lowest base
Is far above the reaching of disgrace
To share this posture. Let me then draw

Feet that have fared so nearly to the sky,
And when this duteous homage has been given

I will rise up and clasp the heart in Heaven.

It is usual to represent the *Svādhinapatikā*'s husband as busy in personal attendance on her. *Sakuntala* is a *Svādhinapatikā* when Dushyanta asks her :

Shall I employ the moistened lotus-leaf
To fan away your weariness and grief?
Or take your lily-feet upon my knee
And rub them till you rest more easily?⁶

The lover, in fact, is her bounden thrall and could exclaim with Herrick :

A heart as soft, a heart as kind,
A heart as sound and free
As in the whole world thou canst find,
That heart I'll give to thee.
Bid that heart stay and it will stay
To honour thy decree;
Or bid it languish quite away,
And 't shall do so for thee.

Bid me despair and I'll despair
Under that cypress-tree;
Or bid me die and I will dare
E'en death to die for thee.

Thou art my life, my love, my heart,
The very eyes of me,
And hast command of every part
To live and die for thee.⁹

The *Vasakasajji* "is one who adorns herself for joy when her lover is about to come" and readers of English poetry will be reminded at once of the well-known lines in *In Memoriam* :

O somewhere, meek unconscious dove,
That sittest ranging golden hair;
And glad to find thyself so fair,
Poor child, that waitest for thy love!
For now her father's chimney glows
In expectation of a guest;
And thinking 'this will please him best',
She takes a riband or a rose;
For he will see them on to-night;
And with the thought her colour burns;
And, having left the glass, she turns
Once more to set a ringlet right.¹⁰

The Indian poet or painter is usually more frank in his description.

Radha in the sixth canto of the *Gita Govinda* awaiting Krishna in the bowers on the Jumna-bank, is a typical example. She looks for him in all directions; attempts in vain to walk a few steps to find him out and surveys every moment her own personal adornments with pride. There is a touch of the same circumstance in another stanza of the lyric of Tagore's, quoted from already :

"When I sit on my balcony and listen for his footsteps, leaves do not rustle on the trees, and the water is still in the river, like the sword on the knees of a sentry fallen asleep. It is my own heart that beats wildly—I do not know how to quiet it."¹¹

The *Virahotkanthitā*, *Utkanthitā*, or *Utkā* "is one that is distressed at her lover's absence, is one who is disturbed when he tarries without being at fault." The most elaborate attention has been paid by Hindu writers to this type of heroine, her distress at the lover's absence, bulking very largely in the court-epic, the drama and the lyric-cycle. She is tormented by the season of *Vasanta* (spring) in which, as the English poet would put it, youth's "fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love," and also by the moon who raises sweet recollections and knowledge of unfulfilled desires. The usual convention is to represent her ladies in waiting as

vainly attempting to refresh her by such cooling remedies as applying the sandal-paste, wrapping her in a bed of lotus leaves and flowers, and fanning her all the hours of day and night, she herself praying to the god of love to withdraw his cruel attentions. A very familiar example of a heroine in such distress is the Yaksha's wife in the concluding passages of the *Meghaduta* :

Lone as the widowed *chacravāci* mourns,
Her faithful memory to her husband turns,
And sad and silent shalt thou find my wife
Half of my soul and partner of my life,
Nipped by chill sorrow, as the flowers enfold
Their shrinking petals from the withering

I view her now! Long weeping swells her cold.

And those dear lips are dried by parching eyes,

Sad on her hand her pallid cheek reclines,
And half unseen through veiling tresses shines;

* * * * *
Now from her favourite bird she seeks relief
And tells the tuneful *sarika* her grief,
Mourns o'er the feather'd prisoner's kindred fate,
And fondly questions of its absent mate.¹²

The *Khanditā* is a heroine peculiar to Indian love-poetry. She is "one that is enraged, is one who is filled with jealousy on discovering the unfaithfulness of her lover." The subject was not quite unknown to Europe in some of its love-songs in the Middle Ages.

A tribute is paid to the forgiving nature of womanhood in the very conception of the *Kalahāntarītā*, for she is "one that is separated from her lover by a quarrel" but "suffers remorse after she has repulsed him in indignation." Walter Savage Landor's *Maid's Lament* would also be an instance in point but for the fact that the feeling of remorse comes only after the lover's death :

I love'd him not; and yet, now he is gone,
I feel I am alone.
I checked him while he spoke; yet could he speak,

Alas! I would not check.
For reasons not to love him once I sought
And wearied all my thought
To vex myself and him; I now would give
My love, could he but live

I. THE STATES BEFORE INTERNATIONAL LAW.

Recognition, as such, by International Law presupposes the following qualifications :—

- (a) A definite territory.
- (b) Independence.
- (c) Sovereignty.

Taking these in order and applying them as tests to our States, we find that all of them satisfy the first condition. Everyone of the States has a territory, however small. The Pope, in fact, is the only example in the world of a power having diplomatic relations with other powers without any territory of its own.

Applying the second test, we know of course that none of them is independent. Some would call them semi-independent but, as Maine says, 'independence is indivisible.'

Dependence, again, is external or internal. That the States are externally dependent is clear from the fact that their foreign relations even with one another are entirely controlled by the British Government. They are also internally dependent, in the sense that they cannot do what they choose in the matter of internal administration. There are some like Maihar in Central India which possess little more than first class magisterial powers; there are others like Cochin which have to submit all new legislation to the British Government for approval and which cannot appoint even a new Diwan without such approval. The case of States like Hyderabad and Baroda seems to be an exception but we must remember what Holderness says in his 'Peoples and Problems of India' :

"Subordinate union implies restraint. The British political officer or Resident has to be kept informed of the affairs of the State, and has to advise the chief in a more or less authoritative manner."

Thus in all the States, big and small, explicitly or implicitly, the British Government reserves to itself the right to interfere when it thinks this step desirable, all treaties notwithstanding.

Coming now to the last test, it should be noted that sovereignty implies the following six attributes :—

- (i) The power to decide questions of war and peace.
- (ii) The power to mint coins.
- (iii) The power to make laws.
- (iv) The power to levy taxes and to spend the money so raised.
- (v) The power to be the final court of appeal in all disputed questions arising within its territory.
- (vi) The power to alter the constitution, if necessary.

Of these, we find that (i) and (vi) are not to be found in any State. It is true some States have inaugurated Representative or Legislative Assemblies, but these are merely consultative bodies and leave the power of the Prince as autocratic as ever. It is inconceivable, for instance, that the British Government will allow the establishment of a Republic in any State, the establishment of anything like constitutional monarchy seems to be beyond the range of possibility.

A few States like Hyderabad and Udaypur have mints of their own, while most of the bigger States, namely those which have the power to administer capital punishment, are also final courts of appeal in both civil and criminal cases, inter-state questions being left to the Imperial Government to decide.

The remaining two factors of sovereignty, viz., the power to raise and spend money and the power to make laws, are possessed, with reservations, by all the States. In connection with legislation it has to be remembered that although the States are technically beyond British jurisdiction, they cannot make laws which violate the principles of British law. No State, for instance, can make a law legalising infanticide or suttee.

Putting all these facts together it is clear that there is not one State which possesses all the features of a State as recognised by International Law. In fact the only State attribute that can safely be asserted for all of them is the possession of a definite territory. They have been authoritatively put beyond the pale of International Law. A Government Notification dated the 21st August, 1891, says :

"The principles of international law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen Empress on the one hand, and the native States under the suzerainty of Her Majesty on the other. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter."

The term 'State' then as applied to these units is now merely a title of courtesy, reminiscent of the past, and used in absence of another and more expressive epithet. It is indicative not of their present but of their past political status.

An interesting question that arises out of the notification above quoted is, what is the exact nature of the relation between the British Government and these States? If it is not international, it must be constitutional. Now constitutional relation can be either official or feudal.

If it is official, the States must be taken to be exercising powers not inherent in them but delegated to them by the Imperial Government. They (or their Rulers) will be accountable to that Government for all their actions and liable to be divested of their powers at its will. This clearly goes against historical facts: the States, at least many of them, were not created by the British Government

and their powers have been on various occasions admitted by that Government itself to be inherent in them. They are not removable at its will and they have documentary safeguards for their continued existence.

Again, the relation above discussed cannot be entirely feudal, though there are striking resemblances between the two. The States could be supposed to be on a feudal tenure if they had been created by the Imperial Government and their fiefs were alienable by it. This condition does not hold good. Again, feudatories cannot mint coins and cannot be called allies as some of these States are called. As the Privy Council once observed: "The least independent of such States is for some important purposes a foreign State."

Thus the position of the States is neither international nor constitutional for it satisfies none of the tests which either designation would imply. To obviate this difficulty, some writers have invented a new term 'Semi-international' to cover this peculiar political relationship. In the absence of any other term I suppose we shall have to be satisfied with this.

A STUDENT OF POLITICS.

THE CRESCOGRAPH

A MINUTE seedling in course of years attains a mighty structure. In growing it executes movements in space. But the rate of this movement is so extremely slow that at no time could we perceive it growing. The pace of a snail is proverbially slow, but compared with the rate of growth-elongation of plants it is 2,000 times faster. For investigations on the phenomenon of growth-elongation, we must, therefore, have some magnifying device to bring these minute movements to the level of our perception. This could be attained in two different ways: The one

is to magnify our *vision*, and the other, to magnify the *movement itself*. A microscope does the former, and the maximum linear enlargement we can obtain therewith is about 1500 times. But a high power microscope can be used with advantage only for investigation of *objects themselves very minute*. This, along with other structural limitations, which necessitate intense illumination, renders the use of the microscope impracticable for the measurement of the growth-elongation of ordinary plants. For this we must use the other method, that of magnifying the

movement itself, and Sir J. C. Bose's "Crescograph" does this in a well-nigh incredible degree.

The apparatus hitherto used by plant-physiologists—the auxanometer—for recording growth-elongation has a magnification of about 20 times. With this magnification hours must elapse before growth becomes perceptible. During this long period the external conditions can hardly remain constant, as such, observations are vitiated in an unknown manner. Further, even if constant external conditions are assured we would fail to determine the actual rate of growth, and the course of its variation. For an auxanometer with its magnification of 20 times can but indicate the resultant elongation of an hour at the least. But the time a growing plant tissue takes to perceive and respond to a stimulus, and recover therefrom is in seconds and minutes. Thus during an hour a plant may go through several, autonomous or induced, cyclic variations, the nature and extent of which would remain undetected under such low magnification. But a higher magnifying device of say 2000 times instead of 20 of the auxanometers, would enable us to detect such minute movements as that of growth-elongation during one minute, and it would thus shorten the necessary period of observations from hours to minutes. Again, the higher the magnification the nearer would our data approximate the mathematical ideal,—that of determining the *rate of growth at any instant* as also its variations under changed conditions.

In 1906 Professor Bose first devised his Optical Lever*, with which he obtained a magnification of 1000 times. The movement, magnified by a reflected beam of light from a small mirror, could be automatically recorded on a photographic plate. From 20 to 1000 is a satisfying achievement, but it is one of the inevitable failings of a creative genius, that no sooner he reaches his objective his urge is towards yet greater ventures. So he must have a still higher magnification, and if possible,

make the plant itself directly record this magnified growth-elongation. With long years' experiments and experiences, he perfected his Recording Crescograph in 1906, by which not only could growth-movements be magnified 10,000 times, but automatically recorded by the plant itself, and what is more, the record itself giving its own time-relations. This he submitted to the Publication Committee of the Royal Society, which after 2 years' closest scrutiny published in 1918 a detailed account of this apparatus and his findings therewith.

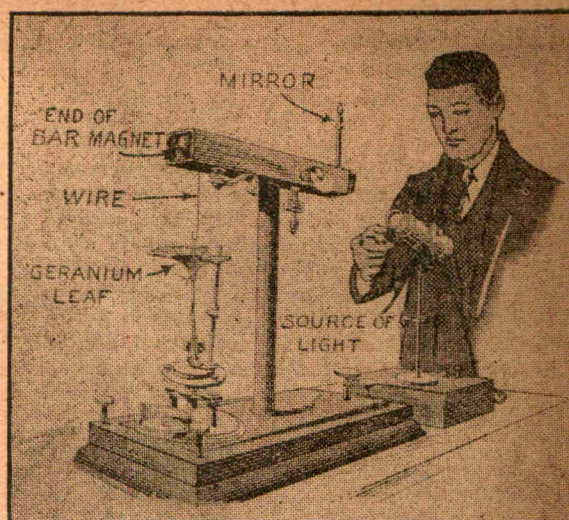
The magnifying principle of the apparatus is as simple as its execution difficult. This enormous magnification is obtained by a compound system of two levers, of which the first magnifies a hundredfold, and the second enlarges the first one a hundred times, the total magnification being $100 \times 100 = 10,000$ times. Thus if the short arm of the first lever be 2 mm., and its long arm 200 mm., then any movement of the short arm will be seen magnified 100 times by the long arm, and this, if instead of being free, be attached to the short arm of a second lever of similar proportions, then any movement of the short arm of the first lever will be seen magnified 10,000 times by the long arm of the second lever. And it is to the short arm of the first lever that growing plant tissues are attached, while the free end of the second lever, bent at right angles, is made to record the magnified growth-elongation of the tissue. By means of a clock-work a smoked glass plate is made to touch gently the tip of the recording lever and then quickly recede taking a dot. This operation is repeated at regular predetermined intervals of time, say 5 seconds. In the interval between two successive dots, the recording lever would move through a distance which would be 10,000 times the growth-elongation of tissue during 5 seconds. When the rate of growth remains unchanged the distance between the consecutive dots at intervals of 5 seconds, would be the same; any variation in the rate of growth, however brought on, will be indicated by the changed distance be-

* Bose—"Plant Response"—1906.

tween consecutive dots. Thus the dotted curve of growth-elongation is also its time marker. Details of the apparatus and results of investigations therewith will be found in the Transactions of the Bose Research Institute (Vol. I, Part II).

One would think that a magnifying device of 10,000 times would satisfy the highest ambition, but one had not to wait long before Sir J. C. Bose began to consider 100,000 to be 'a good round number'; and soon he was determined to get a magnifying device of one hundred thousand times. The obvious procedure was to increase the number of levers from two to three. He, however, soon found out that though theoretically possible, a limit to magnification, by increasing the number of levers, is imposed owing to the additional weight of the lever, friction at the bearings, yield of the levers, and loss at their linkings, all of which are proportionally magnified. He had, therefore, to think of a *detached yet compoundable device*. This he obtained by making the movement of the Crescographic lever upset a delicately poised magnetic system placed in front of it. A beam of light reflected from the small mirror attached to the magnetic system served as an indicator. The possibilities of this combination of mechanical, magnetic, and optical devices were so immense that he made up his mind to obtain the yet 'rounder number' of one million times magnification. That perfected, he gaily remarked, "It would be a shame if we cannot secure a magnification of ten million times!" A Magnetic Crescograph, with a magnifying power from one to ten millions is seen in the figure at the top of the next column.

Sir J. C. Bose first demonstrated his Magnetic Crescograph here at the Bose Research Institute in February 1919. Since last December he has been demonstrating it before various scientific Societies and Universities of Great Britain, with unflinching success and unanimous appreciation. It was after his Discourse before the Royal Society of Medicine that Dr. A. D. Waller, in moving a vote of thanks,



Crescograph.

relieved us of the monotony with his "damp fiddle string." Despite Sir J. C. Bose's most convincing reply with experimental verification in meeting all the objections raised by Dr. Waller the following letter appeared in the *Times* (London). Dr. Waller wrote:—

My attention has been called to the account of a lecture by Sir J. C. Bose at the Royal Society of Medicine published in the *Times* of March 12. The "close" of the lecture consisted in a "Demonstration of the growth of a plant by the magnetic crescograph." I was present at that lecture and this is what I saw. A spot of light serving as indicator to apparatus at a magnification stated to be ten million, moved to the right at a rate of about a metre per second—i. e., about 1-10th of actual plant elongation. This movement of the spot might have been due to many causes, possibly to growth, more probably to gradual extension or to slight variation of temperature, fallacies only too familiar to us in the laboratory with ordinary magnifying powers of, say, 500. The dubious character of the demonstration was borne out at its close, when alternating currents were passed through the plant in order to show arrest of its growth. But in point of fact, as soon as the buzz of the induction coil was heard the spot of light instead of stopping still flew off to the left—i. e., in the direction of what might be called "degrowth."

In moving a vote of thanks to Sir J. C. Bose for his great service to science in the foundation of the Bose Research Institute and for the pains he had taken to bring this demonstration of plant growth before us, I felt obliged

to allude to its possible sources of fallacy and to point out that it might have been as effectively made with a *damp fiddle string* as with a *living plant*.

I must apologize for asking to take up space in your columns for such an apparently trivial matter. Importance has, however, been given to it by the *Times* itself in reports of lectures by Sir J. C. Bose at the India Office as well as at the Royal Society of Medicine. May I say in conclusion that in welcoming the co-operation of a distinguished student of nature from the Indian portion of the Empire I consider that it would be a false compliment not to admit him to the freedom of scientific criticism? Sir J. C. Bose has founded an institute to which he invites students of all creeds and the least we can do is to return the invitation, and to afford him every possible facility in our laboratories of giving proofs of his discoveries. (*Italics are mine*).

Having already answered at the Royal Society of Medicine all the points raised by Dr. Waller, Sir J. C. Bose had to ignore the letter, and it was Professor Bickerton, who seconded the vote of thanks, who wrote to the *Times* the following letter in reply :

As the seconder of the vote of thanks to Sir J. C. Bose at the Royal Society of Medicine, for his lecture, may I say a few words regarding the letter that appeared in your issue of the 18th from Dr. Waller, the mover of the vote of thanks? Dr. Waller may naturally have some misgivings of disturbing factors vitiating the results when magnification such as is obtainable by the magnetic crescograph is employed. Within the last few months Sir J. C. Bose's private laboratory at Bloomsbury-square has been visited by a number of leading scientific men. The same courtesy was extended to me, and I had an opportunity yesterday of witnessing the growth movements of plants as indicated by the magnetic crescograph. Two specimens of plants were successively attached to the apparatus. The first was a dead specimen, and therefore had no growth, and the recording spot of light exhibited no movement, showing that all disturbing factors had been effectively eliminated. A piece of growing plant then replaced the dead one. Bose explained that cutting the plant for the purpose of mounting in the apparatus had given it a shock, and it would take a few minutes before it recovered from it. The light spot showed by its movement that the piece of plant had commenced growing, at first in spasms, but after a while the movement became steady, and gradually increased in speed. The index had been adjusted to move one million times as fast as the actual growth. The plant was next dosed with a minute quantity of ether, and this caused a great stimulation in

the speed of growth. In order to prove that irritation checks growth, the same specimen of plant was subjected to a pinch. This slowed down the speed of growth for a time, after which the normal rate was restored. Severe pinches brought the growth movement to a stop, but after a quarter of an hour growth became slowly renewed.

Bose has also invented a high magnification crescograph, in which growth magnified 10,000 times becomes automatically recorded. The paper describing the apparatus and the new results obtained by its use has been published by the Royal Society (*Proc. Roy. Soc., B., Vol: 90; 1918*). A complete account is given there of the methods adopted to eliminate sources of external disturbance. The magnetic crescograph recently exhibited has the special advantage that the results can be witnessed by a very large audience.

At the conclusion of the lecture the chairman, Sir H. Rolleston, spoke of the high appreciation in which Sir J. C. Bose's work is held among scientific men as specially evidenced by his recent nomination to the Fellowship of the Royal Society.

In connection with this controversy some of the Indian papers have recalled an unpleasant past incident. The *Pioneer* writes :

"Some eighteen years ago Professor Waller, who is a Director of the Physiological Laboratory at the University of London, writing to the well-known scientific journal '*Nature*' flatly contradicted certain statements made by Professor Bose, and alleged that the latter has put forward claims to priority of research, which he was not entitled to make. This allegation was promptly and emphatically denied by Professor Bose and the matter apparently went no further."

To be precise, the matter did go a little further, and an authoritative decision, regarding the claim of priority of Professor Bose, was given by a very distinguished group of scientists of the Linnean Society by publishing the following note along with his paper on "Electric Response in Ordinary Plants under Mechanical Stimulus" :—

"The present paper on electric response in Plants was undertaken to supply an important link between the responses observed in animal tissues and in inorganic substances. A short preliminary account of results obtained with plants was given in my paper 'On the Response of Inorganic Substances' communicated to the Royal Society on the 7th May, read June 6th, 1901, also in my Friday Evening Discourse, 'On

the Response of Inorganic Matter to Stimulus' at the Royal Institution on May 10th, 1901.

"I am glad to find that Dr. Waller has subsequently been able to confirm the results which he heard me describe on the occasion referred to above. (Waller, 'Electric Response of Vegetable Protoplasm to Mechanical Excitation', Nov. 9, 1901, Proc. Physiological Society)."

—Journal, Linnean Society—Botany—
Vol. xxxv—1902.

The tables were thus turned on Dr. Waller. The charge of plagiarism against him could not have been stated with greater dignity and self-restraint. In view of the above, one cannot be sure that Dr. Waller's criticism of the Crescograph is free from serious "emotive" complications, though we do appreciate his concern in securing for Sir J. C. Bose a true compliment even "on such an apparently trivial matter," and this after such minor recognition as the Fellowship of the Royal Society. But our misgivings gain support from his remark on "degrowth", whatever that may mean. That "the spot of light instead of stopping still flew off to the left" after the passage of a strong induction current does not impart a dubious character to the demonstration. On the contrary, it proves the irritability of a growing tissue, which undergoes *actual contraction* when the intensity of stimulus exceeds a certain value (Bose, Proc. Roy. Soc. B. Vol. 90, 1919). Surely Dr. Waller must be aware that growth elongation is not immediately permanent, nor is it irreversible, and that the after-effect of a stimulus on a growing organism may persist for a long time,—in the case of man it may exceed 18 years, of which he himself is an example.

However, to continue. The controversy did not end there. Professor Bayliss wrote the following letter to the *Times* :—

In view of the interest aroused by the ingenious and beautiful "crescograph", as arranged for the investigation of extremely minute changes in length of growing plant structures, it seems of great importance that a demonstration should be given to show that what is recorded is in truth a physiological change and is not due to the effects of heat or other physical phenomena. Although it is generally agreed that an extraordinarily sensitive instrument has been devised, few physiologists are prepared to agree with Professor

Bickerton that all the controls necessary have been shown to us.

Everyone will realize the difficulty involved in setting up so delicate an apparatus in a strange laboratory; but, in view of the adverse criticism that has been made, I would venture to suggest to Professor Bose that he should consent to test in a laboratory where the necessary means are more conveniently at hand than in his own house, a few experiments on non-living structures, such as those referred to by Professor Waller. Perhaps Professor Bose would give the names of a few gentlemen to whom he would wish to make this demonstration. There are several laboratories, including that from which I write, which would be prepared to give him the necessary facilities. I may point out that, even if similar phenomena were shown by non-living structures, the fact in itself would not disprove the possibility of recording by his method the real physiological phenomena of growth and its inhibition. He may rest assured that physiologists would be only too delighted to be satisfied that such has actually been shown to be the case. (*Italics mine*).

It was in response to this that Sir J. C. Bose gave a demonstration of his Magnetic Crescograph in the physiological Laboratory of the University College, London. As a result of this demonstration the following letters appeared in the *Times* :—

"Sir J. C. Bose kindly agreed to demonstrate to us his "crescograph" on Friday afternoon the 23rd April, in the physiological laboratory of University College, London.

In accordance with the results given by the application of various tests, we are satisfied that the growth of plant tissues is correctly recorded by this instrument and at a magnification of from one to 10 million times. We saw in particular that a flower-bud in active growth, if treated by immersion in a solution of potassium cyanide for some hours, no longer gave a movement of the recording spot of light. We conclude that such movement when shown by a similar bud in the active state is not due to accidental stretching or to undetected effects of currents of air, radiant heat, etc. We agree that the instrument correctly records changes of length in the growing tissue, or, indeed, of any substance attached to the lever of the instrument, however such changes may be produced. Naturally, under the conditions of the experiments, it was impossible for us to analyse completely the complex effects produced by the passage of an electrical current).

Signed :

W. M. Bayliss (Professor of General Physiology in University College, London).

V. H. Blackman (Professor of Plant Physiology in the Imperial College of Science).

A. J. Clark (Professor of Pharmacology in University College, London).

W. C. Clinton (Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering in University College, London).

F. G. Donnan (Professor of General Chemistry in University College, London).

Rayleigh (Professor of Physics in the Imperial College of Science).

Sir,—Although we were unfortunately prevented from being present at the demonstrations on the 23rd April we have seen elsewhere similar demonstrations by Sir J. C. Bose, and agree that the growth of plant tissues is recorded by the crescograph and that changes in the indications of the instrument record when the plant is treated in such a way that its growth would naturally be modified.

Signed :

W. H. Bragg (Professor of Physics in University College, London).

F. W. Oliver (Professor of Botany in University College, London).

In acknowledgment of the above letters Sir J. C. Bose addressed the following letter to the *Times* :—

"Sir, Permit me to express my thanks for your appreciation of my work and the gratification that your accounts of my lectures with experimental illustrations given before the India Office and the Royal Society of Medicine, though criticised by Dr. Waller's letter of the 15th March, have been corroborated by my demonstration at the Physiological Laboratory of the University College, London. For this facility and for his unfailing courtesy and fairness I offer my thanks to Professor Bayliss.

With reference to Dr. Waller's criticism I may mention that my paper on "Researches in Growth and Movement in Plants by Means of the High Magnification Crescograph" was accepted by the Committee of Publication of the Royal Society, and published last year (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*, Vol. 90, 1919). It is right that any new advance which clashes with old theories and preconceived ideas should be subjected to searching inquiry, and in this case the acceptance of my paper came as the result of two years of the closest scrutiny.

Criticisms which transgress the limit of fairness must inevitably hinder the advance of knowledge. My special investigations have by their very nature presented extraordinary difficulties. I regret to say that during a period of nearly 20 years these difficulties have been greatly aggravated by misrepresentations and worse. And you will in this connection permit me to express my gratitude to Professor S. H. Vines, Professor F. W. Oliver, Sir Francis Darwin, and to the memory of the late Lord Rayleigh and Professor Howes, all of whom stood year after year for the principle of fair play, so that my work might be judged on its merits, and the conclusion of the whole matter is

happily seen in my nomination to the Fellowship of the Royal Society.

The obstacles deliberately placed in my path to which I have referred, I can now ignore and forget. If the result of my work by upsetting any particular theory, has roused the hostility here and there of an individual, I can the more take comfort in the warm welcome which has been extended to me by the great body of scientific men of this country."

Leaving Dr. Waller with his "fiddle string" to adapt himself to the change of tune it must now have, we may note that hardly had the work of an investigator been ever put to such severe tests; its vindication must, therefore, be all the more glorious. But to take this as a mere personal or a national achievement would be to miss the spirit which has inspired the investigator. To perfect an instrument which would accurately magnify a movement ten million times is a great asset of positive science. As regards the practical utility of the apparatus, the great help it would render in solving one of the main problems of the age, that of food supply, is obvious. Already investigations on practical agriculture, with the help of the Crescograph, are in progress. But we must remember that 'practical utility' has never been the objective of pure scientific knowledge, neither could a scientific research laboratory be conducted on the lines of a modern business house. In this connection Sir Richard Gregory's article on "The Promotion of Research"* is illuminating where he quotes President Maclaurin's following picture of the conditions of some of the American Universities :—

"The superintendent of buildings and grounds, or other competent authority, calls upon Mr. Newton.

Superintendent : Your theory of gravitation is hanging fire unduly. The director insists upon a finished report, filed in this office by 9 a. m. Monday next; summarised in one page; type-written, and the main points underlined. Also a careful estimate of the cost of research per student-hour.

Newton : But there is one difficulty which has been puzzling me for fourteen years and I am not quite . . .

Superintendent (with snap and vigour) :

* *Nature*—November 6, 1919.

"Guess you had better overcome that difficulty by Monday morning or quit."

Again Tyndal's remark about Faraday's work, equally applicable in Sir J. C. Bose's case, cannot be over-phased. He said :

"If Faraday had allowed his vision to be disturbed by considerations regarding the practical use of his discoveries, those discoveries would never have been made by him."

It was only the difficulties met with in exact measurement of growth of plants that have enriched science with this super-sensitive apparatus. And it is yet too

early to predict the many uses that will be made of the Crescograph in different branches of science : how it will deepen our knowledge here or widen our outlook there. We have 'light' now and 'use' will not be long in manifesting itself. But we must remember that a creative genius like our Master is mainly concerned in extending the bounds of human knowledge, and for him to know is its own reward.

Bose Research Institute, BASISWAR SEN.
Calcutta.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

THE condition of Indians in South Africa have been for so many years brought to the notice of the Indian public that they will not be surprised if other sources of information bear out the contention that in spite of sincere, well meant or hypocritical professions of equality within the Empire in the mouths of Britishers, we are as a fact treated as a race inferior to any other. I must however admit that in the Colony of Mauritius, where I have lived and suffered persecution for four years, there is equality in law. No law in Mauritius discriminates between the races. But in other colonies there is always the distinction between Europeans and others.

I am now going to speak of Fiji where I am now in my eighth year. The Statute Book of Fiji reads "European Stipendiary Magistrate, European officer of Constabulary, European Minister of Religion, a person of European descent wholly or partly, etc.," as possessing certain powers or privileges which no other race or races may enjoy. By courtesy some of the other Asiatic races such as, the Chinese and the Japanese, are allowed to enjoy some rights. But the Indian was a coolie and must remain so for ever. One might have hoped that the abolition of the system of indenture would make Indians independent. But there were still men serving whose contracts had not expired and we agitated to obtain their cancellation. But to what purpose? The moment every Indian in the Colony was free to work or not, he asked for a living

wage of 5 shillings a day as things have risen in price enormously, and went on strike. His past employers played all sorts of tricks through their Indian touts—threats, promises, inducements, in fact everything—to break up the strike. The strikers had never been organised before, but they showed extraordinary firmness which surprised and dismayed not only Europeans but even their own leaders. The moral force behind them appears to have been greatly augmented by the active sympathy and co-operation of their women. These women were prepared to reform themselves personally, morally, and socially and it is wonderful how Mrs. Manilal's appeal to them to give up smoking, jewellery, and vices was readily responded to, to the great astonishment of even Christian Missionaries who had professed to be working amongst Indian women for many years.

True it is that as in any other similar movement, such as the feminist movement in England, there were quiet women and aggressive. Those who believed in appealing to force in order to prevent men from going back to work were warned of the serious consequences that might ensue, but they professed to take the risks and argued that the end justified the means. But what great violence can women—constitutionally weaker than European—Indian labourers' wives or women more poorly living than Europeans—employ? It was to some extent an appeal to the sense of shame of men that they threatened them with pulling out the

whiskers or throwing dirt on them. In many cases it was not sheer brute force. They began to picket men on the streets and to a very great extent they succeeded by merely verbal threats, the men promising not to return to work. This annoyed the Europeans very much who were not equal to the ordeal of lighting their fires, cooking their meals, etc. The Mayor of Suva found it difficult to get on with his roads and sanitary service was poorly performed by Fijian substitutes. The Government Overseers of the Public Works Department found their work at a standstill. The strike spread as far as Rewa and Navua districts by mere contagion of Suva reports; and Levuka followed suite. In Navua there already had been an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the sugar company's rates for canes, and the idea of strike appears to have been hailed with joy. The exploiters of Indian labour, for whose benefit the Government of Fiji exists, were approached by a deputation from the Indian Women's Association and the Governor played the old game of promising a Commission of Enquiry. Though the Commission was appointed and even an Indian representative was allowed in the person of Mr. Chowla, when the sitting commenced it became apparent that only the question of the Indian labourers' wages was going to be enquired into immediately, and even this enquiry was to be restricted to finding out what standard of life the Indian had during his indenture when he lived on Statutory rations, how he lived in jail and how he lived when out of jail or indenture.

The President seemed to have a pet theory to sponsor. He had a theoretically perfect idea of an Indian labourer, for whom the Statutory rations sufficed, who was able-bodied and did hard labour on prison diet, which he characterised as scientifically infallible, and who after indenture was able to live on 1/3, 1/6, 1/9, 2/ or lately 2/6 allowed at various stages, without land or any other source of income or help from friends or relatives, such a perfect person, who had never incurred debts and who had read the necessary commodities Ordinance, was as impossible to find as a geometrical point. But it showed at once that there was not much to be expected from this Commission.

The Indians were advised that no matter what the findings of the Commission, they would do well (1) to leave Suva and try to obtain land either from the Government

or other Indians, (2) to be less and less dependent for their incomes or provisions upon Europeans and their stores, (3) to be more spiritually minded and peaceful in their resolution to continue the strike until they can get 5 shillings minimum wages. But the microscopic minority of colonial-born Indian converts to Christianity, who have always depended for their existence on European patronage and who probably were embittered by the threats of some aggressive women, having petty jealousies against individual members of the Indian Imperial Association, let out a false rumour that there were warrants out to arrest Mrs. Manilal and three or four other women, and when the women were holding a meeting to consider this news, these colonial boys advised a European to go and break up their meeting by force. When the women were roughly handled, the men could not stand motionless and arming themselves with sticks of fire-wood they attacked the European who called for further help. The fight went strong and only the work of rifles and machine guns seems to have impressed the rioters, who even then refused to retire unless they could be assured that Mrs. Manilal had not been arrested.

The Inspector General of Constabulary took one of the crowd's representatives and motored to Mrs. Manilal's and after ocular demonstration, Mahabir told the crowd that the Inspector General of Constabulary was right in saying that she was at large in her home. Large reinforcements were to have come from Nasinu and even Rewa, but the crowds were intercepted and controlled at Nausori. There were several other skirmishes and many casualties. But still the strikers were not cowed down to return to work. The Government of Fiji or those who have a say in it, devised other ways and means on simple charges of riotous behaviour which could have been summarily disposed of the very next morning; at first 3 days' remand was obtained and then 8 days in addition, refusing bail in all cases. Those who really took part in the violence of the riots escaped unnoticed and were sightseers or sympathisers or intending rioters were caught on the spot and locked up. Over 200 persons including more than 25 women have been placed under custody. Most of the men and women were beaten and tortured by European and Indian special constables at the house of a prominent Indian in Toorak to

obtain confessions. The Government threw themselves into the arms of Fiji's vested interests represented by Messrs. Scott and Crompton, who—not the Acting Attorney-General Mr. Bruce—prepare the case for the Crown.

Mr. Crompton's Indian interpreter and his family, who are highly unpopular amongst their countrymen, are virtually empowered to order the arrest, search or examination of any Indian man or woman and they have found this a unique opportunity to show their power to do good or evil to their countrymen and to stand well with their employer and other whites. The excesses committed by them are past description. On top of these Messrs. Ramrup and Ramsingh were threatened and made to remain inside their house. Mr. George Suchit was actually severely knocked about. Mr. Manilal was assaulted at the Police Station before the Inspector by a special constable, and another white man, whom the Inspector did not arrest there and then. The Bombay tailors were terrorised by T. Horne and Telford and this Horne did havoc with the poor defenceless Indians of Toorak. Even women were not spared. Mr. Manilal was advised to remain indoors. An attempt was made to starve Mr. Manilal in his home for want of provisions and everyone going to his house was severely scolded and inquisitioned by white constables and others. Even a little white brute of a boy was permitted to terrorise Mr. Manilal's servants and neighbourhood by exhibiting his revolver. To cap all, legislation was passed which the Inspector General admits to be "drastic" and designates as similar to martial law. These special constables were more in evidence on the 16th of February and they proved their fitness on that night by stealing into the bedrooms of

half-caste and other women. How can Indians and their women stand this strain in this strange land of Fiji? These poor fellows have now yielded and many have returned broken-spirited to work. It is certainly a brutal victory for the European capitalists and scoundrels, but like all victories based on force and fraud will not last for any length of time. It ill behoves the European officials and others to taunt Indian leaders with leaving their fellow-creatures in the lurch, when they have themselves by means of violence, threats and anti-Indian degrading laws and reign of terror emasculated the Indian labours of Fiji and made their leaders practically prisoners in their own homes, spied and watched by blackguards, whose only recommendation is the colour of their European skin.

Indians have asked for a Royal Commission of Enquiry and it is to be hoped that they will get it. The cup of their sufferings is now full and bitter enough, and God certainly will listen to the call of the poor, the humble and down-trodden. Those who have by tricks obtained the break-up of the peaceful Indian strike will indeed have to pay for their treachery to their fellow-Indians and the white man will not be able to plead his colour before the bar of God's law immanent in this world. But the fact remains that the condition of Indians in Fiji is far from one of self-respect and that unless and until that is restored, they in India should not listen to and talk about further emigration. In the meanwhile hundreds of Indians are yearning or panting to see a ship to go back to India and leave this hell on earth created by the greed and avarice of the white planters and their Fiji Government.

M.

THE DIET OF BENGALEE STUDENTS

THE diet of our Bengalee students requires revision. Recent experiments have shown that it is poor in the *muscle-forming element* (proteid).

The daily diet of an average Bengalee consists of rice, *dal*, fish, vegetables, a little milk and a

small quantity of sweets. A small number only take bread made of wheat-flour for one meal in place of rice.

Of the above, *dal*, fish and milk practically constitute the only source of the *muscle-forming element* in the diet of the Bengalees. In the case

of Europeans, meat, fish, eggs, cheese and bread supply the necessary food for the muscles.

But both milk and fish have become very costly articles of food, specially in cities and towns where most of our young men concentrate for their education. It is a well-known fact that the majority of our students do not get these two important articles of food in proper quantities. This is much to be regretted, as young men require a sufficiently large quantity of proteid-food in their growing period of life, not only for the repair of waste but for the growth of their body also, and this poverty of proteid in their diet is telling most injuriously on their growth, development and vigour. The analysis of the average diet of the Bengalees shows that they get even less than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the required quantity of the *muscle-forming element* in their daily diet. This chronic '*proteid starvation*' is largely accountable for the poor physical development and lack of energy noticed in the present generation of Bengalee students; and unless speedy means are taken to remedy the defect, the Bengalees are bound to deteriorate and suffer in the race of life.

The great defect in the diet of the Bengalees is that it is not *well-balanced*. It is very rich in starch and sugar but deficient in proteid. The Bengalees, as a rule, take too much of rice, sweets and vegetables (which abound in starch and sugar but contain little proteid) and too little of *dal*, fish, and milk. Meat is a luxury to most of our young men, except in the case of Mahomedans who can use cheap meat. In some hostels, Hindu students get an allowance of meat, generally once but sometimes twice a week, and even then in inadequate quantity. The absence of meat, however, in their daily diet would not make much difference, if only they get the necessary quantity of fish.

The question of improvement of the dietary of the Bengalee students is mainly a question of means. The majority of our students come from the poor middle classes who often find it difficult to meet the educational expenses of their children living in cities and towns, away from home, in hostels and messes.

If these days of high prices of foods, for the average charge which a student now pays for *boarding* in a hostel or mess in Calcutta, he cannot expect to get a better class of diet. The rate must be increased if we care for the physical efficiency of our children and the future well-being of the race. Parents and guardians should see that their sons and wards daily get a proper quantity of *muscle-forming food* in the shape of meat, fish, *dal*, eggs and milk. This will mean an extra expenditure under the head of "*boarding expenses*" for their children and I am sure that those who are well off will be too glad to pay the increased rate of charges. It is only the poor parents who will feel the burden, but as the extra expenditure is absolutely necessary to keep the boys in health and efficiency, they

should try to make savings in other directions and spend a little more in getting wholesome food in sufficient quantity for their children. Any economy in this direction is false economy. The money spent on wholesome food is money well-spent; it is a good investment both for the present and for the future.

The authorities of all hostels and messes should prescribe a wholesome dietary for the boys in their charge; the matter must not be left to the boarders alone. I am inserting below a DIET-TABLE for our young men in good health and doing a moderate amount of exercise which, from calculations made, will supply the required quantity of the *muscle-forming element* and *energy* in the growing period of their life. Other food-stuffs of similar dietetic value may be substituted for some of those in the table according to the taste and religious scruples of the consumer. For example, one who has any objection to take meat, eggs or fish, may substitute them by fresh milk-curd (*Chhana*) or an equivalent quantity of milk with an increased quantity of *dal*.

Raw foodstuffs	Quantity in chittacks.	Average cost As. P.
Rice	3 (6 oz.)	0 9
Wheat-flour	5 (10 oz.)	1 3
Dal	1½ (3 oz.)	0 5
Fish or meat	2½ (5 oz.)	1 9
Potatoes	3 (6 oz.)	0 5
Other vegetables	3 (6 oz.)	0 3
Ghee	¼ (½ oz.)	0 7
Mustard oil	½ (1 oz.)	0 5
Eggs (two)	2 (4 oz.)	1 3
Salts and spices	½ (1 oz.)	0 2
Total cost		7 3.

This quantity should be distributed over the two principal meals and the tiffin. A few *chapatis* with a little vegetable curry and two eggs or four ounces of fresh milk-curd would form a substantial tiffin.

Roughly, such a diet would cost about annas 7-3 a day or about Rs. 13-8 per month. If we add to this Rs. 1-8 per head for the cost of fuel, labour, etc., the total cost would come to about Rs. 15, which should for the present be fixed as the minimum *boarding* charges per head per month in our hostels and messes, if we want to give our students *not a rich but a substantial and wholesome diet*. Of course, the cost per head would go down with the reduction of the present very high prices of food-stuffs.

The cost of the above dietary may be reduced if we exclude fish, meat and eggs from the same and replace them by an increased quantity of *dal* and a good allowance (5 ounces) of fresh milk-curd (*chhana*), but I am afraid such a change would not be relished by many who can afford to pay the increased rate of

charges. If the *dal* is properly cooked in our hostels and messes, much of this difficulty about deficiency of proteid will disappear. The *dal* generally prepared by the mess-cook is not at all an inviting dish and it cannot be easily digested as such. No wonder, therefore, that our boys do not show much inclination to take this highly nourishing proteid food in larger quantity. *Dal* should be prepared in such a way that all solid grains should be lost sight of and it should have an uniform thick cream-like consistency. To consume an increased quantity of *dal*, it should not only be taken in the ordinary form but also in the form of various Indian cakes and other preparations which are both tempting and wholesome.

There are certain matters which, if carefully looked into by the authorities of all hostels and messes, would greatly improve the quality of the diet of our boys :—

(1) *Constant and careful supervision of the kitchen.* Only cooks who can prepare good dishes should be engaged. This means a little higher rate of pay but this will pay in the long run. It is not often that the food which is offered to our boys is bad in quality, but the way in which it is cooked makes it unattractive and it deadens the appetite instead of stimulating it. The Superintendent with some boys should constitute a *Board of Tasters* in each hostel and the cook should bring the food to them as soon as it is prepared for their examination.

A freer use of onions would make many of the dishes palatable and attractive.

A constant supervision of the kitchen would also put a check to dishonest practices by the

servants. In many hostels, students do not get the proper return of their boarding-money for laxity of supervision.

(2) Varieties in dishes should be introduced in the hostel diet as much as possible. A *menu* for the next day should be carefully prepared on the previous evening and this should vary from day to day. Such a novelty would greatly improve the value, qualitative and æsthetic, of the student's diet.

(3) Our boys should be given wheat-flour in one of their daily meals. The objection generally raised is the paucity of hands to prepare bread for the large number of boarders. Considering that wheat is nearly twice as rich in proteid as rice, the introduction of *chapaties* in one meal would greatly enhance the proteid-value of the Bengalee diet and this should be carried out wherever practicable.

(4) Rice should be so prepared that all the water used for cooking should be taken up by the grains, so that no excess of water would be left to be thrown away. The rice-water takes away with it some of the important salts and a little of the proteid-substance in which rice is naturally deficient.

(5) The Indian dish known as "*Khichuri*", made of rice, *dal*, ghee, vegetables, spices and salts, is very palatable as well as nourishing and should be partaken of by our students as often as possible.

(6) Foods should not be allowed to grow cold before being taken. There should be fixed hours for meals and all boarders should take the meal at one and the same time as far as possible.

CHUNILAL BOSE.

GLEANINGS

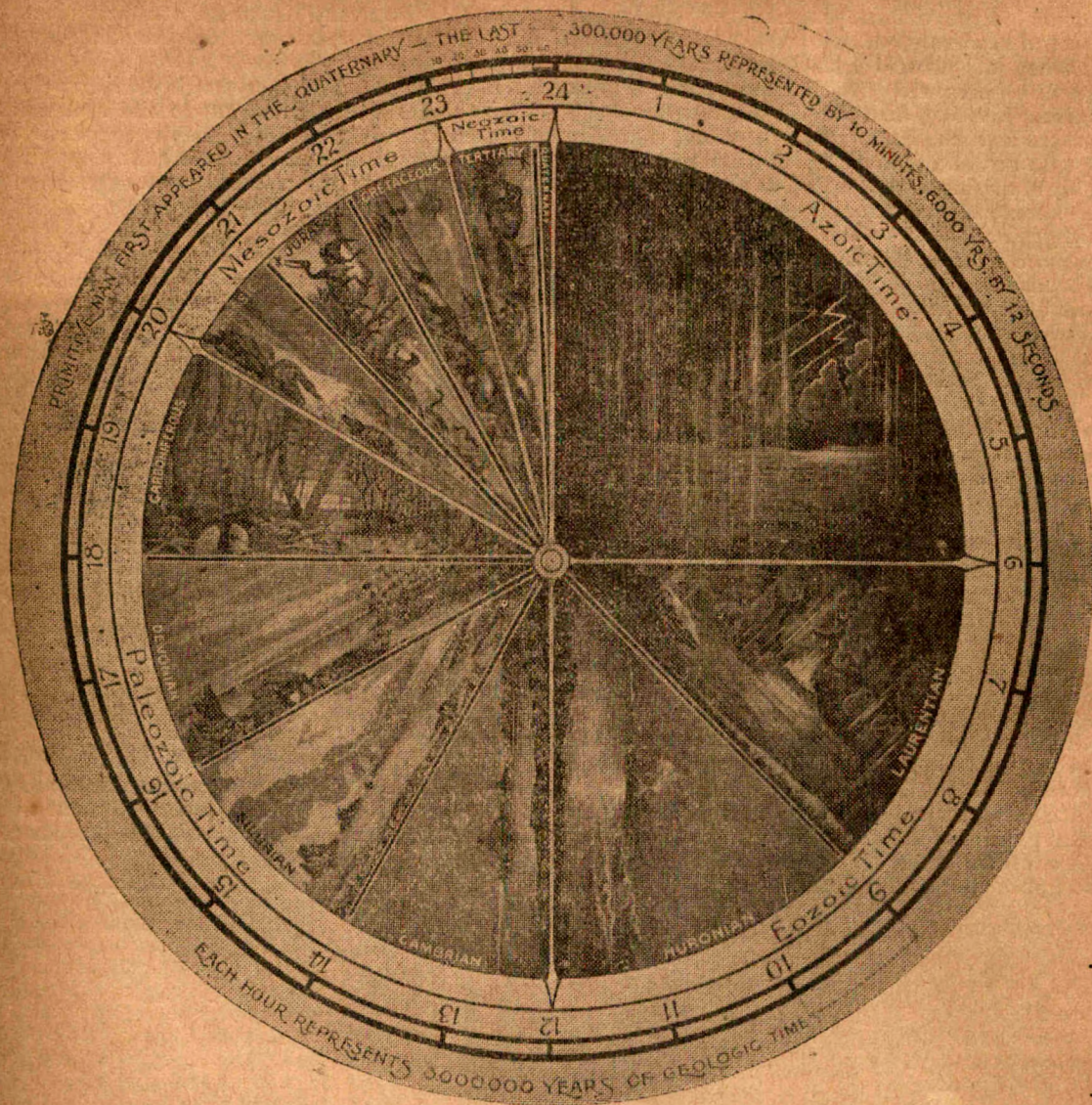
A Graphical Representation of Geologic Time.

A Geologist has been defined as one who is perfectly contented if given an unlimited amount of the commodity for which other persons have the least use—past time; and among the questions that geologists are expected to answer the most frequent are those in which the time element is concerned. What is the age of the world? How old are certain fossil remains? How long ago in the world's history did this or that event take place?

Disappointment or impatience are commonly expressed because definite figures are not forthcoming in reply to these and similar questions; yet a majority of people are incredulous or skeptical if tens or hundreds of thousands of years are mentioned in connection with recent geologic events, and millions of years in connection with those that preceded them.

The average person has only a vague conception of the extent of geologic time or the slowness of biologic evolution and physiographic development; and it is difficult for the finite mind to grasp the meaning of millions, when applied to years, unless the figures can be visualized by some scale of comparison or by some method of diagrammatic representation.

A method has been utilized by the writer in lectures, apparently with satisfactory results, and the editors tell him that they have seen a similar device employed by other instructors with success. The basic idea is that a clock or chart is made to convey an idea of the time factor by translating years into terms of hours and minutes. This chart is based upon (1) An assumed age for the earth of 72 million years, which is a fair average of the many estimates made by physicists and geologists, and (2) the ratios between the several geologic time divisions as estimated by geological authorities.



THE GEOLOGIC CLOCK THAT SHOWS THE COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF THE PERIODS INTO WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH'S CRUST FALLS.

Only in the Quaternary, which is to the whole as ten minutes to an entire day, has man existed ; while the age of written history is confined to the last twelve seconds.

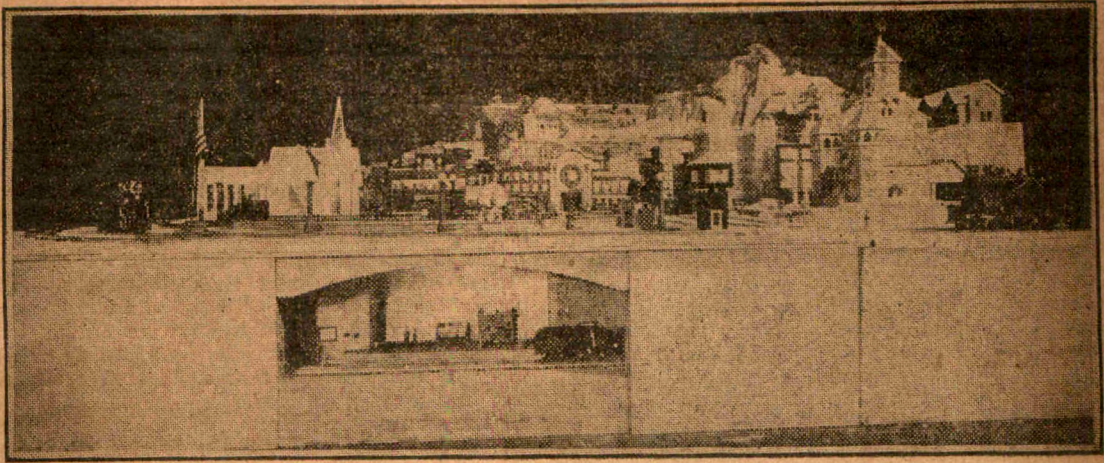
The clock dial, representing the age of the earth, or the cosmic day, is divided into 24 hours, hence each hour is equivalent to three million years of geologic time. The estimates of the geologic time ratios are to the effect that Pre-Paleozoic, Paleozoic, and Mesozoic time are respectively twelve, eight, and three times the duration of Neozoic time, in which we live today. If these ratios are applied to the hour divisions of the clock dial we have :

Pre-Paleozoic time,	12 hours =	36,000,000	years
Paleozoic time,	8 hours =	24,000,000	"
Mesozoic time,	3 hours =	9,000,000	"
Neozoic time,	1 hour =	3,000,000	"

By subdividing each of the time divisions into its

appropriate geologic periods the approximate antiquity of each period is indicated.

The even subdivision of Pre-Paleozoic time into Azoic and Eozoic is purely arbitrary, as is also the indicated time duration of the several geologic periods, except in connection with the Quaternary which is assumed to include the last 500,000 years of cosmic time, equivalent to the last ten minutes of the twenty-fourth hour, and to represent the time that has elapsed since the appearance of man : and if any one should wish to indicate the historical period of human affairs, it would be represented approximately by the final twelve seconds of the dial.



A toy city, with street cars, steam railroads and a subway, all capable of operation from the electric system that lights the miniature houses.

The Toy City.

Mechanical toys get ever more and more complicated; and nothing could better illustrate this than the toy city on exhibition recently in New York. This city in miniature is complete to the last degree, showing all phases of the modern city, even to the subway service. And even the passage of time is represented by the changing lights—the illusion of daylight is here, the transition from sunset to dusk and to moonlight, the brilliantly lighted streets—and all aided by the sight of arriving and departing trains, moving taxicabs, automobiles and street cars. This is indeed an ensemble of action suggestive of busy urban life, and emphasizing that the toy, after all, is the precursor of the mechanical marvels of industry and that to the plastic mind of the child the use of toys may mean a real training for the more serious business of life to come.

The toy city, including a surrounding canopy which provides the changing horizon where the lighting effects are staged for the passage from day to night, is 16 feet wide, 11½ feet deep, and 9 feet 8 inches high. A switch board with more than 100 electrical connections through which the numerous parts of the city are operated takes up additional floor space of 19×25 inches.

This extraordinary city is very much "all there." Its business center shows stores of every description, from millinery to music, from fancy goods to drugs; it has its squads of mounted police and its traffic cops; its illuminated billboards and its theaters; its great city square with an electric fountain illuminated by changing lights; its police station and fire department; its sky scrapers and banks and public library; its great union depot; even a section of its subway appears beneath the city with green and red disks to signalize the arrival and departure of trains. And in the background rise the hills and distant mountains.

It must be understood that all features of this marvelous toy actually run. Express trains emerge from the tunnel and stop at the platforms in the union station, then rush on and disappear into the mountain side again. A train announcer performs his duty, and

porters carry the luggage of passengers to and from the trains. Traffic flows through the streets; the fountain plays; with the fall of dusk the lights come on; every phase of the city life is faithfully reproduced.

Agriculture in a Public School.

Among the larger of our schools which stepped aside from the beaten track The School, Oundle, stands alone. To those in authority over this famous school belongs the credit of having become pioneers in education, for certainly other large schools will sooner or later move in the direction which this school has taken."

Agriculture has now taken a more important position throughout these islands than has ever been the case before. The Government has seen the importance of this subject and is giving a helping hand to those who desire to increase, by means of research and other methods, a knowledge of crops and their production, together with other matters included under the title of agriculture. There are, for instance, about forty permanent research posts, and these are to be increased to one hundred and fifty; while twelve agricultural colleges in England and Wales alone are to receive further grants.

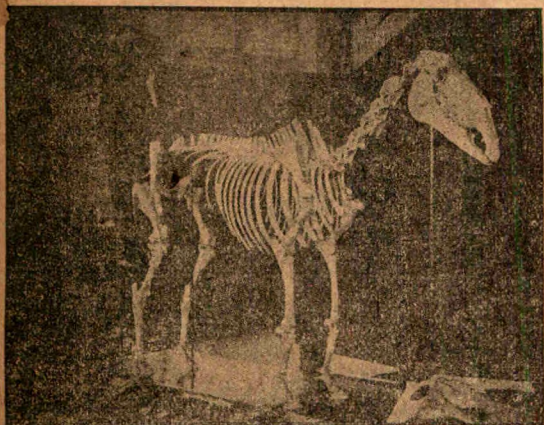
Oundle School has not, however, waited for this move on the part of the Government, nor for the eyes of the people to be opened, for here we have a special branch for training the boy in agriculture and all those subjects with which it is more or less connected.

As no other of the larger schools has previously trodden the path which this school has set itself to tread, the methods of training must of necessity be original. If they are original they are none the less thorough, and some of the experimental work is of by no means an elementary nature.

This naturally does not mean that the boys are simply sent out into the fields to do the work of the land, or to watch how the work is done. Much more than this is required in order to get a really deep knowledge of agriculture as it is practised to-day. Indeed a good deal of the work is done in the labora-

stories, and the whole course is intended to fit boys for study at one of the agricultural colleges.

In this respect it resembles, perhaps, somewhat the Rural Schools of the United States, but with the exception of Oundle School and the two grammar schools, Brewood and Dauntsey, there are no other schools to take the place of these in even America.



The Skeleton of a Pony, Showing the Structure of a Horse. At the base of the Stand is every Variety of Horse Shoe with Name above. So that a Knowledge of these may be also Easily Acquired.

The agricultural education of the school forms a part of the large scheme of Applied Science for which the school is well known. Boys who ultimately take up agriculture have the advantage of a training in the extensive workshops, in the Engineering, Physical, and Chemical Laboratories, where applied science on a scale unusual for schools is taught.

Biology is made an integral part of the work of the school, and there is a set of forms running up the school in which biology is the main inspiring study. The Biological laboratory is well supplied with microscopes, and there are aquaria, breeding cages, incubators, etc., and in addition to the Experimental Farm there are spacious botanical gardens containing Natural Order beds, Herbaceous borders, Alpine Gardens, Fernery, Rose Garden, Pond, Marsh, Seashore and climbing plants—with small experimental plots for class work.

Some work has been done towards an agricultural survey of the district, experimental work has been undertaken for the neighbourhood—an account of one of these was published in a recent number of the Agricultural Journal—and the school undertakes the testing of seeds, soil, etc., the whole being done with a desire to inspire boys with the love of community service. To quote from some of the school notes on Agriculture:—

"Quite independently of the prime value of agri-

cultural training to a nation, it is pre-eminently a study which is natural to many boys and girls. The taste for Natural History, powers of observation, instinct for collecting; the outdoor life, combined with laboratory work; the use of the microscope; the invigorating effect on many boys of garden and field labour, combine to make Agriculture an inspiring and seductive educational work. The fact is that many boys can expand intellectually in such studies—when they are held in shackles by the more traditional studies."

To go more into detail in the methods of study the skeleton of a pony has been entirely set up by the boys, and here they have at hand a ready means of becoming familiar with the structure of the horse, while at the base of the stand is every variety of horse shoe with name above, so that a knowledge of these may be also easily acquired.

The shoe of the Shire horse, the Farm horse, and the Harness horse and the Roadster, Hunter shoes, Diamond toed shoes and Preventer shoes—all are constantly on view, together with the different types of nails employed in the shoeing of horses. Again, there is a collection of teeth which not only illustrates the ages of the horse, but also teaches the various malformations of the teeth to which the horse is liable. With regard to this work, which though not actually agricultural is directly connected with this subject, it may be mentioned that a large share of the shoeing in the district for a distance of five miles round is done by the boys, as is also all the agricultural machinery repairs, and the boys get an insight into a branch of the business of which the farmer often knows far too little.

Perhaps one of the most important points so far as the indoor work is concerned is the collection of pests, which is very thorough and complete, and this is naturally of the utmost use, for as everyone is aware the damage done to crops by pests of one kind or another is enormous, and if one is able to tell at a glance the kind of pest that is doing the damage there is more chance of that pest being eradicated than



A Collection of Horse Teeth which teaches the Age of the Horse and also various Malformations of the Teeth to which the Horse is liable.

when dealing simply in a general way with the crops.

There are, again, collections of British and Foreign wools, so that a knowledge may be acquired of the different character of these, and this work is carried very deep, for micro-photographs are taken to help in the study of this branch which is an entirely new field.

Leaving the indoor studies which help the young agriculturist, we find that the outdoor work is just as thorough and useful.

In order that the five years' rotation of crops may be thoroughly grasped a field has been divided into five plots, and on each of these plots one year's crop is grown, so that boys can see the whole circle of the five years complete each year.

So that boys may gain a good knowledge of the usual cultivated crops one field has been divided up for the purpose of growing all these crops, and this not on a play scale, but on such a scale that a real working knowledge of the crops may be gained.

It may be stated that manurial experiments are also conducted on such crops as wheat, barley, beans and potatoes as well as on grass.

It will be seen from what has been said that every effort is made to make the training not merely a matter of theory as is so often the case where subjects of a business nature are taught, but of very real and practical value to the students who must go from this school with a confidence in themselves which is only given to those who understand their work.

Big Finger-nails.

Once a year the Chinaman in the picture takes a day off and manicures his finger-nails, and he is busy all day; for three of his nails are very long and likely to be dirty, even though they are encased in bamboo stalks all the year round. This Chinaman has the longest nails in existence, and he is very proud of



Big Finger Nails.

them. The longest one is thirty-one and one half inches long, the next measures twenty-one inches, and the smallest but six and one half inches.

The twenty-one-inch nail was about to undergo its annual thorough overhauling when this picture was taken, and it is shown without its casing. It

looks very much like one of the bread-sticks that bakers used to sell. The owner of these wonderful nails must find it difficult to sleep and eat in comfort. But the glory of being the finger-nail champion of the world is probably worth it.

Cave-Man in California.

This is not a movie still of "Stranded on a Desert Island", but a photograph of William Pester in his customary suit sitting outside of his town house at Palm Canyon, Cal. He has gone "back to nature." He lets his hair and beard grow to suit themselves, wears a cheap and simple apron, and forages for his food.



An American Caveman.

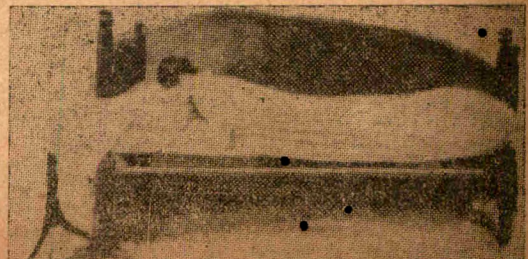
Spasmodically he makes trips to the large cities and tries to convert the inhabitants to his way of living—with but little success. When on these trips, he discards his one-piece costume and wears an old soft shirt, trousers, and sandals.

An Easy cure for Insomnia.

Lie face downward, with your forehead resting on a ledge, and you will surely go to sleep. So says Alice O. Darling, of Lebanon, N. H. She discovered this in her insomnia days, and promptly patented it.

Her invention calls for a two-pieced mattress. The upper section is again subdivided, but the two parts are held together by a binding.

In the day-time the mattress is stretched out after the fashion of any ordinary mattress, but at night the



An Easy Cure for Insomnia.

hinged section is doubled over to furnish a ledge on which to rest the forehead. In a little while you become drowsy; whereupon you put back the mattress, pull up your pillow from the bottom of the bed, and sleep.

The secret of this system, of course, is that the blood-pressure is removed from the brain.

Fold Up Your Boat and Walk.

After all, a row boat does not have to be made of wood. Mr. Swinburne of Southfields, England,

Since his birth was not registered, it is difficult to tell his exact age; but experts say that he is considerably older than any of us, the day of his birth dating back two or three centuries. His age accounts for his great size—he has never stopped growing.



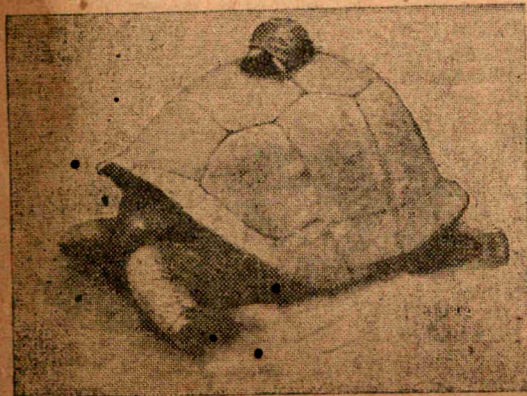
A Folding Canvas Boat.

built a collapsible boat of canvas, and he is shown herewith both carrying it in his hand and rowing in it.

It is made in four compartments which, when blown up, form a square. A piece of canvas stretched across them acts as the bottom of the boat. Two loops are the oar-locks when the canvas is in the form of a boat, and they act as a handle when the boat is folded up.

A Tortoise Three Centuries Old.

Here is Peter, the giant tortoise of the London Zoo.



A Tortoise Three Centuries Old.

We wonder what Peter's thoughts on civilization are as he wanders around his section of the Zoo. Has he ever seen an airplane? Probably not; he keeps his head too close to the ground.

He was once as small as the tortoise seen crawling on his back. We hope that when the little fellow reaches the front edge of the shell he will crawl back where he came from. He is no match, we fear, for his fellow tortoise.

Snail-Shells Fool the Fish.



Protective Instinct of Insects.

Suppose you were a soft wormlike larva at the bottom of a stream, and a school of hungry fish swimming by spotted you. You'd give up without a struggle, wouldn't you? Generations and generations of larvae

have gone through this harrowing experience, but a few wise ones have managed to escape. How? By ingeniously disguising themselves.

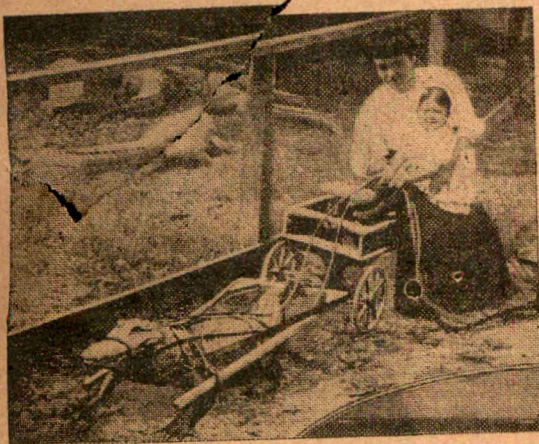
Take, for example, the larvae of the Caddis-fly. Their favourite trick is to deck themselves out in the shells of small snails, though they sometimes resort to leaves, stones and sand. These various substances are held together by means of silk spun by the larvae. One snail-covered larva is pictured here. It is a most unappetizing sight, and you can easily imagine yourself, as a fish, turning it down.

Aphis-lions, when young and comparatively helpless, camouflage themselves just as larvae do. They likewise carry around on their backs snail-shells, and also bits of beetles.

Harnessing the Alligator.

What's an alligator good for any way, before he is made up into attractive pocket books and bags?

Well, for one thing, if you muzzle him and hitch him to a small wagon he will drag it around. But be sure about the muzzle or he may open his mouth, swallow the wagon and before you can say Jack Robinson, a part of you.



A Harnessed Alligator drawing a Baby Cart.

There are several alligator farms in Florida, and the stunt of harnessing an alligator was first tried there. A picture of an alligator drawing a small girl's cart is shown here.

Because of the size of the alligator's mouth he can't wear a bit and it was quite difficult to teach him to turn around corners.

Smoking the Family Cigar.

Now-a-days, when the supply of tobacco is short and the price is long,—so that as someone recently said, you "can now get an excellent five-cent cigar for twenty-five cents,"—life in the Philippines has its attractions for the smoker.

We can't speak for the quality, but a glance at the picture above leaves no doubt in anybody's mind as to the quality of the cigar in question. However, the young woman is not going to smoke this two-handed cigar all by herself. It is probably a family cigar. Sometimes these huge cigars are suspended by

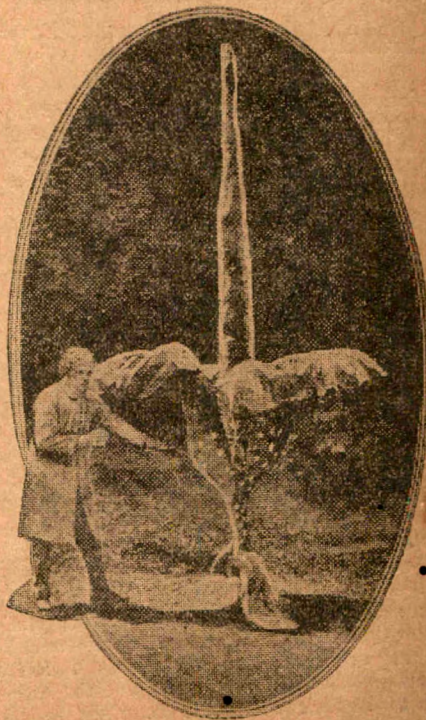


A Two-handed Cigar.

a cord from the ceiling of the living-room, so that anyone passing by can have a puff.

Sumatra's Giant Arum.

One may get a good idea of the size of a gigantic arum plant from this picture. It towers more than twice as high as a man. In fact it is of huge size,



Giant Arum.

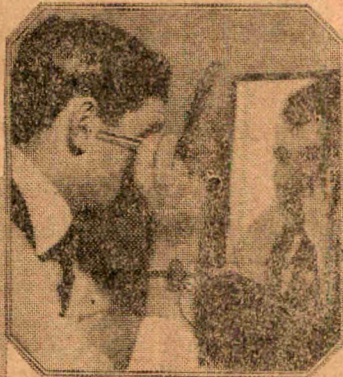
the stamen extending about fifteen feet high in the air. The strange leaves have many large perforations in them. The plant belongs to the Araceae

family and has many near relatives scattered over the earth, notably in the regions bordering the Mediterranean. Great Britain has some diminutive members of the family, the best known being the wake-robin, from the root of which is obtained arrowroot.

An Electrified Razor.

When you wish to shave, how can you make "each particular hair to stand on end like quills upon the fretful porcupine"? By means of a faradic current, says Frank White, of Missouri; and he has invented a razor that will supply it.

Faradic current causes muscular contraction at each make and break. This muscular contraction in turn causes the hair near by to rise up.



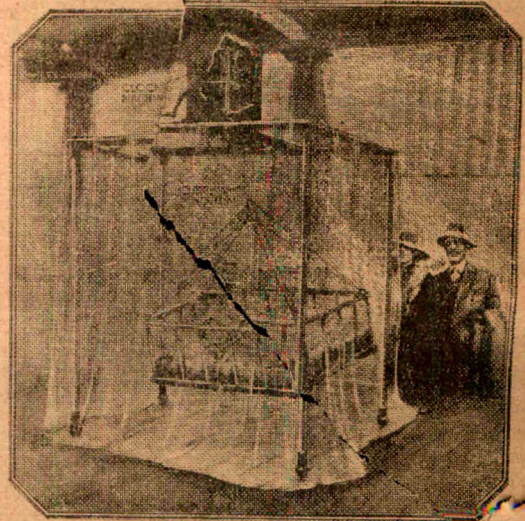
An Electrified Razor.

The blade of the razor may be of either the ordinary or the safety razor type. The handle is insulated and has a hollow center through which the electric wire is run. It continues on, winds around an induction coil, and travels from there on to a contact plate that is strapped to the user. The primary coil of the induc-

tion coil is connected to a storage battery. Thus the user completes the circuit from razor-blade to contact plate.

The Motor that Rocks the Cradle.

Luther P. Jones, of Russellville, Ala., has invented a cradle that will swing constantly regularly and automatically needing neither wind nor hand to rock it. A motor does the work. You wind up the spring when you want to start it. The motor turns a wheel that causes the bar supporting the cradle to swing.



A Motor Cradle.

The cradle hangs on chains that terminate in the bar leading down from the motor and its attachment above. Thus, you see, if the baby should not care for sleep he will be interested in the wheels above and will forget to cry.

"RUPAM"*

As bitters are believed to purify the blood, so may doses of unpleasing criticism do our souls good. That is the view we take of the following sentences quoted by the *Young Men of India* from the letter of a correspondent on the question of Indian students in England:—

"It is a revelation to me to meet Indian students and see how thoroughly their ideas are westernized and how little they are idealistic. Sometimes I feel that the people who talk of Indian culture and the heritage they claim to be their own, have no right to Indian

culture and the so-called heritage. Of all the Indian students I have met, with the exception of two, they are all here for a better job or to make more money. They are all prepared to transplant Western industries into India as they exist to-day. They have no idea of the defect of Western industries. They are only dazzled by the show of the outer world."

One need not quarrel with the correspondent for his use of the expression "the so-called heritage,"—Dr. J. N. Farquhar thinks that it is a real heritage—nor is it necessary to point out that Indian students who go to England would not ordinarily go there in search of their heritage, though many treasures of Indian art and literature have been carried off from India to England. What is of importance for our present purpose is to recognise that "educated" Indians,

* *Rupam*: An Illustrated Quarterly Journal of Oriental Art, Chiefly Indian. Edited by Ordhendra Coomarr Ganguly. Editorial Office: No. 7, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

whether young or old, are in many, or probably most, of the six or seven colours, beauty, mode or manner. It is therefore an appropriate name for a journal of art. "Rupam" is edited by Mr. Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly. We cannot speak of the other provinces of India, but in Bengal he is undoubtedly the most competent person to edit such a periodical. We received its first number some months ago, but our comparative ignorance of art and the consequent diffidence had so long stood in the way of our noticing it, as Mr. Gangoly had done us the honour to ask that it should be editorially reviewed. But when this duty could no longer be put off and we had to tackle it, we were agreeably surprised to find that there was nothing in the journal beyond our comprehension and that we could read all the articles with pleasure and understanding.

In his lecture on "The Heritage of India", from a brief report of which we quoted a passage in a previous issue, Dr. Farquhar said that this heritage consists of all that is valuable in the Indian religions, the philosophies of India, the literatures of India, Indian painting, sculpture, architecture and music, Indian science, the industrial arts of our country, the history of India and her peoples and also the ancient education. It is, no doubt, not possible for the generality of Indian men and women to have a specialist's knowledge of all these elements of our heritage. But we ought certainly to have a general acquaintance with the main features of all that has given distinction to India among the countries of the world. And this acquaintance, it must be admitted to our shame, most of us do not possess.

And perhaps of all things Indian, what is least understood and appreciated by "educated" Indians is Indian art. The editor of this Review knows that he has no right to lecture other Indians on this deficiency, as, though he loves Indian art, he cannot claim to possess that knowledge and understanding of it which constitute intelligent appreciation; but he has tried to expiate in some measure for his neglect of duty to his country in this regard by trying, amid many discouraging circumstances, to make reproductions of works of Indian art generally available. That is his only claim to write on anything falling within the sphere of Indian art, and his excuse for seeking to introduce to his readers, "*Rupam*", an illustrated quarterly journal of oriental art, chiefly Indian..

Rupam is a Sanskrit word having the meanings of form, figure, a quality



The text and the cover are neatly and tastefully printed on thick handmade Indian paper. The photogravure frontispiece, which is excellent, is presumably the work of Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., who have also printed the text. The blocks and the printing of the other illustrations, nine in colours and thirty-nine in black and white, are the work of Messrs. U. Ray and Sons, whose reputation for excellent and faithful process engraving and neat and excellent printing, unsurpassed in India, has been maintained in this periodical.

The first article, which is from the editor's pen, is on "A Panel from Arjuna's Ratha, Mamallapuram." It is illustrated with the photogravure frontispiece, which we have been permitted to reproduce. As we are at present obliged to use paper of inferior quality and blocks to match, our reproduction does not do justice to the original. Mr. Gangoly describes it thus :—

"The stone panel from the so-called Arjuna's Ratha at Mahabalipuram (Mamallapuram), about 30 miles south of Madras, which we reproduce here as a frontispiece, will, it is claimed, demonstrate the fact that there are many examples of Indian art which are not necessarily alien or inaccessible to persons unable to undergo a 'strenuous preparation' for an approach to a profound study of the subject. The example, though easily accessible to a sympathetic understanding of non-Indian students, is none the less a characteristically Indian figure in its conception and execution, and belongs to an epoch which all schools of critics have now agreed to characterise as one of the best periods of Indian Art."

The Rathas or monolithic temples from one of which this panel has been reproduced, were excavated under the patronage of the Pallava princes of the Simha-Vishnu dynasty.

".....the magnificent productions of the epoch of the Pallavas carry down the history of Indian Sculpture in an unbroken continuity from its earliest days, always keeping to that splendid idealism of form which the earlier schools had long ago set as their goal. In the leonine type of the figure, here illustrated, with a broad shoulder and an attenuated waist, one can hardly recognise the descendant of the earliest forms common in Buddhist art. The suppression of all smaller anatomical particulars has helped to secure an extreme simplicity of form and contour. The artist who carved this relief was faithfully carrying out and was true to the traditional aim of his predecessors in the craft to idealise and generalise human anatomy to the essentials of major forms, ignoring trivial details and evolving a power of synthetic presentation of form which is denied to those who work from a posing model and which comes spontaneously to those cultivating a memory of the essentials of forms. To one of the masters of Italian sculpture is attributed the saying: 'Learn anatomy and then forget it,' a knowledge of anatomy being not an end in itself. The artist who aims at a generalised expression of form must extricate himself from the trivialities of individual models—'les morceaux' as the French critics have so appropriately characterised them. And the artist who chiselled this slim and graceful type know his anatomy, as also how to 'forget it.' Instead of transcribing any particular model, he has given a mental résumé, so to speak, of numerous individual figures from the sketch book of his memory. The method of such a presentation is the necessary progenitor of certain qualities of dignity and austerity so eloquent in our example in the gravity of its exquisite repose. Notwithstanding its restful serenity, it has an abundant amount of latent energy. Indeed, it is the embodiment of energy—not in action, but in repose. The figure probably represents a prince posing as a dwarfapala standing at the door of a shrine towards which he points, with a mysterious gesture.....The plastic quality of this class of reliefs will help us to realize that 'dignity' and 'repose' was not the monopoly of Greek Sculpture and Indian genius in art is not essentially non-plastic."

Here we wish to suggest a question for discussion: Why Indian artists aimed at and secured an extreme simplicity of form and contour as regards the human body but at the same time departed from this ideal in architecture,—at any rate in Southern India?

The second article, a learned contribution on "Garuda, the carrier of Vishnu in Bengal and Java"

is the production of Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, M. A. who has recently received the decoration of C. I. E. in recognition of his achievement and enthusiasm as a historical researcher. In spite of the scholarly character of the article, the lucidity of presentation which generally characterises Mr. Maitra's work is present here too. The article is illustrated with the reproduction of two photographs of two sculptured representations of Vishnu and Garuda from Java and Bengal respectively. Mr. Maitra mentions "the noticeable features of the Javanese relief which discloses an affinity between the art ideals of Java and Bengal. This receives additional support from the similarity of technique displayed in the dress, ornaments, and the graceful pose given to Vishnu. Although the two countries are separated by a wide expanse of ocean, yet recent investigation has demonstrated the existence of an intimate maritime connection in the days of yore, when the brave mariners of the Bengal coast steered their ships as far as China, while mercantile and missionary efforts carried the art ideals and culture of their motherland to distant shores. This accounts for a similarity of art ideals in two such distant countries of the world.."

Mr. Maitra also contends that "it was a mere assumption that national life in India practically ended forever with the fall of the Gupta Empire, and on the assumption was based the opinion about the decay of art. But subsequent research has now fairly established the fact that a national regeneration once again appeared in the train of political advancement ushered in by the establishment of the Pala-Kingdom of Bengal. This must also have introduced a new progress in art. In fact it was the art of this period which exerted a lasting influence upon many distant countries such as Tibet, China, Japan, and the Islands of the Pacific." Of this, "the most convincing proofs are furnished by the sculptures discovered and collected by the Varendra Research Society."

In the third article, on "The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art of India," to be concluded in the next number, Mr. E. Vredenburg, gives convincing reasons for finding "that the remains of minor works of Indian painting dating from the eighth to the fifteenth century, though not numerous, yet are sufficient to establish the continuity of the practice of pictorial art, while their style thoroughly establishes the continued survival of the Ajanta tradition. Certain peculiarities suggest that the practice of wall decoration had not fallen into disuse, and weighty argument in this favour is afforded by the mosaics of Man Singh's palace,—which, by their date, link the mediaeval era to the Moghul period."

Mr. Vredenburg's protest against the practice of hastily attributing a foreign origin to many of the surviving art treasures of India deserves to be reproduced in part. "No other country," says he, "has suffered so much as India from the ravages of time. In many branches of art, the destruction of the treasures of past age has been complete. Generally the modern historian has shown but little sympathy for the unfortunate country in its deplorable ruin. There is a constant tendency to deny the very existence of what has been destroyed, while every imaginable excuse is resorted to in order to attribute a foreign origin to whatever survives; as in the delightfully humorous instance of the discussions regarding the Mausoleum of Shah Jahan's consort which

various authors have attributed in turn to the French, the Italians, the Turks, the Persians, the Portuguese or the Irish as though to rob India of the credit of this beautiful work. By all means let us be cautious, and where the record is absent or inconclusive let us avoid a partisan conclusion. What to an unprejudiced mind must appear inexcusable is the manner in which the record is treated when it is fragmentary. Whenever a gap occurs in the history of any form of art a foreign origin is at once attributed to its next appearance in the record."

Mr. Vredenburg's article is a very important one, and we should like to read its concluding portion.

The issue under notice concludes with the editor's scholarly and illuminating "Note on Kirtimukha: Being the Life-history of an Indian architectural ornament." He carefully explains the meaning of Kirtimukha (*lit.*, 'Glory-face') and its presence and

variations in India, from Nepal in the north to many a place in South India, and, outside India, in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, and even in China. Thus is a scholar able to point to the presence of the same kind of influence or artistic inspiration or genius from the evidence afforded by a single grotesque architectural ornament. One wonders which to admire most, the abundant information which has enabled the writer to collect pictures of Kirtimukha from so many and such distant places, the patience with which he has collected them, or the skill and scholarship with which he has adumbrated the fundamental artistic affinity of India, Further India and Eastern Asia.

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MORE NEWS FROM FIJI

THE news which has come from Fiji grows worse and worse. It is now clear that the rioting began owing to gross insults to Indian women, including a cowardly attack by the police. We read,—

"A special European constable, Mr. Reay, went to the place where the women were assembled—a private enclosure,—and began to put some questions to an Indian woman named Rahiman. Rahiman answered the questions in a straightforward manner, but Mr. Reay got excited and beat Rahiman with his baton. Some other Indian women came to the rescue of Rahiman, but they were also beaten by the other constables who had now arrived. The sight of their women being beaten in this brutal manner excited the Indian men, who attacked the police. Three European constables were injured; one of them was rather badly hurt. The defence force armed with machine guns and rifles arrived, and shots were fired upon the unarmed Indians. Some of the Indians were killed, and more of them were seriously wounded."

Thus, each fresh piece of news that we have received goes more clearly to show, that we have had something not unlike the Punjab over again, on a smaller scale in Fiji. The '*Independent*' of Allahabad, has rightly pointed out that both in Fiji and in the Punjab there was the same intolerably brutal treatment of Indian women by Europeans.

Last October, in the Gujranwala District, I was called upon to make a first investigation into the inhumanities practised in what we all knew as the 'Bosworth Smith' area. I came across some peculiarly disgraceful acts, which have been recorded in the Report of the Congress Sub-Committee. The worst of all were at Manniawala and included gross insults and strikings of Indian women. I reported the evidence I had received to the Punjab Government, and asked for an immediate enquiry. It was the greatest shock of all to me to find that, since his acts committed in that District, Bosworth Smith has been reinstated in the Civil Service, in a high position,—as though these acts of his in Martial Law days had merited him his promotion and had cancelled his earlier degradations for misconduct.

When I was in Africa, I found that the very slightest offence on the part of an African *man* to a European *woman* was visited at once with condign punishment, and that, at times, lynching was practised in Africa as in America. If this is the standard which the European *man* demands for the protection of the women of his own race, then, if the facts are correct which have been reported both in the Punjab and in Fiji, it is difficult to know what punishment should be meted out to a Reay and a Bosworth Smith. There are words which, in this matter, Europeans have need to remember, words

which were uttered long ago by one whom they revere,—

"With what judgment ye judge others, ye shall be judged yourselves,

"And with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

A true incident which was told me in a letter by Miss Priest, who is helping the Indian women in Fiji, may here be told; for it throws a flood of light on what has happened in Fiji recently. Some Indians on the North side of the Island, had decided, while out on strike, to break the railway line. They had gone out on one very dark night to commit this deed of violence. Mr. N. B. Mitter, the young Indian school master, had heard of their intention.

He went out immediately to stop them, before it was too late. At first they refused, and told him that they had grown desperate with hunger and misery; but when he pleaded with them that the act of violence would bring dishonour and disgrace on their Motherland, and asked them to be worthy of their Mother, India herself, they desisted and went quietly home.

It is *this* spirit which may be appealed to both in the Punjab and elsewhere; but it is just *this*, that the Reays, and the Dyers, and O'Dwyers and Bosworth Smiths, will never understand.

C. F. A.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

University Education.

Mr. Victor E. Cromer of the Adelaide University, Australia, writes in the June number of [the] *Kalpaka* on "University Education", in the course of which he traces the origin of the European type of the University back to 'the early times when the philosophers of old went about discoursing on the various problems of life and speculating on the causes of things.' He shows how the history of the occidental University is wrapped up with the history of philosophy, and 'the honour of bringing the occidental University into being belongs to the Greeks in general and to Plato in particular,'—the Academy of the latter, in the eighties of the fourth century B. C., being the original of all the Universities now in the world. 'The greatest work in connection with the times ahead of us' consists, above all, in the reform and renaissance of the University which should be 'the central focus of all the teaching and the learning of the state'—a Universal temple of knowledge which opens the gates 'wider and wider for the talented sons and daughters of the working classes.' The writer concludes his article with a forecast.

"In all countries the world over there will soon be many developments of the University system. It will be a veritable renaissance of education, science, philosophy and technology.....To India, also, the flood

of new light will come, and there will be many developments there; a veritable upwelling of new forces along educational lines will burst upon that country in the near future. In chatting with some Indian students in England a few years ago I asked one, a student of Chemistry at Oxford University, "What are you going to do when you go back to India with your degrees? Will your chemical knowledge enable you to find a career in India, under present conditions?" His reply was 'We are the first martyrs to the cause of Education in India.' This was not said in any pessimistic spirit, but with a feeling of joy that they were enabled to pave the way for the advancing tide of knowledge in India. The enlargement of India as one of the after-effects of the war will call for a large number of scientists and technically instructed men of Indian race, engineers, chemists, electricians, and every other branch of industrial science to take up the work of developing the new parts of the Indian Empire, and improving the resources of the old parts. Education, too, will be widely diffused among the masses of the Indian populations as the years go by, and with an Indian Empire that will probably stretch from Hindustan to the Red Sea, and link up with Egypt either as a self-governing administration or under mandates, there will be a need of an enlightened people to share in the burdens imposed upon them. The attainments of a wider share of self-government by the Indian races, will act also as an educational stimulus which in course of time will give the rudiments of education and enlightened citizenship to the whole population of Hindustan."

The Future Poetry.

Sri Aurobindo Ghose, in the '*Arya*' of April, writing of the future poetry in connec-

tion with the spiritual development of human civilisation, says :

"The alternative is a continual ringing of changes in the spinings of the intellectual circle which leads nowhere or else a collapse to the lower levels which may bring human civilisation down with a run to a new corrupted and intellectualised barbarism. This is a catastrophe which has happened before in the world's history, and it was brought about ostensibly by outward events and causes, but arose essentially from an inability of the intellect of man to find its way out of itself and out of the vital formula in which its strainings and questionings can only exhaust itself and life into a full illumination of the spirit and an enlightened application of the saving spiritual principle to mind and life and action. The possibility of such a catastrophe is by no means absent from the present human situation.

The hope of the race in this crisis lies in the fidelity of its intellect to the larger perceptions it now has of the greater self of humanity, the turning of its will to the inception of delivering forms of thought, art and social endeavour which arise from those perceptions and the raising of the intellectual mind to the intuitive suprainlectual spiritual consciousness which can alone give the basis for a spiritualised life of the race and the realisation of its diviner potentialities.

The note which has already begun and found many of its tones in Whitman and Carpenter and A. E. and Tagore will grow into a fuller and more intimate poetic knowledge and vision and feeling which will continue to embrace more and more, no longer only the more exceptional inner states and touches which are the domain of mystic poetry, but "everything in our inner and outer existence until all life and experience has been brought within the mould of the spiritual sense and the spiritual interpretation."

The poetry of Europe has been a voice intensely eager and moved but restless, troubled and without a sure base of happiness and repose, vibrating with the passion of life and avid of its joy and pleasure and beauty, but afflicted also by its unrest, grief, tragedy, discord, insufficiency, incertitude, capable only of its lesser harmonies, not of any great release and satisfaction. The art and poetry of the East have been the creation of a larger and quieter spirit, intensely responsive as in the far east to deeper psychic significances and finding there fine and subtle harmonies of the soul's experience or, as in India, expressing in spite of the ascetic creed of vanity and illusion much rather the greatness and power and satisfied activity of human thought and life and action and behind it the communion of the soul with the Eternal. The poetry of the future reconciling all these strains, taking the highest as its keynote and interpreting the rest in its intensity and its largeness, will offer to the human mind a more complex aesthetic and spiritual satisfaction, express a more richly filled content of self-experience raised to a more persistent sight of things absolute and infinite and a more potent and all-comprehending release into the calm and delight of the spirit.

But especially a clearer and more inspiring vision of the destiny of the spirit in man will be a large part of the poetry of the future. For the spiritual eye is not only able to see the divinity in man as he is, the divinity in his struggle and victory and failure and even in his sin and offence and littleness, but the spirit is master of the future, its past and present in time not only the half-formed stuff of its coming ages, but in a profound sense it is the call and attraction of the future that makes the past and present, and that future will be more and more seen to be the growth of the godhead in the human being which is the high fate of this race that thinks and wills and labours towards its own perfection. This is a strain that we shall hear more and more, the song of the growing godhead of the kind, of human unity, of spiritual freedom, of the coming supermanhood of man, of the divine ideal seeking to actualise itself in the life of the earth, of the call to the individual to rise to his godlike possibility and to the race to live in the greatness of that which humanity feels within itself as a power of the spirit which it has to deliver into some yet ungrasped perfect form of clearness. To embellish life with beauty is only the most outward function of art and poetry, to make life more intimately beautiful and noble and great and full of meaning is its higher office, but its highest comes when the poet becomes the seer and reveals to man his eternal self and the godheads of its manifestation."

The Heritage of India.

The Young Men of India has rendered good service by publishing in full Dr. J. N. Farquhar's lecture on "The Heritage of India" before the Indian Society of Oriental Art from a brief report of which we made an extract in a previous issue. By the Heritage of India is meant the civilisation of this country. Dr. Farquhar said in a few sentences what this heritage contains.

In India, as in other lands, the most important parts of the civilization sprang directly from religion. Here, as elsewhere, Religion has been the teeming mother from whom philosophy, literature, music, education, the fine arts and many of the sciences sprang. We can recognize with the utmost frankness that the three religions which have sprung from the Indian spirit, *viz.*, Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, form a very notable group among the religions of the world, being distinguished from other faiths by three doctrines of great scope and fertility : Transmigration, Karma, and Release. We can also say that specialists in the study of religion give them a very high place among the religions of the world.

One of the most characteristic and valuable elements in the Heritage is the *philosophy*. The care and attention with which it is being studied by Western thinkers is the best proof of its high qualities. Hinduism has six orthodox philosophies, Buddhism four, and Jainism one.

Perhaps the greatest and most precious of all the parts of the Heritage is the *literature*. It is recognized on all hands that Indian literature is of very varying quality, but that it contains a great deal of material that is of high value and extreme interest.

The speaker then went on to dwell on India's art, science, arts, &c., as the elements of her ancient civilisation.

Indian art is a fairland of pleasure and profit. To know even a little about Indian architecture and sculpture is to double the pleasures of travelling in India. If you wish to realize what Indian art in stone can be, go to Benares and drive to Sarnath and see the lion-capital there. It is the capital of a stone pillar erected by the great Asoka, and is a splendid sculptured group, the supreme member of which is three lions standing back to back. The work is as fresh to-day as it was when it was cut, and the art is worthy of one of the great Greek sculptors. So, even a little study of Indian painting will bring a great deal of pleasure and will help to draw into sympathy with the mind of India. Then there is wood-carving, art work in metals, coinage, jewellery. In studying Indian coinage the other day, I was greatly interested to find that only three countries in all the world have independently invented coins. The three are, China, Greece, and India. Here is one of the clearest evidences possible of the original genius of the early Indian people. The date of the invention must be about 500 B.C.

Indian music is now recognised by musical specialists as being very different from European music, but of great beauty and interest, well worthy of more careful cultivation than it receives in India to-day.

Of Indian science I am unable to speak: perhaps Language, including Grammar, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, are its chief forms. In connection with Mathematics, we may notice another striking fact. The figures which we use in our accounts every day are called Arabic numerals, because they came to Europe through the Arabs; but they are not Arabic in origin. They are an Indian invention, another proof of the originality of the Indian mind. Thus India has given her numerals to the world.

Of the industrial arts I am also unable to speak: the chief are Agriculture, Mining, Metalworking, Weaving, Pottery. In weaving, India seems to have led the world for centuries.

Besides these, we ought to notice as elements of the heritage, *the history of India and her peoples* and *also the ancient education*.

I would remind you first of the very remarkable influence which Indian culture has exercised in most parts of Asia since the early centuries of the Christian era.

In answering the question whether Indian civilization deserves to be called great or is merely one of many mediocre cultures of the world, the speaker reminded his audience of "the very remarkable influence which Indian culture has exercised in most parts of Asia since the early centuries of the Christian era."

Travel where you will—in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet, or further east in China, Korea and Japan—everywhere your eyes welcome innumerable traces of the Indian genius still visible in the architecture, sculpture, painting and worship of the people. Now this far-flung influence is very remarkable. That China, old and hoary and learned long before India made her mark amongst nations, should have welcomed Indian religion and almost every element of

her culture with eager avidity, and that the civilization of Japan should have sprung almost altogether from the vitalizing touch of India as carried by Buddhism: these are most arresting facts. Clearly, we shall fail to express the truth unless we acknowledge that for many centuries India was the university of Asia, as Greece was of ancient Europe.

He also reminded his hearers "that the orientalist scholars of Europe and America have now formed an estimate of Indian civilization which corroborates the judgment of Asia, all the best men" agreeing "that it contains a great deal that is good, beautiful and valuable." Thus "the heritage of India is one of the great things of the world." We can go forward with the recovery of the old civilization with the utmost speed, by study and research, and by bringing within the reach of Indian students and of every one who can read all that is best in the ancient heritage, brought to light by scholars, artists and thinkers by their labours. It will not suffice to popularize in English alone; the best must appear in all the great vernaculars also.

There is also room for the wide multiplication of literary, artistic, and musical societies. Those do most valuable work, when they are wisely conducted. More libraries are wanted in every part of the country. The man who will prepare an ideal list of books on the Heritage for a small library, stating the cost and showing how the library may be managed, will be a public benefactor. The man who stirs up the community of his village to take means to enable the ordinary man and woman to read the best books in the vernacular does a most praiseworthy act. Every right-minded man and woman can help.

We agree with Dr. Farquhar in holding that

Those who seek to make the heritage of India known will require to use a great deal of good judgment in the task. No civilization is perfect. In every single case there is a mixture of good, bad and indifferent stuff in the whole aggregate. So in the heritage of India. The contents are not all good by any means. Unmeasured praise of everything Indian, simply because it is Indian, is quite as dangerous for the welfare of this country as the boorish condemnation of Indian thought and things which was so long fashionable. Therefore, when we seek to draw from the past courage and strength for the upbuilding of the Indian character and the Indian nation to-day, we must be very careful to pass by all that is weak, all that is unhealthy, all that is evil. The criterion in every case must be the welfare of the people. Only the best is good enough for India to-day. Certainly only the best will become current coin outside India to-day. What we have to do is to draw the purest water from the ancient wells to give to the people to drink.

The speaker was also right in suggesting that

what India needs and what Europe needs is not a divorce of the two civilizations but an interpenetration of each by each. India needs the West and the West needs India; and the path towards the great end in view is co-operation and not hostility. The two races must work together, and the two civilizations intermingle.

Co-operative Housing.

The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal contains a useful paper on co-operative housing by Prof. P. Mukherji, M.A., in which he attributes the rise in rents in Calcutta to the following causes :—

- (1) The expansion of commerce and industries and the consequential influx of people from outside;
- (2) speculative purchases of house property due to the acquisition of fortunes made by traders during war conditions;
- (3) acquisition of large areas by the Calcutta Improvement Trust without providing facilities for re-housing the displaced population;
- (4) projected schemes of acquisition by public bodies inducing landlords to squeeze up rents for the support of their claims to high compensation;
- (5) rise in the cost of labour and material preventing construction of new buildings;
- (6) want of easy means of communication with the suburbs and the resulting congestion within a fixed area; and, last but not the least, (7) the westernization of the taste of Calcutta people, notably the rich Marwaris—in the matter of housing comforts and accommodation.

One cause has been left out, namely, that just as owing to the greatly increased cost of living, all other classes of men have sought to obtain a higher price for either their labour or for the things produced by them, so house-owners have demanded higher rents for their houses. After enumerating and briefly commenting on the measures suggested for the prevention of excessive raising of rents, the writer says :

The real solution lies in increasing the available space for building purposes and in the rapid construction of houses in large numbers. The fact of the matter is that, owing to various causes, the demand for housing accommodation is very great in Calcutta, and the supply has not kept pace with it. The forces of demand and supply should be allowed to have free play; but if capitalistic enterprise tends artificially to restrict the supply by attempts at cornering or monopolizing, the consumers—

in this case, the tenant class—should combine into co-operative societies, to fight the profiteering landlords, and the State, as the guardian of the public interests, should step in to protect the majority (*viz.*, the tenants) against the minority (*viz.*, the new rack-renting land speculators).

He then describes the different kinds of co-operative housing societies.

"A Thirty Years' Mortgage."

The first annual report of the Sydenham College Graduates' Association contains a brief report of Mr. M. Subedar's lecture on "Economic Fallacies" from which we take the following passage :

India was a debtor country and the lien of outsiders on this country was on the increase owing to the reinvestment of profits earned by foreign capital which were not shown in the balance of trade. The assets of this country were passing under a mortgage more and more, because, the facility with which foreign capital could be invested and the rapid increase of value in the assets thus held by outsiders in plantations, mines, forests, steamship companies, railways, factories, Banks and insurance companies and other concerns which are drawing a yearly tribute from this country, ought to make them pause and reconsider the economic situation. The 100 million "gift" meant the mortgage of the industries of this country for the next 30 years. India had also investments abroad, about 70 crores under the Paper Currency Reserve, about 30 crores under the Gold Standard Reserve. These 100 crores were, so to say, lent out by a poor country to a very rich country at $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and the capital value for every 100 was to-day 53 to 70. While our investments abroad were so small and were depreciating in value, the number of Joint Stock Companies and private enterprise in India controlled by outsiders was on the increase. All this was quite apart from and very much more important than what were known as the Home Charges. Mr. Gokhale's charge about misappropriation in the promotion and building of railways in this country before the Welby Commission had never been met, and Railways, which had been a burden on the revenues of India until very recently, had been built at ruinously high prices, because in the promotion of capital, in the purchase of materials, in the permanent way contracts, in the purchase of stores, and in every other department, there had been notorious corruption.

Woman in Ancient India.

In its section devoted to "The Women

of Culture," the *Collegian* has the following paragraph on woman in ancient India :—

The position of woman in ancient India has long been the subject of much sentimentalism and loose thinking among modern scholars. The question indeed has not been seriously tackled by any sociologist Indian or foreign. While the actual status of the female sex in Athenian society, in Roman law, in feudal-agrarian Europe, and even in the rural and Catholic West of to-day is generally ignored by Occidental investigators in their study of the Hindu woman, Indian interpreters on the other hand, who as a rule have no experience of the solid achievements of the industrial revolution and are misguided by the exaggerated reports of Western idealists and spiritualitarians as to the evils and dangers of the present social life in Europe and America, are prone to taking some of the poetic ideals in Hindu drama, poetry, and fiction at their face-value. At this juncture an illuminating research, albeit solely from the literary side and not by any means from the institutional aspect, has appeared in J. J. Meyer's *Das Weib im altindischen Epos* (Leipzig, 1915). It deals with the woman from every conceivable angle on the data of the epics. Among other topics the following are discussed : maidenhood, marriage, motherhood, the ideal wife, the widow, masculine chastity, prostitution, views about woman. Episodes and anecdotes have been liberally made use of.

Materials for Making Paper.

Bamboo is believed to be one of the principal future sources of raw material for paper. *The Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* quotes some paragraphs from "Agricultural News" in which it is stated that by the combination of megass (sugarcane as it comes out crushed from the mill) with banana pulp white paper of fine quality can be turned out.

It is also stated that there has just been finally perfected in Honolulu a machine which will separate the fibre from the pulp of banana stems. As is well known, after the fruit is cut, the stem of the banana plant either dies of itself, or is cut away. For lack of machine capable of dealing with these stems the valuable fibre contained in them has hitherto been wasted. The ordinary banana acreage is given as from 400 to 600 plants. From each of these it is expected that 2lb. of fibre can be extracted by the newly invented machine. Besides extraction of the fibre the same machine separates the pulp

which will make, as was mentioned above, an admirable ingredient in paper stock.

We would advise our countrymen to lose no time in taking possession of *and utilizing* all areas where the bamboo, the sugarcane, the banana, and the palms grow or can grow.

The Late Mr. Ramanujam, F. R. S.

Madras owes it to herself to bring together and publish in book form whatever can be known about the late Mr. Ramanujam, F. R. S. We say Madras, because of all the provinces of India, Madras alone can do it with ease, being his native province. And there ought certainly to be published a good portrait of the great mathematician. In the mean time we are thankful for the portrait, unsatisfactory though it be, which has appeared in the *Indian Review* and in *Everymans Review*, and for the few facts about him published in the latter monthly, from which we glean the following :

His fellowclerks had a vague idea that the absentminded, squint-eyed clerk was "doing something" and so they told the inquisitive mathematical visitor to Madras. An entertainment—an evening function—was hastily arranged in his honor and one of the items was a 'paper to be read by Ramanujam.

An incident which occurred just then shows what a strong character that unknown clerk exhibited even then. One of his superiors in the office wanted to show himself off and suggested to Ramanujam that he should simply get up and say, "As I am not well acquainted with English, Mr. so and so will explain the work I have been attempting," and the arrangement was that the learned head-clerk was to show himself off. Ramanujam resented this and he was eventually allowed to speak about his work in his own way.

The European visitor was impressed with Ramanujam's work. He blamed the Madras University for allowing such a genius to waste itself in the drudgery of clerical work. But the small committee of mathematicians, which was appointed by the University examined Ramanujam and recommended a very small monthly scholarship, so that Ramanujam could continue his studies for the intermediate examination. In the long English summer twilight when Ramanujam told me this story I asked him, "Well, the man who recommended this munificent subsidy was in his day a reputed mathematician. How then is it he could not appreciate your work?" Ramanujam said, "It

is no doubt he is a reputed mathematician but the work on which I was engaging myself is of a different kind altogether." So good and inoffensive was the man that he could never be bitter against anyone—not even those who out of sheer jealousy tried to influence his relatives not to send him to Cambridge when the honor of the University scholarship fell on him, but who afterwards posed as his friends and patrons and flooded the journals with appreciative notices of his work. Ramanujam used to tell me repeatedly how good his fellow-employees in the Port Trust were to him and what interest was evinced by the head of the office, Sir F. Spring, of the help rendered to him by a veteran mathematician who is a high official in Madras and of the blessings he conferred upon him when he went to Cambridge in 1913.

A typical high caste Hindu and a strict vegetarian, he lived mainly on bread and water during the voyage for want of a companion who could tell him that out of a P. & O. mail boat's menu a vegetarian can make up a decent meal.

He never concealed the fact of his humble birth but was proud of it. His affection for his mother was most touching. His child-like innocent face was a ready passport to the hearts of even the servants and hall-porters of the great College who always mentioned his name with great reverence and an emphasis on the penultimate syllable.

Britain Leads in Shipbuilding.

The Indian and Eastern Engineer writes :—

For the first time since the Armistice, Great Britain now shows itself to be the pre-eminent shipbuilding country in the world. For the past two or three years America has held this position and we had every reason to believe that she would make every effort to retain it. On the other hand, British shipbuilders were quietly confident that, after a certain period needed for reconstruction owing to the greater ravages of war in Europe than were experienced in America, Great Britain would once more show strongly to the fore, whilst in America the tendency would be towards the reduction in shipbuilding.

This is exactly what has occurred, and at the end of last March, whereas in the shipyards of the United Kingdom there were 865 vessels under construction, with a total gross tonnage of 3,394,425, the corresponding figures in the United States were 535 ships, with a gross tonnage of 2,573,298 tons. The total throughput of the world, excluding sailing vessels, was 7,801,450 tons, so that in the United Kingdom nearly one-half of the world's total tonnage was under construction.

Britain may rightly be proud of her premier place in shipbuilding. But she

ought also to be ashamed that India occupies the lowest place, because the ruin of the Indian shipbuilding industry and of all but a few of India's hundreds of ports took place during and was brought about by British rule. And we should feel the disgrace most, as the fact proves our national degeneracy.

Animals' Rights.

The Indian Humanitarian is right in drawing attention to the importance of teaching children that animals have rights and we have duties towards them.

In India the tradition of infinite compassion to all living creatures, has on the whole familiarised people with the doctrine of animals' rights. To Europeans, meticulous discussion of the rights of animals as fellow-creatures and the duties of men towards them, is not attractive. In 1811, when Lord Erskine, speaking in the House of Lords, advocated the cause of justice to lower animals, he was greeted with loud cries of derision. The idea was not familiar and appeared as an inversion of sane conceptions. The necessities of sport, food, exploration and fashionable millinery, were, so obvious in the eyes of Lord Erskine's listeners, that they looked upon the innovator of new-fangled ideas with irrepressible mirth. Even now, exponents of the rights of animals are treated by some as quixotic busybodies.

In India, belief in the rights of animals is widely held and we should not encourage customs that blunt the edge of a belief so correct.

What is called sport may be sport to unfeeling man, but it is death and agony to many an innocent Creature.

It is shameful that in spite of India's tradition of compassion to all living creatures and of the Hindu's belief in the sacredness of the cow, cows are not properly fed and taken care of and are often cruelly ill-treated.

Failures of Indians in Commerce.

In *Commerce and Industries* Mr. Pratap Chatarji, B. Sc., expresses his belief that the failures of many companies are mostly due to their negligence of some vital points which the organisers take to be minor ones.

(i) India is much behind-hand in the art of advertising. There may be first-class business

concerns, but no one may have known about them! One can see the abundance of advertisements in the western countries. How will a business flourish, unless the people,—who are to patronise it,—know of its very existence? Lacs of money are spent in the west for advertisement, and, mainly, this gives them so much success.

(ii) The next point is a most important one which should insure immediate attention.

It is concerning labour. The men who serve their employer, should be liberally provided for. We have already heard of the warning note how the tyranny of the Capitalists on the labourers has ushered in the horrible Bolshevism in Europe; and we must try our level best to bar the birth or entrance of the monster in India.

(iii) Strictest honesty and punctuality should be the ideal, and are, undoubtedly, the only way to secure the goodwill of the public. Courtesy is also a potent factor. One, who has amassed some money by business, may ignore these points, being blinded by his successes, but, no doubt, his concern will be soon on the way to ruin.

(iv) Some courage is also needed. We must remember the maxim, failures are but pillars of success. There may be failures in the first instance, but we must keep to the line.

Jain Manuscript-‘Bhandars’ at Patan.

Patan or Anhilwada Patan was the capital of the ancient Empire of Gujrat. Mr. J. S. Kudalkar, M. A., LL. B. tells us in the now defunct *Library Miscellany* that

Ever since its foundation Patan has been, and still is, the true centre of Jainism in Gujarat, and under the beneficent royal patronage afforded to this religion in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, its ‘acharyas’ or preceptors devoted themselves to writing historical, religious, ethical philosophical, literary and other works. Although this work was continued in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries and still later, the works composed during the 11th to the 13th centuries are of far greater importance than those composed later.

The collections of these manuscripts still exist, though Patan has lost every other element of her former greatness.

About the importance of these manuscript collections at Patan Prof. Peterson says :—“I know of no other town in India, and a few in the world, that can boast so great a store of documents of such venerable antiquity. They would be the pride and the jealously guarded treasure of any University Library in Europe.” It has been the rare good fortune of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad to have these

valuable ancient treasures located in this State and just as they were formerly preserved through the patronage of King Kumarpala, the Bhoja of Gujarat, so they have been finally searched and delivered from oblivion by His Highness the Maharaja Shri Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, the modern Bhoja of Gujarat.

All the searches of Patan Bhandars made so far had been, incomplete and superficial. These searches led the Baroda Government to undertake a more thorough examination of all the collections in Patan and for this purpose they deputed on 17th Nov. 1892, Mr. Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi to Patan. Mr. Dvivedi worked there for 5 hours every day sitting in the dark and stuffy cellars where these MSS. are kept, opened each and every dabda, examined about 9 to 10 thousand MSS., prepared their title lists there and then and later on prepared a classified, alphabetical and annotated list of the same. Mr. Dvivedi submitted his report to the Baroda Government on 18th July 1893.

It is to be hoped the Baroda Government will make the valuable portions of these manuscripts available to the public.

India and the British Democracy.

In the *Indian Review*, Mr. R. G. Pradhan, B. A., LL. B., M. R. A. S., pays the following tribute of praise to the British public :—

At the outset, it is due to the average British man and woman to say that nothing can surpass the politeness and courtesy which he or she extends to an Indian. One of the greatest attractions for an Indian of residence in England is that he is, as if by magic, transformed into a free man, breathing the pure and invigorating atmosphere of freedom and moving on a footing of perfect equality with those with whom he comes in contact. Everywhere he meets sweet politeness and dignified courtesy. The police are patient, considerate and helpful, making a very agreeable contrast to those in India. At the Railway Station, the Coaching Clerk, the Station Master, the Guard give him the same prompt attention and the same consideration as to men and women of their own race. On the bus, in the tube, in the Post Office, in hotels and restaurants, he receives the same treatment as the English. No discrimination is made against him, making him feel that he is a foreigner and a member of a subject race. If he is invited to tea or dinner all the members of the family do their best to make him feel quite at home and as happy as possible. The thousand and one restrictions that fetter the free expression of thought and life in his own country and make his life one long continuous struggle, the annoying and

often stupid Police surveillance to which a publicist in India is subjected, the official hauteur that he often meets with here, the sense of humiliation and inferiority that gnaws at his heart at every turn, all these are absent, and he feels the glow and elevation of a free life that uplifts him to high altitudes of thought and feeling. His happiness is only marred by the sense of contrast between the free, full, efficient life of England, and the slavish, narrow, inefficient life of his own country, and the feeling of impatience that inevitably arises with the latter.

His picture of the average Britisher's ignorance of India should be noted.

The average Englishman possesses very little knowledge about India and her affairs, and in particular about the great changes—social, political and economic—that have taken place in India during the last twenty-five years. He knows something of our movement for political freedom, but knows nothing or almost nothing of what we are doing to promote our social, educational and economic progress and to develop the national spirit among the masses. He knows nothing also about those current political affairs which agitate India from time to time.

He has certain notions about India most of which are either obsolete or untrue. He still thinks that India is a caste-ridden country and knows nothing of the efforts that are being made to abolish caste and their effects in weakening its hold upon the people. He believes that there is an eternal feud between Hindus and Moslems and that they would cut at each other's throats if the British evacuated India.

Many of them still believe that infanticide is prevalent in India and the abolition of *Sati* resented by the people. They are still under the impression that women in India are kept in subjection and play no part whatever in national life. They still think that the depressed classes and the masses are oppressed by the higher castes and treated as chattel.

He supports his remarks by giving extracts from a book entitled "Light and Freedom" which contains, among others, six lessons on "Spreading the Light in India."

Some aspects of the Indian Society are on the whole described faithfully, but the general impression they are calculated to produce is one-sided, inadequate, and in some respects positively misleading. They emphasize the dark side of the Indian Society, but fail to do justice to its bright side. The movement of social reform is referred to, but its growth and influence are imperfectly realized. The difficulties of India are fully described, but very scant justice is done to the progress achieved in spite of them.

Japan of Today.

Mr. T. Baty, LL. D., D. C. L., says "Japan of Today" in *East and West* that we shall do well not to forget that Japan is not a museum and art gallery, and that it is growing—it is informed by a vital impulse.

Nowhere will you find as pleasant and kind people—but they are not fairies, and do not pretend to be. Nor are they the inhuman automata of the late Professor Lowell's imagination—endued with a single iron will and devoid of individual self-consciousness. They are patriotic, and they have strong family ties. They help their relations generously and devotedly. Workhouses, as a consequence, are unknown in Japan. But this does not exclude it rather implies, a high degree of individuality which displays itself in these acts of dutiful piety. The student of things Japanese will be well advised to expect to find in Japan quite normal human beings, with the usual human outlook and the usual human appetites. Their most salient characteristic is surely good humour. The celebrated "politeness" of Japan was to some extent in the past a matter of etiquette.

In the writer's opinion, where manners are bad in Japan it is almost invariably the result of Western intercourse. A few other features of the Japanese character may be noted.

A constant readiness to be amused, and to treat the serious affairs of life with a smile, is thus a very prominent feature of the Japanese mentality. But the Japanese character, as a light-hearted, is far from being a frivolous one.

The Japanese is firmly convinced of the unity and indestructibility of life. The intelligences which gave birth to him and taught him love and courtesy, right back to the source of all in the Sun, he realizes as permanently persisting and as bound up eternally with his own existence. So he is not unduly perturbed by the changes and chances of mortality. He "changes his world," and passes to join the company who have gone before.

The Japanese tenderness for children and instinctive feeling for art are too well known to require to be expatiated on here. It is true that the feeling for the beautiful is diffused throughout the nation: and it is difficult to account for the floods of crude lithographs after the foreign style which abound in the cheap shops.

Conceit, personal and national, is not frequently put down to the debit of the Japanese. The present writer can only disclaim ever having come across it. The vapourings of chauvinistic journalists are alike in every country: and indeed, Japanese news-

appear in these days to be much more given to searching of heart in view of real or supposed national shortcomings. The boisterous arrogance of so many uncultured Germans—the usual conviction of invincibility entertained by so many uneducated English—the self-satisfied egotism of so many bourgeois French—is not readily to be encountered in Japan. It is entirely foreign to the Japanese idea of good manners to exalt one's own belongings or one's own country: and it would be a strange thing if conceit were readily to be detected behind this impenetrable veil. Possibly the legend of Japanese conceit is traceable to the stories of foreign teachers whose well-meant efforts at help may often have been rejected by their pupils out of sheer sensitiveness.

For another characteristic of the Japanese which has been generally remarked upon is this sensitiveness of theirs. Not even among the Spaniards has the point of honour been so jealously regarded as among the Japanese—and although it is not often carried to such extremes as in feudal times, it remains a very marked feature of the national idiosyncrasy. It pervades all classes of society. It is not only the nobleman who takes as his motto *mori nam dedecori*: the signalmen whose carelessness caused the death of a man at a level crossing just outside Tokio the other day calmly arranged their few belongings, wrote an apology, and sat down before an approaching train.

The Japanese have no cruel sports, unless baseball and long-distance running are to be reckoned such. There is a little shooting for pleasure, but no fox-hunting, no bull-ring, no pigeon-shooting.

Coming to his second point that Japan is growing, the writer says:

Not merely growing in wealth and power and knowledge and material possessions,—but seething with the ferment of vital growth. Japan is alive—vividly, consciously alive: reaching out in all directions towards a fuller development and a more complete self-expression.

For sixty years Japan has been busy assimilating the material fruits of western civilization. She is now hard at work examining its social and spiritual problems. The world may be assured that, detached as Japan may seem to be from the main current of economic, industrial and social developments, she is moving rapidly in these matters. It does not necessarily follow that she is moving exactly in the Western direction, or that her solutions are going to be precisely the Western solutions. She hopes to solve many problems which the West thought it had solved but of which it finds the solutions break down.

The variety of magazines, well got up and eagerly read by millions, is amazing. The keenness of desire to get at the root of social

problems, and to solve them for the benefit of humanity, is equally striking. In the West, there is nothing like this popular urge towards a right social development. Western thought on the subject of progress is dilettante on the part of the well-to-do and crudely confiscatory on the part of the masses. There is little of this infertile antagonism in Japan.

Good Finance and Successful Self-government.

In reviewing Sir Daniel M. Hamilton's book, "Souls of a Good Quality and Other Papers," in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*, Professor V.G. Kale observes:—

It goes without saying that the Government in India must play a more energetic part in the economic development of the people, and this principle has now been accepted by the Industries Commission and by the statesmen who hold in their hands the reins of India's policy. The doctrine of *laissez faire* has no application in this country, and though it is difficult to agree with Sir Daniel in holding that the State should directly promote the growth of co-operation by setting a large number of salaried officers to extend it, and by providing the finance on a large scale, there is no doubt that Government has a responsibility in this respect which it has not yet sufficiently appreciated. Direct and adequate State assistance will be necessary if our industries, trade, and banking are to make a rapid advance. Sir Daniel is right when he says that without good finance there can be no successful self-government. But may it not be argued, and with truth, that there can be no industrial and financial development in the country without popular control over Government? He himself bitterly complains that the State in India is not doing one thing and the other which it ought to do. And the best way of making it do the needful is to bring it under the effective influence of the people.

Possibilities of Agriculture in India.

In his paper on the possibilities of agriculture in India, published in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Mr. D. Clouston thus points out their opportunities and duties to the cultivators and the larger land-owners:

A great war has again forced up the prices of farm produce to an abnormal figure. The industries of this country are being developed with phenomenal rapidity. The cost of farm labour is rising and will continue to rise, for the new industries will continue to draw workers from rural areas. If they are to take full advan-

tage of the golden opportunities which are now offered them, landholders in this country will have to use labour-saving machinery on a much larger scale than formerly, and they will be obliged to adopt more intensive methods of cultivation all round, involving manuring and irrigation on a large scale. So long as prices remain at their present high level, intensive cultivation will pay handsomely. Manures, for instance, which were applied at a loss five years ago, can now be applied at a handsome profit. The present favourable position of the market for agricultural produce marks, in short, the beginning of an era of prosperity for the cultivator if he will but take advantage of his

opportunities. He will have, however, to adjust in many ways his system of agriculture. To be successful he will have to put more brain, energy and capital into his work; and in this we hope, that the larger landowners will, like the "gentlemen" farmers of England of days yore, take the lead in restriping and consolidating their holdings, and in developing the capacities of their own estates. It will be the duty of the department of agriculture to play its part by placing at their disposal the best possible scientific and practical advice, and in the shortest possible time.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Archæology from the Air.

As one generally associates archæology with the earth, it may surprise one, says *Chambers's Journal*, to know that ancient remains can be studied from an aeroplane.

But this is so; for one of the most important aspects of the study of antiquities is the 'bird's-eye view' of an ancient site. Hitherto one has had to be content with maps and plans of such sites—which are, of course, only 'bird's-eye views' laboriously constructed on the ground. But now it is possible to take photos from a point in the air vertically above a buried town. Photos so taken reveal startling facts which are hidden from the ground observer. It was in this way that the remains of the ancient city of Eski Baghdad, in Mesopotamia, were found. On the ground the city appeared only as a meaningless maze of low mounds and scrub. From above it was seen to be laid out in square blocks like an American town, with ornamental gardens on a large scale.

The writer then describes how ancient Roman roads have been traced in France by airmen, and suggests that they can also be spotted in England from aeroplanes more easily than in any other way. Ancient routes and remains may be studied in India, too, in this way.

Libels in Pictures.

We read in *Munsey's Magazine* :—

The Moscow soviet has removed from one of the churches of the old Russian capital a pictorial libel on the late Count Tolstoy, painted

under the empire. It was a picture of hell, in which the central figure was the count, surrounded by a ring of demons tormenting him. The artist was merely expressing the feeling of the orthodox Russians of his time toward the writings of a man whose name was anathema at the court of the Czar. The ultimate fate of the painting is not stated.

The classical example of painter's spite, or artistic punishment, is that of Michelangelo in his famous fresco of the "Last Judgment" on the wall of the Sistine Chapel. One of the papal chamberlains having reported to the Pope, Paul III, that the painter was exceeding proper bounds by his use of the nude, the artist, in disgust, took occasion to immortalize his crime by giving his features to one of the figures in the infernal regions, of which there is a glimpse at the bottom of the great fresco. The aggrieved official complained to Paul III, and begged him to order the painter to remove the portrait.

"Where did you say he has placed you?" inquired the pontiff, who did not care to interfere with the foremost artist of his age.

"He has put me in hell!" replied the indignant chamberlain.

"Ah!" said the Pope. "I have no jurisdiction there!"

Educational Endowments.

As educational endowments are not very many in India, Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey's splendid gift of Rs. 15 lakhs to Prof. Karve's Women's University is all the more significant. The number and magnitude of such bequests in the West will be evident from the following

given in the current number of *Science Progress* :—

We are pleased to be able to record the gift of several handsome donations towards the cost of University education in this country during the last three months. Messrs. S. B. and J. B. Joel have given £20,000 for the endowment of a University Chair of Physics tenable at the Middlesex Hospital Medical School; Lord Cowdray has contributed £10,000 towards the sum of £100,000 required for the reconstruction of the engineering department at University College, London, and has promised a further £10,000 when the total subscribed shall have reached £70,000; finally, the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths has presented £15,000 to the London Hospital Medical College for the endowment of a University Chair of Bacteriology. In America the golden shower which never ceases to fall on Science, Education and the Universities, has developed into a veritable deluge. Mr. John D. Rockefeller heads the list with a total contribution of \$110,000,000. Of this vast sum \$60,000,000 goes to the Rockefeller Foundation, and \$50,000,000 to the General Education Board. In a letter accompanying this latter gift, Mr. Rockefeller expressed his wish that the principal as well as the interest might be used promptly and largely for co-operating with *higher institutions of learning in raising sums specifically devoted to the increase of the salaries of the teachers*, and he further desired that his previous gift of \$20,000,000 (recorded in these Notes only last quarter) might be used for promoting medical education in Canada as well as in the U.S.A. The late Mr. Henry C. Frick left the greater part of his estate for public, charitable and educational purposes in the States. It is estimated that about \$145,000,000 will be available, and of this sum Princeton University will receive about \$15,000,000, Harvard \$5,000,000, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology \$5,000,000, and the Educational Fund Commission, Pittsburgh, another \$5,000,000. Yale receives \$200,000 for the general endowment of the School of Medicine as a result of the death of the widow of the late Dr. Levi Shoemaker.

The idea that University teachers are worthy of a reasonable wage seems to be becoming quite widespread on the other side of the Atlantic, for not only has Mr. Rockefeller emphasised it in the admirable manner related above, but the City of Rochester raised \$800,000 in *less than one week* for increasing the salaries of the staff of its University!

Manchester University is appealing for £500,000 to enable it to proceed with much-needed extensions, and the Manchester College of Technology asks for a further £150,000 for the same purpose.

It has been decided to devote the sum of £240,000 left by the late Mr. Thomas Caw-

torn, of Nelson, N. Z., for the founding of a technical institute in New Zealand, for the erection and endowment of a research institute in that country. A site of twenty acres has been secured in a position overlooking Tasman Bay, about three miles from the town of Nelson, and it is anticipated that the buildings will soon be in course of erection. Prof. T. H. Easterfield, of Victoria College, Wellington, has been appointed to be first Director of the new Institute.

The Scientific American informs us that the name of the Throop College of Technology at Pasadena, California, has been changed to "the California Institute of Technology." In order to maintain the rapid developments which have taken place in this institution, gifts have been lately made to it aggregating more than a million and a half dollars.

Compulsory Labor in Russia.

Writing on "Compulsory Labor in Russia" in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (Soviet Official Economic Journal), Leo Trotzky thus seeks to justify the right of the workmen's State to force men to labor for it :—

So far as skilled labor is concerned, these functions can be left mainly to the trade unions. Other machinery is necessary only where the trade unions do not cover the field. I speak particularly of compulsion, because labor service presupposes the right of the state to say to the skilled workman who has betaken himself to his native village, where he occupies his time with unimportant duties: 'You must leave here and go to the Sormova or to the factory of Kolomo because you are needed there.'

Labor service means that the skilled workman, when he leaves the ranks of the army must take his workbook in hand and go where his services are required, in compliance with a plan of labor distribution laid out for the whole country. Labor service assumes the right of the state—of the workmen's state—to order a worker to leave his employment at home—and certainly to leave a parasitic, speculative pursuit—to report at a central, state enterprise which requires the special kind of service he is qualified to render. It further assumes the right of transferring labor from one enterprise to another according to an economic plan, or because of the proximity of raw materials or the presence of other particular advantages at a specific place. This is entirely within the right of a government exercising a centralized, specialized control over production. From

this it follows that we may mobilize our workers according to a definite, general, economic plan.

Patriotism and Internationalism.

Is patriotism incompatible with regard for the interests of all mankind? An article in the *New Statesman* on "What is 'Patriotism'?" gives the following reply:—

We see perversions of patriotism everywhere. The cure for these is, not the abolition of patriotism, but a better sort of patriotism. Patriotism, we may be told, is bound ultimately to lead to national egoism. We admit that egoism is a vice difficult to eradicate either in the nation or in the individual. Both men and nations are imperfect, and they cannot be made perfect at this stage in the history of this particular planet. All we can do is to make the best of them—to take co-operation and good will out of the realm of soppy phrases and see that they play their part as realities in politics.

In a real League of Nations the various patriotisms would not vanish but co-operate. Man does not need to be indifferent to his family in order to serve his country, and he does not need to be indifferent to his country in order to serve the world. If internationalism cannot reconcile itself with this fact, internationalism is doomed. An antipatriotic internationalism can only result in leaving the bellowing and bellicose sort of patriots in full possession of the field. For a bellowing patriot, in the eyes—and ears—of most people, is better than no patriot at all.

"The Cult of the Superlative."

As the baneful influence of "the cult of the superlative" is not confined to occidental journals but perceptible in Indian journalism too, the reader had better know what it is in the words of the *Scientific American*.

Journalism, so far as it is concerned with the gathering and offering to the public of the daily happenings in this world of ours is suffering from a disease which, for want of a better name, we will call "Supèrlativitis". Unless memory is at fault, the grammar of our schoolboy days taught us that a distinguishing property of adjectives is that of comparison, and that of this there are the three degrees of positive, comparative and superlative.

Now for some obscure reason, your enterprising reporter, faring forth in his daily search for truth, seems to consider that his equipment is not complete unless, in addition to pad and

pencil, he carries, a large assortment of adjectives of the superlative kind. Of adjectives of humbler degree, or shall we say, of less decorative quality, he includes, apparently, none whatever. He sheds them just as the pirate drops his blanket and other impedimenta, when going over the top for a raid.

Number of Students in European Universities.

The Living Age says:—

Most of the German universities report a record attendance since the war, especially at their courses in political science and economics. Berlin has 12,964 enrolled; Bonn 6560; Leipzig, 5800; even the new University of Hamburg reports a matriculation of 1500. Munich is the only prominent university where attendance has declined. Students are hostile to the City of Kurt Eisner and the Bolshevik *coup d'état*. Paris has a larger attendance (16,000) than any German university.

An Italian Catholic Paper on the Versailles Treaty.

Civiltà Cattolica is a leading journal of the Roman Catholics of Italy. Its criticism of the Versailles Treaty is quoted below.

What is most important and will have a decisive effect upon future history is the absence of a spiritual or ethical purpose. It is devoid of all recognition of justice, of moral sanction and of Christian charity. It denies God and His eternal laws, and His name is not mentioned in the document. For this reason it is a baneful thing and an obstacle to reconciliation. Such are the true contents of those 440 articles of peace, which might be more properly called articles of war, agreed upon by more than 30 victorious powers and imposed upon a single vanquished enemy—that is, in a word, the famous Treaty of Versailles. It is a document that posterity, when the passions and hatreds of the day have waned, will remember in quite a different spirit. Its consequences will be disastrous not only for the vanquished but also for the victors. We have said before and we repeat more emphatically now: 'We have paved the path to new wars, and the chart of that path we are to follow is called in scornful irony a peace treaty.'

Khilafat Agitation in Tunis.

Some of us may be under the impression that the Khilafat agitation is confined to India. The following placard which

recently appeared on the walls of the Grand Mosque of Tunis would dispel such an impression ;—

Glory to God forever ! Oh, Mussulmans, in view of the report published this morning in the newspapers of the occupation of the capital of Turkey, which is the city of the Caliphate, every Mussulman should participate in a demonstration which will be held to-day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, before the Government House, to protest against a measure that spells disaster for the Islam religion.

An American paper tells us that

Although the police immediately tore down the poster, many hundreds assembled at the appointed time in front of the Government House. Many students from the Grand Mosque School were in the throng. The people were perfectly quiet and law-abiding, but demanded that a delegation of six or seven of their number be received by the Resident General. The latter promptly granted their request and a discussion of the situation followed in which it was explained that the occupation of Constantinople would in no way affect the prestige or independence of their religion.

Architecture as Form in Civilization.

Without idealism and ideals life and all that is related to life must be sordid. Country life has been idealized, villages have been idealized by many a poet in many a clime. But towns, too, can be and should be idealized, and should be built nobly according to noble ideals. Professor W. R. Lethaby writes in this idealistic vein in the *London Mercury*. Says he :—

Towns and civilization are two words for nearly one thing ; the city is the manifestation of the spirit and its population is the larger body it builds for its soul. To build cities and live in them properly is the great business of large associations of men. The outward and the made must always be exact pictures of the mind and the makers. Not only is this so at any given stage, but it is so all the more in a going concern, for the outward is always reacting again on the inward, so that the concrete becomes a mould for the spiritual. Man builds towns so that the towns shall build his sons.

William Morris says somewhere that the religions of antiquity were the worshiping of cities. It may seem strange this idea of city worship, but it explains much in the history of art, and we need something of a similar sort

even now : this and other worships besides and beyond. Before the recognition of the universal and the national we require a much deepened sense of the civic. Here comes before the *Beyond*. Almost the greatest question of the time is the one of finding wells for the refreshment of our vitality—the inducing of national spirit, town spirit, and home spirit. Such spirit is a very subtle essence, and yet it dwells in houses, and cities are its reservoirs.

He concludes his beautifully written article thus :—

Therefore, leaving the things of the past, press forward to produce, to be, to live. There is much talk of patriotism, but patriotism requires a ground on which to subsist ; it must be based on love of home, love of city, and love of country. Let nothing deceive us—civilization produces form, and where noble form is attained there is civilization. Life is a process, a flow of being, and where there is this vital activity, music, drama, and the arts are necessarily thrown off. Living art comes on a tide of creative intelligence.

"Pernicious Literature."

In *To-day* Mr. Holbrook Johnson tells us what he understands by the expression pernicious literature.

Periodically we are treated to much noise in the papers on the subject of pernicious literature, but nobody seems to realize quite clearly what really constitutes pernicious literature. Some people think pernicious literature is that kind of writing which is subversive of orthodox morality, or orthodox religion, or orthodox social ideas ; others think it is that sort of literature which, as the saying goes, cannot be put into the hands of a young girl, or the kind of books that are calculated to make the average office boy discontented with his lot and desirous of emulating the exploits of Deadwood Dick, Buffalo Bill, or Three-Fingered Jack. I, on the other hand, think pernicious literature is none of these things. On the contrary, I am disposed to believe that a good deal of the literature nowadays condemned as pernicious is the only sort of literature worth talking about.

Only those books which deliberately misrepresent actuality by, for instance, throwing a false glamour over actions in themselves sordid and destructive of character are pernicious ; but it happens that such books are only very rarely condemned by the 'unco guid.' But there are books, a great many of which are approved as classics by all sorts of people, which are more definitely offensive than any of the so-called pernicious books of your professional moralist. I refer to those books which put forward merely a literary view of life—books written by people

who have read a lot and been taught a lot, but who have experienced practically nothing.

Too many modern writers write from second-hand experience. They have lived solely, as Mr. Zangwill once put it, 'between inverted commas.'

He also gives us some idea of what in his view is good literature.

Unless literature intensify and stimulate the soul of man; unless literature fill you with an irresistible hunger for being, urging you to live, to grow, to take risks, to achieve, time spent on it is time wasted. The only pernicious literature is that which makes you contented.

Lawyers as Leaders.

We learn from the *Century Magazine* that

An analysis of the personnel of the French Chamber of Deputies chosen at the November elections shows one hundred and fifty-four lawyers, one hundred and four landed proprietors, seventy-seven business men, forty-seven physicians and chemists, forty-four journalists, thirty-seven professors, fifteen workmen, ten solicitors, eight magistrates, seven clergymen, five diplomatists, four notaries, two airmen, and one actor. Such diversity of background in legislatures is highly valuable. It is perhaps significant to note that fewer lawyers were elected to the present Chamber than were elected at any of the four preceding elections.

The lawyer as a public leader has had an interesting evolution not only in France, but in America. The pendulum of popular confidence in the lawyer has swung from one extreme to the other.

In Europe's history and literature many uncomplimentary verdicts on the lawyer may be found. Richard de Bury, High Chancellor of England under Edward III, is found saying in his vitriolic Latin of the fourteenth century, "Lawyers indulge more in protracting litigation than in peace, and quote the law, not according to the intention of the legislator, but violently twist his words to the purpose of their own machinations." Of course, it may be that this lord chancellor, who was also Bishop of Durham, had experienced some uncomfortable tilts with lawyers who were making a defense against the cupidity of certain ecclesiastics of that time. Napoleon was given to stigmatizing lawyers as a class that lived upon the quarrels of others and stirred up trouble as a merchant drums up trade; he once sarcastically admitted that he had never been courageous enough to adopt his plan of starving lawyers by legislation, to the effect that they should not receive fees save when

they won their cases. It may be remembered that Sir Thomas More's Utopia had no lawyers, every man being left to plead his own case. By this method, as More put it, "they both cut off many delays and find out the truth more certainly."

This idea of eliminating professional counsel from litigation took root in the legislation of certain of the early American colonies.

In 1645 Virginia forbade lawyers to take fees. In 1633 Massachusetts closed to lawyers membership in the "Great and General Court" of the province. When the Earl of Shaftesbury and John Locke formulated the fundamental constitution of the Carolinas, they prohibited lawyers from practising for fees of any sort, and while that constitution was in force, virtually no lawyer of distinction appeared in the Carolinas. So the pendulum was swinging to the extreme of disapproval of the social value of lawyers. But, as Mr. Burdick pointed out, the pendulum began to swing back during the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. Restrictions against the profession were lifted in Virginia, in New York, in Massachusetts, and even in the Carolinas. Gradually the leadership of colonial America gravitated into the hands of the lawyers.

Virtually every man who played a role of distinguished leadership in the early days of our history was a lawyer.

At present it goes against a man bidding for the American nation's suffrage to say that he is a lawyer. In India, "political leadership" not unoften increases the incomes of lawyers. Will the readers of the *Modern Review* prepare and keep for their own satisfaction a list of living Indian lawyers to whom "leadership" has meant decrease of income? A very few lawyer-leaders have given up practice altogether. We are not thinking of them.

Archery as a Physical Exercise.

Before the introduction of fire-arms archery flourished in Japan as elsewhere.

With the introduction of firearms, of course, all schools of archery began to decline; for the bow and arrow were no match for the gun. But as a game for physical culture and ceremonial forms cultivation of the art still continues. Even to this day there are specialists giving instruction in the art not only in Tokyo but in all the more important centers of population. There are a number of archery grounds provided for the matches that take place, and to

some Japanese these are as important as the baseball, cricket and football grounds of the West. Even ladies as well as gentlemen visit these archery grounds, and regard the game as well worthy of cultivation for reasons of physical culture if for no other reason. Whether it is of any real value for this purpose is another question.

Japanese are disposed to regard it as a very aristocratic form of physical recreation, and most of the adherents of the art are of the higher class. In following the art one has to devote great attention to proper form, position and state of mind. The archer must always be solemn and treat the art very seriously. The necessity of assuming self-control, regulating the breath and systematizing his strength of muscle, while concentrating his spirit on the effort and aim, all go to cultivating a mental character much admired in Japan. To aim an arrow correctly requires more art than aiming along the sight of a rifle-barrel. The archer is intent on hitting the target without any artificial aids.

The Japan Magazine adds :—

In the Japanese department of military arts there is provided an archery department, together with judo and fencing, and an annual examination is held for each member to award degrees of proficiency in the art. The Society of Military Virtues grants the rank of Instructor in Archery to those who have attained unto the psychological mysteries of archery. There are thirty-three persons that have received this title, of which Mr. Yu Ogasawara was the first. The various educational establishments that provide archery are the Tokyo Higher Normal School, the Tokyo Higher Commercial School and the Keiogijuku University.

A Unique Japanese Occupation.

Though the Japanese have adopted many Western practices, arts and fashions, they have not given up what is clean, convenient and cheap in their national habits and ways. For instance, S. Honda says in the *Japan Magazine* :—

One of the most unique occupations in this country is that of taking care of footwear. Japanese footwear is very different from that used in the West. Such things as *geta*, *setta* and *zori* are unknown in other lands, and when entering the house these must be taken off. If it be a theatre or assembly room where a large crowd gathers, hundreds and even thousands of *geta* must be left outside, and some one must take care of them. The custodians of footwear at public buildings, and other places of resort, have to receive the goods left in their charge and give a check for them,

giving the guest a pair of slippers to wear indoors; and then when the guest returns to take back the slippers and give him his own *geta* in return, when he must return the check. The latter is usually a bit of wood with a number corresponding to that on the tag attached to the footwear. These custodians of footwear are known as *gesokuban*, one of the oldest of occupations and found only in Japan.

At story-telling halls, moving picture halls and so on, these custodians are to be found. There is an office in most cities where *getaban* or *gesokuban* for an evening can be had, if any one is having a reception and desires thus to accommodate his guests. In large office buildings now-a-days shoes are worn, but in all houses with matting floors shoes are not allowed. In libraries, for example, this is usually the case, and men to take care of the patrons must be always on hand. At the Ueno library these men have to take care of the footwear of some 3,000 people per day. At big department stores like Mitsukoshi such men are always found to ready check one's footwear; and such men require peculiar skill and tact. It is not an occupation that any one can turn his hand to and succeed.

"There are some who advice Japanese to dispense with this sort of footwear for boots," but the Japanese have not given it up; "for the *geta* is much cheaper than the boot, and for the very muddy roads of Japan much more convenient."

Great Britain in Egypt.

Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, a well-known American authority on Near-Eastern conditions and problems, tells the story of "Great Britain in Egypt" in the *Century Magazine*. Of Saad Zaghloul Pasha, the Egyptian Nationalist leader, he writes, that he "is the best-loved man in Egypt."

I have been told over and over again by the highest British officials who had known him for years that he is a man of excellent judgment, conservative temperament, and unimpeachable character. He is idolized by the fellaheen because of his lifelong devotion to their interests. When the British arrested a lot of school-boys for expressing in an orderly manner the sentiment of love of country that is instilled into English school-boys in the same way they are taught to respect God, they gave their names as "Saad Zaghloul" one after the other. And they persisted in this tribute to the hero of Egypt despite flogging and the withholding of food. Some of the little fellows were not more than eleven or twelve.

It was the deportation of leaders of the Egyptian people like Zagloul Pasha that led to the so-called revolt.

The British authorities tried to represent the troubles in Egypt as an uprising against public order that had to be suppressed, troubles instigated by Bolshevik agitators, and an example of what would happen if the mailed fist were removed for a minute. In response to this charge, the Egyptians published a White Book, giving documentary evidence concerning the promises and negotiations before the deportation of Zagloul Pasha and his associates, and extracts from official court proceedings and photographs to prove the atrocities committed by British troops against an unarmed population. They begged the peace conference to send an international commission to Egypt to make an investigation and promised to stake their cause upon the report of such a commission.

The inevitable next move followed.

When the British authorities realized that the Egyptian situation was getting out of hand and that the people could not be intimidated into giving up their demand for self-government without exterminating them, the national delegation was allowed to proceed to Paris, and the four leaders at Malta were released and dumped at Marseilles with no explanation or apology offered.

After Easter, the delegation finally arrived at the peace conference, but despite their letters to Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson, their case was not heard. Their communications were ignored. Finally, the Treaty of Versailles was signed with the article arranging the British protectorate over Egypt.

Are the Egyptian nationalists a faction or are they the whole Egyptian people. Here is the writer's answer.

The British speak of "the nationalist faction" in Egypt, and hint darkly at massacres of Christians and Europeans if the British relax their strong military control. This can fool only the uninitiated. As far as I have been able to see, and I have enjoyed exceptional opportunities, the native Christians are fully as nationalist as the Mohammedans. They have assured me that they are heart and soul with the Mohammedans in demanding independence; Christian priests have preached patriotic sermons in mosques; and hundreds of Coptic young men and boys defied the British machine-guns in the streets of Cairo and Assiut. When I visited the Presbyterian College at Assiut in 1916, one of the seniors, who had high standing, came to me secretly, and begged me not to believe the stories of religious antagonism. "It is the old trick of *divide et impera*," he explained. "All Educated Copts realize that our interests are with our Mohammedan fellow-

countrymen against the British. As long as we are under the regime instituted by Lord Cromer, there is no hope of happiness for an educated Egyptian. The British are killing our souls. But with education we awake to self-respect, and we cannot help challenging foreign rule. We are all willing to die for our freedom."

We have in conclusion an account of the kind of how the Milner Commission was received.

Viscount Milner's commission went to Egypt to investigate the "troubles". It did not occur to Viscount Milner and his associates that the British protectorate idea was dead, like many other provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. There is no longer the ghost of a chance of getting the Egyptian people to accept the disposition made of their country against their wishes and in violation of the British promises of forty years. The "nationalist faction" is the nation. The princes of the sultan's family have issued two addresses, signed by all the possible heirs to the throne. The first, to the Egyptian nationalists, declares their adherence to the program of independence; the second, to Lord Milner, warns him of their solidarity in the national demand for complete independence.

The last resort of the Milner commission was to attempt to convince the powerful religious authorities of the Mohammedans that it was to their best interests to join hands with the British commission in settling the "difficulties". The Grand Mufti replied:

"No Egyptian will accept the protectorate or enter into a discussion with you except on the basis of independence."

Lord Milner warned the Grand Mufti that Great Britain had the power to impose her will forcibly upon Egypt. Immediately the Grand Mufti rose, to signify that the audience was terminated, and said:

"As a religious chief I can only say and affirm that it is impossible to convince the nation of the utility of a thing of which I myself am unconvinced. The entire nation claims its independence, and it would, therefore, be useless to speak in any other language. I do not forget your power. But if Egyptians bend to-day before force, they will seize the first occasion to revolt. The guaranty of force is not eternal."

Rhythm in the Universe.

Time or rhythm is one of the essentials of music, and all nature beats time, from the mighty swing of the planets to the inconceivably rapid thrill of the radio wave. Prof. D. Fraser Harris of Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S. (U. S. A.) discusses some of the rhythms of living things and especially of animal organs.

and functions in *The Scientific Monthly*. He begins by stating that the universe is full of rhythms. The succession of the seasons, the alternation of day and night, the phases of the moon, the ebb and flow of the tide, and the November flight of meteors, are instances.

"The magnitude of the time interval or period of the rhythm is not of the essence of rhythmicality. Thus, the behavior of the ether in transmitting light-waves is rhythmic, the frequency being only some billionths of a second; whereas the return of a comet such as Halley's to our solar system, altho a matter of seventy years or so, is just as rhythmical; its reappearance is periodic. Music is essentially rhythmic; in fact, it is the periodic character of the vibrations of the air that constitutes music as opposed to noise.

"Coming now to the realm of life, we find rhythms pervading everything. The plants, with striking regularity, have their own times each year for putting forth the buds, unfolding the leaves, bursting into flower, and finally allowing all the perfumed beauty of the flower to fade in order that the fruit shall be formed as a life in death.

"Doubtless the most familiar rhythms are in the world of animal life. Here we have rhythmic actions of animals as in flocks and herds, of animals as individuals, and of the organs, tissues, and cells of the animal body.

"Practically all the activities of one's daily life are rhythmic, the most obvious perhaps being the regular alternation of waking and sleeping. Rhythm pervades the world of animal life: just watch that transparent jellyfish in

the limpid summer sea, and you will notice how the edges of the umbrella contract or pulsate with slow and regular rhythm (about thirty in the minute). Equally obvious rhythms are those of the wings of birds and other flying things; of the legs in walking and dancing; of fins in swimming. Large birds fly with slow, leisurely rhythm, small birds with a fast one; just as tall men have a slow stride, short men a more rapid step. Regular rhythms are everywhere; if Nature abhors a vacuum, she also abhors fits and starts: living Nature does everything 'decently and in order.'

"The periodicity of the heart's action is an excellent example of a rhythm of animal origin. Sometimes we come across a heart with a congenitally fast rhythm, a condition called tachycardia, and sometimes one with an abnormally slow rhythm, a condition called bradycardia. Whereas the rhythm of the heart-beat is for each individual a certain average rate, it varies in different individuals according to height and age. It is a matter of common knowledge that the heart can be made to beat much faster at one time and slower at another through nerve impulses alone. Everybody knows that emotions can influence the heart very markedly.

"The rhythmicality of the heart is not conferred on it by the action of nerves or by the presence of blood or the temperature of the blood, or by any other 'external' condition; its rhythmicality is inherent in it. The rhythm of the heart is of the essence of its life: the microscopic cells of the embryo heart-beat with a rhythm as soon as they are perceptible at all, and long before nerves have reached them or any blood has been formed."

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Ex-Indentured Indian Labourers in Natal.

The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, in two leading articles, has commented adversely on the suggestion contained in my paper, published in the June number of the 'Modern Review', that ex-indentured Indian labourers in Natal, who have found it impossible to prosper, should be assisted to return to India by the offer of a small bonus in addition to the free passage already granted by the Natal Government. Mahatma Gandhi, up to a certain point, has given his support to the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*. He objects to the forfeiture of domicile which is involved, and warns the

people of India to look with the gravest suspicion on any 'voluntary repatriation' programme put forward by the South African Indian Commission. He counsels suspension of final judgment, until we receive the exact proposals embodied in the Interim Report of the Commission, about which we hear the Union Government is likely to take immediate action.

I would at once separate my own very modest proposal,—which was made after much consultation with the leaders of the Indian Community in Natal,—from any large schemes of 'voluntary repatriation' such as would involve either thinly veiled compulsion, or what may be roughly described by the name of

'bribery'. If the Commission puts forward any schemes of this kind, I need hardly say that I shall do my utmost to prevent their accomplishment. My words in South Africa itself, on that point, were as clear as any words could be. I said as follows :—

"Now to-day, after sixty years' settlement of Indians in South Africa, there is wild talk, on the part of irresponsible persons, about 'Repatriation'. But, in the Twentieth Century of the Christian Era, we cannot act in the manner of Assyrian despots in the year 800 B. C. *To bring over, for purely selfish reasons, a whole population first of all : then to use this population in order to build up prosperity and wealth ; and then, last of all, when wealth is established, to banish the labourers who produced the wealth,—such a policy is neither sane nor just.*"

I have, then, most carefully guarded myself against admitting any form of repatriation which has in it the element of compulsion. I shall continue to urge the Indian public here and in South Africa itself to have nothing to do with such a scheme, if it is ever offered by the South African Commission.

But if by 'voluntary repatriation' is meant the provision immediately of more shipping accommodation for the very large number of Indians, who have wished,—some for many years past,—to return to India, but have been unable to do so on account of the War ; if, that is to say, the Natal Government, (and also, I would add, the Fiji Government ; for the problem is the same there) are willing to provide such shipping accommodation, I shall only be too thankful. I have pressed this matter of providing steamer passages for poor Indian labourers upon the Natal Government and the Fiji Government and the Government of India, till I am tired of doing so any longer. And when the British and Dutch Guiana delegates communicated with me about labour from India, there were only two questions, which I put to them, (i) "Have you cancelled all indentures and (ii) Have you provided ships to bring back Indians home ?"

If again 'voluntary repatriation' relief means, that, through the advice and suggestion of the Commission, the present cruelly stringent and oppressive 'gold law' operating against Indians is relaxed, and Indian men and women are allowed to take back their savings in jewelry and in gold, without losing nearly half their hard-earned money in a ruinous exchange, I shall again be only too thankful. I was present at the confiscation of watch chains and jewelry on board the S. S. 'Karagola' before she sailed : at one moment, I nearly came to blows, I was so indignant with the treatment I saw. If this confiscation,—which I should like to call by a harder name,—is stopped, the relief to poorer Indians can hardly be estimated. It is of these very poor Indians I am thinking all the while.

Thirdly, if it means, that, in addition to the free passage, which has now been offered by the Union Government for 6 years, a small sum of money also is granted for the Indian labourer to make a new start with in India, after he has finally decided not to go back to Natal, I shall again be only too thankful : it will be an immense benefit to the very poor, and will prevent many of them from falling once more into the clutches of the professional recruiters in Natal, who are paid to recruit Indians for the large sugar estates, under a system which is called 're-indenture', differing very little indeed from the old indenture system.

These three kinds of relief appear to me to be quite safe and wholesome. They involve no risks of compulsion, and will not be accepted, as an equivalent for right of domicile, by any but those among the very poor, who wish to go back to India and to leave Natal for good.

It is said that, to make such distinctions as these between voluntary and compulsory repatriation is dangerous ; and that the offering of even so much relief to Indian ex-indentured labourers, who wish to return and not come back again, is the thin end of the wedge, which is certain to result in bigger demands for repatriation from the European side later on.

I would point out, that the Indian Relief Act of 1914, to which every political thinker and worker in India and Africa heartily agreed, contained a clause which involved such 'voluntary repatriation.' It was agreed by all that if the very poor Indians, who wished to return to India, cared to take a free passage on the understanding that they would not return, they would be given such a free passage. This clause in the Indian Relief Bill has afforded the greatest satisfaction to all but the European sugar planters, who are bitterly opposed to it, because it has deprived them of a part of their supply of cheap Indian labour. *It has led to no compulsory repatriation of any form whatever.* I was told by the immigration authorities, that nearly 10,000 Indian labourers have already taken the free passage and that very many more have wished to do so, but were prevented by lack of shipping accommodation. In addition, a large number of Indians, who wished to take the free passage, were inveigled back to the sugar estates by the professional recruiters.

My own suggestion, that a £10 bonus might be offered by the Union Government, as well as the free passage, is a fair and just and reasonable one. After all, the Natal Government has received the utmost benefit from the work of these Indian labourers, directly and indirectly. It is only paying back to them a small part of what is their due. And it will make all the difference to them to have this sum of money when they get back to India. It will enable them to start again. I would add, that the Union Government has been most liberal in

carrying out its own promise, given in the Relief Act of 1914. It has not only paid the passage of the Indian labourers back to the port of Bombay, but has paid also the railway fare in each case to each Indian's own native village. This was sometimes a considerable amount extra.

I am extremely anxious that this question as far as these very poor and wretchedly-paid Indian labourers are concerned,—should be kept above the expediencies and in expediencies of politics. I trust that the question may be made first of all a humanitarian question.

As matters now stand to-day, what is actually happening is this. In spite of all that the Indian leaders in Natal have done to prevent it, these Indian labourers are drifting back into indenture. The latest figure, which I could get, shows that nearly 4,000 have returned under indenture, simply because hunger and misery and want compelled them to do so. This fact appears to me to show more clearly than anything else could do the helplessness of their condition. I feel certain that, for humanitarian reasons, the argument will be widely supported, that it would be much better for

these Indians to return to their motherland with a fair chance of making a good start in India, where labour is badly needed, than that they should go back again and again, under indenture, to the sugar plantations and to the wretched coolie 'lines' of Natal.

C. F. ANDREWS.

Shelley's "Atheism".

In connection with the summary note headed Shelley's "Atheism" appearing on page 584 in the *Modern Review* for May, 1920, the following extract from an article which appeared in the *Hibbert Journal* more than a year ago may throw some light on his views regarding Christianity.

In a letter of Shelley's in 1822, these words occur :—

"I differ from Moore in thinking Christianity useful to the world; no man of sense can think it true. I agree with him that the doctrines of the French and material philosophy are as false as they are pernicious, but still they are better than Christianity...."

J. HALDAR.

TO A CHILD IN TEARS BECAUSE THE HAWK HAS KILLED THE WHITETHROAT

Now all the tears of earth
Stand in thine eyes !
Sorrow on innocence
Heavily lies.

Talon of cruelty,
Rending apart
Confident gentleness,
Rends too thy heart.

Wounded and innocent
Tears shall make wise,
From bitter rain of grief
Pity bitter rain of grief
Pity arise.

Turn thee from earth awhile,
Love shall make whole,
Let sleep both warm and deep
Shelter thy soul.

GERTRUDE BONE.

BLIND HEARTS

What means it that such beauty lies
About us, yet we reckless be,
And know not wonder or surprise
At the most glorious things we see ?

The deepest ways of humankind
But lead to the beginning, nor
Can any mortal win behind
The splendour of the invisible door.

All things are ours, even all
The heart of man may once desire,
Around the leaves that gently fall,
Within the fierceness of the fire.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

NOTES

Freeman on the future of Constantinople.

Freeman's *Historical Essays*, Third Series, 1879, deal mainly with what are now known as the Balkan States and the Eastern Question. The recent outburst of anti-Turkish feeling in England, and the fate assigned to the Turks by the treaty of peace, are not, it would seem, the manifestations of a new policy or of a new attitude. They are the outcome of the deep-rooted traditional popular sentiment of Western Europe in regard to the Ottoman nation. Here are a few extracts from Freeman to prove this :

"When the Turanian came as a mere heathen savage, he could be Christianised, Europeanized, assimilated by an European and Christian nation. He could become a pupil. There was nothing but difference in race and speech to be got over. When he came in a positively higher position, there was more than difference of race and speech to be got over. Burthened with the half-truth of Islam, with the half-civilisation of the East, he could not be assimilated, Christianized, Europeanized. Neither could the nobler representative of the same system at an earlier day. The Saracen was once an unnatural excrescence on the south-western corner of Europe. The Ottoman still is an unnatural excrescence on the south-eastern corner of Europe. He cannot become a real pupil of Christian civilization ; he cannot take real root on European soil ; he can only remain for ever the alien and barbarian intruder which he was at his first coming. [Page 396].

This famous historian further recorded his opinion that 'whatever passes away from the Turk to any European power is so far a gain' (p. 414). He hoped that like other great European cities which were once under Moslem rule, e.g., Toledo and Cordova, Buda and Belgrade, Athens and Trinovo and Palermo [capital of Sicily], Constantinople would one day be wrested from the Turk and restored to Christendom.

"For nearly two hundred and fifty years Palermo was one of the greatest cities of Islam, a special abode of Islam, a city where the

Saracen had really made his house, not merely a city where he lorded it over the homes of Christians. Palermo in the tenth century was far more thoroughly a Mussalman city than Constantinople is now. Yet now we walk its streets, and ask in vain for its Mussalman lords. The day may come when men shall walk the streets of Constantinople, and ask the same question there" (p. 439).

And the volume ends with the pious hope that "we may rejoice that the capital of Sicily has for ages ceased to be a city of Islam. And so rejoicing, we may look forward with greater hope to the day when Thessalonica and Constantinople shall be as Messina and Palermo."

The Khilafat Question.

Those who sneer at the Khilafat agitation may be reminded of the following words of Freeman :—

"I must emphatically say that nothing can be more shallow, nothing more foolish, nothing more purely sentimental, than the talk of those who think that they can simply laugh down or shriek down any doctrine or sentiment which they themselves do not understand. A belief or a feeling which has a practical effect on the conduct of great masses of men, sometimes on the conduct of whole nations, may be very false and very mischievous ; but it is in every case a great and serious fact, to be looked gravely in the face. Men who sit at their ease and think that all wisdom is confined to themselves and their own clique may think themselves vastly superior to the great emotions which stir our times, as they would doubtless have thought themselves vastly superior to the emotions which stirred the first Saracens or the first Crusaders. But the emotions are there all the same, and they do their work all the same. The most highly educated man in the most highly educated society cannot sneer them out of being." *Historical Essays*, Third Series, 1879, pp. 181-82.

The Restoration of 'Order' at Jalianwalla Bagh.

"The best syllogism is swept down by trumpet-blasts of Public Safety, Social Order and other fair names for a 'Reign of Terror.' Lord Morley, *Politics and History*, (Macmillan), 1914, p. 33.

"Order, whose name had been often discredited by being used as a cloak for tyranny, ceased long ago to be the great aim of progressive minds: it was Liberty that they set before themselves, believing that all other blessings would follow in her train."—Epilogue to the *Holy Roman Empire* by Lord Bryce, (Macmillan, 1910).

"Human nature is such that men had rather govern themselves ill than be governed well by strangers."—Freeman's *Historical Essays*, 3rd Series, (Macmillan, 1879), p. 373.

The So-called 'Purity' of Race.

It is not the dusky Brahmins of India alone who are proud of their blood; the white Brahmins of the world are also proud of their blood and race. But in fact there is no purity of race.

".....the process of adoption, naturalization, assimilation, has gone on everywhere. No nation can boast of absolute purity of blood..... no existing nation is, in the physiologist's sense of purity, purely Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, or anything else. All races have assimilated a greater or less amount of foreign elements... we may again say that from the purely scientific or physiological point of view, not only is language no test of race, but that, at all events among the great nations of the world, there is no such thing as purity of race at all."—Freeman's *Historical Essays*, 3rd Series, s. v. Race and Language, p. 198.

Love of the Country's Past.

That pride in a country's past may have had consequences, will appear from the following words of Freeman:—

"In fact, it might have been better for the cause of Greece if the sentimental attractions of her name had been less strong. The modern Greeks have lost at least as much as they have gained from the burthen of an illustrious ancestry. Among the Greeks themselves a vague remembrance of days long past,—of days whose direct practical effect on modern affairs is slight indeed—has stood in the way of the development of a healthy national life." (Pp. 303-4)

But there is also another side to the story.

"As the stores of old Hellenic literature were opened, as a new Hellenic literature rose into being, the Greek learnt what men born on his own soil and speaking his own tongue had done in defence of Grecian freedom against barbarian despots. The intellectual movement strengthened the yearnings of the national spirit for emancipation from the yoke [of the Turk in 1821], and showed that the day was coming when those yearnings should no longer be in vain." (P. 356).—Freeman's *Historical*

Essays, s. v. Mediæval and Modern Greece, 3rd series, 1879.

The Work of Political Theorists and Agitators in the Unification of Germany and Italy.

It is usual for men who pride themselves on their practicality to ridicule political theorists and agitators as impatient idealists, visionaries and dreamers, but they too have their uses, as the following passage will show:

"Looking, therefore, to the form which the political reconstruction of Germany has taken, this reconstruction may fairly be said to be Prussia's work. But that work could never have been accomplished without the efforts of those very 'sentimental' or 'romantic' politicians who found themselves first ridiculed as visionaries or persecuted as agitators and then pushed aside when the moment for action came. For it was they who prepared the feeling of the nation for this revolution and who raised to the height of a national movement justified by the popular will, what would otherwise have been a career of violent self-aggrandisement. It was with Germany as with Italy, where the work of Cavour, the practical statesman, could never have been accomplished without the previous labours of Mazzini, the prophet and moral reformer who fired the hearts of his countrymen."—Lord Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. XXIV, p. 493. (Macmillan, 1910).

Mandate for Armenia.

Mosul and Mesopotamia, and Syria, inhabited mainly by Musalmans, and the former African possessions of Germany, of which the inhabitants are mostly pagan, have found their mandatories or masters. But the mandate for Christian Armenia still goes a-begging. The Christian philanthropic nations of Europe are, it seems, more eager to do good to Musalmans and pagans than to fellow-Christians; because the countries of the former are rich in mineral and other wealth, which Armenia is not.

Hypocrisy, thy name is mandatory.

Births and Deaths in British India.

The statistics of births and deaths in British India in the quarter ending 30th September, 1919, published in the supplement to the *Gazette of India*, June 5, 1920, make very gloomy reading. The following table is compiled from the *Gazette*:—

Province.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase (+) or Decrease of population (-)
Delhi	5230	3830	+1400
Bengal	205096	299406	-94310
Bihar & Orissa	224001	354279	-130278
Assam	35002	76724	-41722
United Provinces	340657	360353	-19696
Panjab	169848	120517	+49331
N.-W. Frontier	12234	15471	-3237
Central Provinces	92567	168384	-75817
Madras	222277	251337	-29060
Coorg	887	1829	-942
Bombay	115807	159225	-43418
Burma	67075	82271	-15196

There was an increase of population only in Delhi and the Panjab, which are adjacent provinces. The biggest decrease was in Bihar and Orissa. The total increase in British India was 50731, and the total decrease 453676, or a *net decrease* of 402945.

The statistics of births and deaths for the quarter ending 31st December, 1919, were published in the supplement to the *Gazette of India*, June 19, 1920, from which the following table has been compiled :—

Provinces.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase (+) or decrease (-) of population.
Delhi	6496	5475	+1021
Bengal	392002	459697	-67695
Bihar & Orissa	285320	351922	-66602
Assam	61728	68461	-6733
United Provinces	473722	491760	-18038
Punjab	271387	167660	+103727
N.-W. Frontier	19429	14856	+4573
Central Provinces	160960	148263	+12697
Madras	293480	260979	+32501
Coorg	1032	1295	-263
Bombay	163312	138603	+24709
Burma	85015	71271	+13744

The figures for this quarter are comparatively more encouraging than those for the previous one, though in this quarter too, the big tract of country comprising the contiguous provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh show more deaths than births and therefore a decreasing population. Taking the whole of British India, the increase was 192972, the decrease 159331, and the *net increase* 33641.

Taking into consideration the six months ending 31st December, 1919, there was a *net decrease* of 369304 in the population.

New Zealand Labour Party on Fiji and the Indians.

The *Maoriland Worker* of New Zealand, April 7, 1920, publishes the report of the labour members of the New Zealand Parliamentary party on indentured labour in Samoa and Fiji. The party are opposed to indentured labour. After their visit to these islands, their opinion remains unchanged. They say in the Report :

We saw nothing whatever during our visit to the islands of the Pacific to lead us to change or modify our views in opposition to the principle of indentured labor.

The report reveals a state of shocking immorality among the Chinese and Polynesian native indentured labourers in Samoa. But for the present we are concerned with Fiji. About their visit to Fiji, the labour members say :

At Fiji officially we were given no opportunity whatever to ascertain from the Indian workers the causes which led up to the recent trouble. While the Mokoia was lying in the harbour on the morning of our arrival Sir James Allen made a demand on the members for an undertaking that we should not attempt to get into touch with the coolies—an undertaking we were not prepared to enter into, and Sir James was notified accordingly.

Wherever there is oppression, the oppressors try to conceal the truth. But the visitors still managed to get at the facts.

Ashore, we were assured by the whites we interviewed that the disturbance was wholly a political upheaval—that the Indians were demanding political and social equality with the whites, and that this was a demand which was unthinkable and impossible. On investigation, however, we found that the strike had its origin in an endeavour by an overseer to increase the hours of labor on the roads from eight, to nine. The subsequent demand for a wage of 5/- a day grew out of the enormous increase in the cost of living, and was in our opinion fully justified.

About the present condition of the Indians the report says :—

The housing conditions of the Indians we found were much the same as when the Rev. Dr. Burton and Rev. C. F. Andrews described them, although belated steps are now being taken by the C. S. R. Co. to modify the evil; and from the information we derived from the Indians themselves, as well as from some of the whites we have no doubt whatever that the statement

of the Rev. Andrews concerning the reeking immorality of the coolie lines rests on solid fact. We are satisfied that shocking immorality is still rampant. We have the word of the missionaries for it that the Indians are still beaten; and that they are regarded and treated as something less than human.

It is natural for the wolf to blame the lamb and yet not to allow him to return to his native land, though he may be eager to do so, as the report states, in the following sentences :—

Very many of the whites we came in contact with were uncompromising in their denunciation of the Indians; but when we suggested that a solution of the problem would be to send them back to their own country we were at once met with the objection: "But we must have cheap labor." Yet the Indians themselves assured us that in the mass they would be glad to leave Fiji and its economic and political oppression, and that the shortage of transport facilities alone prevented an exodus.

The Indian problem in Fiji and its solution are thus stated :—

The Indians have no political rights whatever, no franchise, no voice in determining the laws under which they are compelled to live; they have no social status. Since the strike they could not move beyond their doors without danger of arrest unless provided with a permit. During the strike quite 200 of them were arrested, and their sentences range up to twelve months' hard labor. If the Indians remain in Fiji, it is generally accepted that it is only a matter of time when they will become the dominant race. Within recent decades the Fijian population has declined by tens of thousands, while the Indian population has increased enormously. If the Indians remain in Fiji, they must have economic and political equality with the rest of the people; their status as workers confers on them this inalienable right. But we are emphatically of the opinion that in the repatriation of the Indians lies the first imperative step towards the solution of what otherwise threatens to be a serious problem in Fiji.

Since our visit we have learned by cable that Mr. D. M. Manilal, M. A., LL.B. (the Indian barrister who was regarded as a "leader" of the Indians and whom, among others, we interviewed) has been ordered by the Governor to leave Suva—a line of policy which we fear will incense the Indians throughout Fiji.

Self-effacement of Japanese Educationalists.

An Indian officer who visited Japan has been publishing portions of his diary in the *Mysore Economical Journal*. He writes :—

"I have already said that the work of the professors is largely a matter of self-sacrifice. In the government publications giving a history of the University no Japanese names are mentioned among the promoters. In European countries, they would take a pride in perpetuating such names. In Japan, the workers efface themselves in their work."

In India, promoters of education are not many, even though the names of the benefactors and workers are made conspicuous in many ways.

Patents for Inventions in India.

Though Indians are not deficient in intellectual power, their bent of mind is not at present scientific and industrial. For this reason the number of Indians who invent new processes, mechanisms, instruments or apparatus is small, and so is the number of applications for patents made by them. *Commerce* wrote some time ago :—

An examination of the specifications shows that the majority of the good and workable patents arrive from abroad, mostly from Great Britain and America, Indian applications too often being for trivial inventions.

This appears to be true. The following statement compiled from figures published in the *Gazette of India*, June 5, 1920, shows the number of applications for patents from persons in India and abroad :—

Year	Indians.	Other Residents in India.	Foreigners.	Total.
1910	62	137	468	667
1911	64	142	601	807
1912	50	120	508	678
1913	65	132	508	705
1914	56	117	415	588
1915	70	105	270	445
1916	61	105	276	442
1917	114	129	359	602
1918	77	155	412	644
1919	113	200	726	1,039

Some Characteristics of Subject Nations.

Peoples who had a past to be proud of and who are at present subject to other nations, and other subject peoples, too, have some common characteristics;—one is naturally led to think thus on reading Dr. Inazo Nitobe's article on Japanese Colonization in the *Japan*

Magazine. For example, he writes of Formosa :—

"In its rather short history, Formosa has been under Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and Chinese rule. With such changes of masters there is little patriotism among the people, who nevertheless are intelligent, hard-working, and law-abiding."

Is not this true of India to some extent ?

Of Korea Dr. Nitobe writes :—

"This country prides itself on being one of the oldest nations of the earth. Oriental pride in mere age is shared by our people too : but I am afraid that in the Occident old age is identified with senility, decrepitude, and dotage. However that may be, Korea was once a powerful and advanced nation, from whom Japan learned most of her ancient arts and crafts."

India could be described, partly, in words like the above ; and therefore we have a lesson to learn from them.

Lastly, the writer says of the Korean : "Indolence was the badge of honour." This cap fits the Indian, too. And when Dr. Nitobe says that "the first lesson to instil into him [the Korean] is to work," we cannot but think that large numbers of Indians require to learn that lesson.

Sir J. C. Bose.

We learn from *Nature* that "Sir Jagadis Bose gave a very interesting lecture at the University of London Club on Thursday evening, April 29, on his well-known experiments on movements in plants."

Sir Richard Gregory, Editor of *Nature*, who presided, spoke of Bose's contributions in physics placing him in the forefront of investigators on Electric Waves. His subsequent researches in plant physiology, carried out by the remarkable instruments invented by him and constructed by his Indian mechanicians, promise to create a revolution in our conception of Tropisms. The establishment of Bose's unifying law will prove to be of as great significance in physiology as the theory of universal gravitation in the world of matter.

This was high praise indeed, but not higher than the many-sided highly original work of Sir Jagadis deserves.

Writing of the great scientist, *New India*, edited by Mrs. Annie Besant, says :

"He has carried on a long and weary battle against Western bigotry and prejudice, but has at last conquered and is recognised as one of

the foremost scientific leaders of the world. We should say "the foremost", because he has opened up a new road,....."

It is not generally known that Mrs. Annie Besant is at least as well qualified to appraise scientific work as any newspaper editor in India, as in her younger days she took advanced certificates, one in honours, and so became qualified as a science teacher in eight different sciences, studied for the B. Sc. degree at London and passed a far more difficult examination than the London B. Sc.

India's Scientific Work not Sufficient.

The work and fame of the late Mr. Ramanujam and of the very few distinguished scientific workers who are fortunately still with us, should not make us forget that for a country containing 315 millions of inhabitants, the original scientific work done by Indians is not a sufficient contribution to the world's knowledge of science. The achievements of some of our young investigators, even those of that brilliant researcher, Mr. J. C. Ghosh, a pupil of Sir P. C. Ray, should not mislead us into thinking that our young men are doing all that they can or ought to do. We should periodically take stock of our scientific achievements, in comparison with those of other countries. The editor of this Review is not qualified for that task, nor has he the materials before him to do what little he can. He only tries to remind his countrymen of what ought to be done.

In *Science Progress*, edited by Sir Ronald Ross, for January we could not find a single Indian name in the section devoted to "Recent Advances in Science." The record in the April issue of that quarterly is slightly more encouraging from the Indian point of view, for some Indian names are found there. In the fifty-five pages devoted to this record, the following entries of the work done by Indians are found :—

Applied Mathematics.

The scientific aspect of sound theory has enjoyed much attention. The foremost prominence must be given to C. V. Raman's memoir

"On the Mechanical Theory of the Vibrations of Bowed Strings and of Musical Instruments of the Violin Family, with Experimental Verification of the Results" (Pt. I, *Indian Ass. for the Cult. of Science*, Bull. 15, 1918).

Banerji, S., on the Vibration of Elastic Shells Partly Filled with Liquid, *Phys. Rev.* (2), 1919, xiii. 171-88.

Dey, A., A New Method for the Absolute Determination of Frequency, with Preface and Appendix by C. V. Raman, *Proc. Roy. Soc.* 1919, 95, A 533-45.

Sen, N. R., On the Potential of Uniform and Heterogeneous Elliptic Cylinders at an External Point, *Phil. Mag.* (6), 1919, 38, 465-79.

Prasad, J., On a Peculiarity of the Normal Component of the Attraction due to Certain Surface Distributions, *ibid.*, (6), 1918, 36, 475-6.

In the records of the original work done in philosophy, pure mathematics, astronomy, physics, physical chemistry, organic chemistry, geology, botany, plant physiology, zoology, and education, no Indian names are found. The work of another oriental nation, the Japanese, looms somewhat larger. The following Japanese names are found :

Pure Mathematics—

Matsusaburo Fujiwara, *Science Reports of the Tohoku Imperial University*, viii (1) (1919), pp. 43-51, generalises the Tauberian theorem to cover the case of the double series.

Motoji Kunujeda, Note on asymptotic formulae for oscillating Dirichlet's integrals, *Quarterly Journal*, xlviii. (2) (1918), pp. 113-136.

Tsuruchi Hayashi, on the analytic function whose modulus is a rational integral function of the imaginary part of its argument, *Science Reports of the Tohoku Imperial University*, viii. (1) (1919), pp. 17-31.

Matsusaburo Fujiwara, *Über Irrationalität unendlicher Kettenbrüche*, *Science Reports of the Tohoku Imperial University*, viii. (1) (1919) pp. 1-10.

Applied Mathematics—

Ogura, K., Trajectories in the Irreversible Field of Force on a Surface, *Tohoku Mathematical Journal*, 1919, 169, 526-9.

Ogura, K., A Remark on the Dynamical System with two Degrees of Freedom, *ibid.*, 1919, 15, 181-3.

Zoology—

Yoshida, "On the Migrating Course of Ascarid Larvae in the Body of the Host" (*Journ. Parasit.*, Vol. vi, Sept. 1919).

Nakagawa, "Further Notes on the Study of the Human Lung Distome, *Paragonimus westermani*, (*ibid.*).

Goto, "*Dissotrema* Synonymous with *Gyliauchen* (*ibid.*).

Nakahara, A Study of the Chromosome in the Spermatogenesis of the Stonefly (*Journ. Morph.*, Vol. xxxii, Sept. 1919).

Kudo, "The Facial Musculature of the Japanese (*Journ. Morph.*, Vol. xxxiii, Sept. 1919).

Takenouchi, "On the Resistance of the Red Corpuscles of Albino Rats at Different Ages to Hypotonic solutions of Sodium Chloride" (*Anat. Rec.*, Vol. xvi (Sept. 1919).

It may be noted in this connection that Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda's work in anthropology has obtained recognition in the well-known work entitled *Man Past and Present* by A. H. Keane, revised and largely rewritten by A. H. Quiggin and A. H. Haddon, Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press, 1920), as the following extract from it will show :—

"This (Risley's) classification while more or less generally adopted in outline is not allowed to pass unchallenged, especially with regard to the theories of origin implied. Concerning the brachycephalic element of Western India Risley's belief that it was the result of so-called "Scythian" invasions is not supported by sufficient evidence.

"The foreign element is certainly Alpine, not Mongolian and it may be due to a migration of which the history has not been written." Ramaprasad Chanda goes further and traces the broad-headed elements in both "Scytho-Dravidians" (Gujaratis, Marathas, and Coorgs) and "Mongolo-Dravidians" (Bengalis and Oriyas) to one common source, "the *Homo Alpinus* of the Pamirs and Chinese Turkestan," and attempts to reconstruct the history of the migration of the Alpine invaders from Central Asia over Gujarat, Deccan, Behar and Bengal. His conclusions are supported by the reports of Sir Aurel Stein of the *Homo-Alpinus* type discovered in the region of Lob Nor, dating from the first centuries A. D. This type "still supplies the prevalent element in the racial constitution of the indigenous population of Chinese Turkestan, and is seen in its purest form in the Iranian speaking tribes near the Pamirs." (Pp. 547-8).

A Suggested Solution of the Irish Problem.

In the course of a most outspoken article, arguing against coercion, the *New Statesman* writes :—

If we offer Ireland unconditional freedom we can win her. If we maintain our present indefensible and insensate policy of coercion we shall lose her—perhaps forever. That is the

real alternative to-day. Ireland will never be a willing member of the British Commonwealth until she has been offered the free choice of complete independence if she so wills. We may reasonably attach conditions to the offer. We may insist that no decision shall be taken until a certain, perhaps prolonged, period shall have elapsed—long enough for the passions of to-day to have burned themselves out. But the ultimate choice must be perfectly free.

Alleged Outrages on White Women by Black Troops.

Some places in Germany were recently occupied by France, and black troops were employed for the purpose. Against the use of black troops protests were made in Germany, France (by socialist papers), England and America, whereupon they were withdrawn from Frankfort, but not from the other occupied territories. An extract is given below of the comments of the *Nation* (London) on this topic.

But there is a graver issue still. We now have the reports of the occupation of Frankfort by 'Moroccan rifles,' if not by Senegalese troops, and of the horrible sequel. Apart from the political merits of this incursion, the introduction of black troops into the heart of white Europe will strike England, and still more vividly America as an outrage on civilization. I have seen a number of copies of German police reports of the conduct of the Senegalese troops in the Palatinate. I don't refer to them in detail—every friend of France would rejoice to find that they had been exaggerated—but they allege a series of terrible offences against women as well as a practice of establishing brothels for these men in the best quarters of German towns, and making the municipal authorities pay for them. I imagine that the officers of these men do their best to control them. But are they controlled? A great country like France—a chief ornament of European society, and a centre of her most delicate forms of culture—must, if she thinks of it, revolt from the notion of planting these savages in cities that have hundreds of years of Christian civilization behind them. Such is the way that militarism is leading us. To many of us it must seem a road to ruin. I am glad, therefore, to know that there have been many French protests—among others by M. Cachin and M. Gide—against this horrible descent. But surely it is time for the Allies to speak, and in tones that M. Millerand must listen to.

Outrages on women are devilish and abominable, be the perpetrators white or black and the victims white or black. When white troops are or have been

stationed in a conquered or occupied country of which the people are not white, exactly the same kinds of outrages are or have been committed by white soldiers on "coloured" women, and brothels are or have been established for these men, just as are alleged to have been done by and for the black troops. But the angelic Christian nations of Europe have seldom made nation-wide protests against the many-centuries-long sufferings of the victimised "coloured" women of non-European non-Christian countries.

Egypt's Demand.

The Italian paper, *Il Giornale d'Italia*, publishes an interview with an Egyptian delegate in Rome in which the latter says:—

You ask what Egypt wants. It wants independence, complete, unqualified independence. When we attain this we propose to continue protection for foreign investments, mixed courts, and the existing guaranties for our public obligations abroad. We merely want our country to be our own. So far as the Suez Canal is concerned, we would place that under the League of Nations, where it properly belongs. Our agitation has nothing to do with that.

"This Distinguished Don-Quixote."

The following tribute to President Wilson, contained in the Spanish paper *La Vanguardia* of Barcelona, is well deserved:—

We shall have to wait until the presidential election to know the real mind of the American people regarding the theories of a President who has become a sacrifice to his cause. But whatever may be the outcome of the election, Wilson will be the eventual victor. He may fall lacerated and overwhelmed by his detractors; but it is certain that his fame in history will always raise him above the common level of mediocrity. He did conceive a grand ideal and he defended it to the last. If people belittle that ideal so much the worse for them, for it will eventually avenge itself upon its detractors. The fame of Lodge, unless it be ennobled by some later act, will be forgotten. The fame of Wilson will continue through all generations, and the halo of glory will illumine the memory of this distinguished Don Quixote, who sought to make peace perpetual and good will among all mankind a reality.

War and Peace.

Alfred H. Fried writes some plain

words of truth in the Swiss Liberal Republican daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* regarding what constitute war and peace. Says he:—

No more dangerous blunder could be made than to assume that because fighting has stopped and a treaty has been signed we have peace. We are witnessing again the old, hoary, time-resisting misconception of peace which even the storms of the World War have not blown out of the foggy minds of men. How often thinkers have tried to show that military action is not a necessary feature of war. *Any system of international relations based solely upon force is war.* War may continue although no guns are fired. *Insecurity, personal restraints, general antagonism, a belief that our own safety and freedom are endangered by others, being on the alert to kill and destroy in order to avoid death and destruction—this is the essence of war.* Such sentiments may be latent or acute. Even before 1914 the nations of Europe were at war. At the latter date latent war merely assumed an explosive form, which continued until November, 1918, when it subsided to another semiquiescent stage. That still continues: we are even now at war. The peace which we sought is yet to come. [Italics ours.]

The condition indicated in the sentences italicised above exist in subject countries.

The writer thinks, "Europe will never recover so long as Germany and France each regard the existence of the other as endangering its own survival. Europe is going to be ruined by Germany and France, if their mutual hostility is permitted to prevent the substitution of permanent peace for our present political anarchy."

There is only one way to remove this obstacle. Sentiments, feelings, and traditions that are interwoven with the very nature of these two nations must be rooted out. What is at stake justifies an unprecedented effort. It is the only hope left us. France and Germany must come to their senses; they must recognise their community of interest. They must bridge over the stream of blood that parts them, they must cleave their way through the thick fog of hatred, that devil's enchantment, that walls them from each other and condemns them to mutual destruction. In doing this they can save Europe.

Mixed Foods.

The praises of a mixed diet are often heard. But few people know the exact disadvantage of taking various kinds of

food at the same meal. To them we commend the following passages from *Chambers's Journal*:

It is considered by many people that a mixed diet is necessary for the proper functioning of the digestive organs, and that digestion is thus more rapidly accomplished, and the food more completely assimilated, than when only one kind of food is taken. While it is true that we require for the maintenance of health and the proper nourishment of the body, the salts and the acids found in fruits and vegetables, the fats in cream and butter, and the carbohydrates in starchy foods, we do not need them in a heterogeneous mass.

One of the chief causes of digestive disturbances is the mixing of foods which do not harmonise. There are several reasons for this. The process of digestion is a complicated one, and foods vary greatly in the time required for their digestion—a fact some people do not realise. A ripe apple, for instance, is digested in a healthy stomach in one hour, while a cabbage takes from four to five hours. Should both these articles be taken into the stomach at the same time, both must remain there until they are digested, as they will become so intermingled in the process of digestion that they cannot possibly be separated. The apple digested and ready for absorption, if not absorbed, ferments, and flatulence and other disagreeable symptoms of ordinary indigestion result.

Raw food and cooked food, it is laid down, should not be eaten together.

In the former the organic salts are unchanged; in the latter these salts undergo a distinct change in the process of cooking. One pound of raw food contains as much nourishment as two pounds of cooked food, but the average person's stomach is, as a rule, quite unaccustomed to food in a raw state, and this fact is not generally observed when such food is eaten in addition to the cooked food which makes up the daily dietary. Digestive disturbance results in most cases, although in a healthy stomach the disagreeable feelings are more or less evanescent.

Ayurvedic injunction and popular belief agree in holding that certain foods should not be taken together. In the article from which we have quoted, it is said: "Milk and fruit, meat and milk, milk and raw vegetables do not combine well. Milk is best taken alone or in milk puddings, with oatmeal porridge,....." "There is a tendency to over-eat in a mixed diet....." Yet some people, who eat heavy mixed meals day after day, wonder why they are troubled with the disagreeable physical feelings that follow closely those who live to eat."

There are countries where the national diet is of the plainest kind. A notable example of this is Scotland, where a splendid type of manhood is reared on a simple diet, the basis of which is oatmeal porridge and milk.

'The plainer the living the higher the physical standard' is just as true a saying as 'Plain living leads to high thinking;' and no matter what the advocate of a mixed-food diet may say to the contrary, there is no disputing the fact that the nearer one gets to the mono-diet the better the health will be. At any rate, there is no necessity to mix together those foods that radically disagree, as milk and meat, or acid fruits and starches.

O'Dwyerism and Dyerism not Expedient in O'Dwyer's Country.

There is no form of imperialistic brutality and atrocity to which Ireland was not subjected in her past history. But at present, certain things which were done there in the past and done in recent times in other countries, it would not be *expedient* to do there now; the question of righteousness or humanity need not be raised, as imperialism is not a cousin of righteousness or humanity. So, when the *New Statesman* writes that "the Government can maintain order in Ireland with its present forces there if it is prepared to kill, as General Dyer killed in Amritsar and as the Germans killed in Belgium," it means that, as such killing is out of the question in Ireland, the people there being ready and willing to return bullet for bullet and having the moral support of America and other countries, coercion must be given up, or a much larger number of troops must be sent to that Island.

Belgium as Mandatory for some ex-German Territory.

According to Reuter, it has been arranged that the ex-German provinces of Ruanda and Urundi shall be included with Tanganyika, in East Africa, in a Belgian mandate. The Allies probably thought that Belgium's exceedingly humane record in the Congo Free (!) State entitled her to a mandate in Africa!

Administration of Calcutta University.

A vakil who was Tagore Law Professor

for 1900 has not, it is said, yet published his Lectures, on the Law of Torts, as he was bound to do according to the rules. Up to June 6, 1919, this matter, it is said, had been dealt with by the University at least 30 times and extensions of time granted to the professor repeatedly. There were two other defaulting professors who have, however, after much delay, printed and published their lectures. The minutes of the Syndicate dated the 31st December, 1919, contain an order that "So-and-so," brother of the late —, a Tagore Law Professor, "be requested to state whether the manuscripts of the lectures of his late brother have been traced with the intimation that in case of no manuscripts being forthcoming, the University may see itself obliged to take steps to recover the sum paid as salary." Will some Senator enquire whether, either these manuscripts were found and published or the sum paid as salary recovered? The University paid some twenty thousand rupees, we think, as salary to the late Dr. Thibaut but got nothing tangible in return.

The affairs of the university, including the state of its finance, need looking into but there is not a sufficient number of independent, energetic and willing workers among the Fellows who can spare time for the purpose. And as the Minutes are not sold or otherwise supplied to the public, there is little of regular newspaper or other outside criticism.

Not that the Minutes are not given to a single person who is not a Senator, as was implied in the official reply given to us by the Registrar, Calcutta University, when we applied to be supplied with them on payment. (*Vide, Modern Review* for May 1920, p. 590). For a gentleman, who is not a Senator and is unknown to us, wrote to us from a mufassal station the following letter on reading our last May issue:—

"I send you herewith a copy of the Minutes of the Calcutta University supplied free of cost to me which contains all the correspondence of the University with the Government of India relative to the endowment of Sir Rash Behari Ghosh. It is really a pity that these blue books should not be accessible to a publicist like you."

In future I shall deem it a favour if you will accept these books from me."

We thank our correspondent for his courteous offer; but we wanted to have the Minutes direct from the University. Will the Registrar explain how and why a gentleman who is neither a Fellow nor a Senator regularly gets the Minutes free of cost, but a journalist who is prepared to pay for them must not get them?

O'Dwyerian Irrelevancies.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, and their supporters have been trying to obscure the real issues by raising all sorts of irrelevant questions. For instance, whether Mr. Montagu knew all about the happenings in the Panjab and nevertheless pretended to be ignorant of them, is a matter which affects the truthfulness of the Secretary of State. The political and moral character of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Panjab cannot be altered by Mr. Montagu's ignorance or knowledge of Panjab affairs on a particular date. Nor can such ignorance or knowledge alter, either for the worse or for the better, the character of what Dyer did at Amritsar or the other O'Dwyerian angels did elsewhere in the Panjab. Judgment has been and must be based on this evidence. Again, if Sir Michael had really requested Lord Chelmsford to place the military officers under civil administrators and if the latter nevertheless really refused to grant the request, the viceroy must be pronounced much more guilty than the public has yet considered him to be; but atrocities will remain atrocities all the same. It has also been said that the Indian members of the committee were not impartial. This charge has been effectively rebutted. But suppose, they were partial. They did not write the written statement of Dyer for him, or put the words of his oral evidence in his mouth; nor did they exercise any compelling influence on any of the other witnesses. Howsoever and in what-soever manner the conclusions and arguments of the Indian members may be assailed, the evidence of the witnesses is

on record, and it is quite easy to arrive at independent conclusions, without paying any heed to the majority or the minority report or the letters of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

Dyer, O'Dwyer and the other men who are a disgrace to humanity, stand self-condemned. Even if the British Government finally declare their innocence and reward them to boot, Indian public opinion and British public opinion, to the extent that the latter is really impartial and righteous, cannot be altered thereby.

"Organised Conspiracy."

Mr. Shafi has been accused by Lord Sydenham of inconsistency, because an address presented to Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the eve of his departure which was signed among others by Mr. Shafi, spoke of the existence of an "organised conspiracy", while it appears from the Government of India's Despatch that he is of opinion that there was no such conspiracy. Mr. Santanam has written to the press to say that the words relating to the conspiracy in the address were interpolated without the knowledge of the signatories and that when, after they had heard it read, they came to know what they had signed, they kept quiet because of fear caused by the martial law regime. Mr. Santanam has not yet been contradicted. But it must be said that his letter, while freeing Mr. Shafi from the minor charge of inconsistency fastens on him the more damaging charge of cowardice. We say "minor charge", for it may very well be imagined that a man after signing a paper containing a statement, may come to know facts which necessitate a change of opinion.

Verily oppression degrades and dehumanizes both the oppressors and the oppressed.

Jallianwala Bagh Meeting neither Dangerous nor Rebellious.

The best defence of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, so far brought forward, is that Dyer had to deal with rebels and so he shot them down and thus broke the back of the rebellion. The answer is that the disturbances at Amritsar had

ceased days before April 13, the date of the meeting and the massacre, and that, as the *Servant of India* says, it can be shown from the record of the Amritsar conspiracy case that the meeting was not a meeting of rebels nor was it dangerous.

According to the statement made before the Martial Law Commission by the notorious Hansraj who turned approver, the very first resolution passed at the meeting recorded the emphatic condemnation by the citizens of Amritsar of the outrages committed by the mob on the 10th April. Another resolution recorded their determination to carry on agitation on purely constitutional lines, while the last resolution empowered the chairman of the meeting to send copies of these resolutions to the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, the Commissioner of Lahore, the Lieutenant Governor, the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. (Cf. Ex. 7 and 8 in the Amritsar Conspiracy Case.) And this meeting which condemned outrages and voted in favour of constitutionalism is represented as dangerous or as consisting of rebels!

Even if we suppose that there was a rebellion, which is not true, Dyer was not justified in shooting any number of any men, guilty or innocent, he liked. Mr. Montagu's letter to the Government of India shows that very many of the men assembled at the Bagh were perfectly innocent, and it was mere devilry to kill them.

Killing of innocent non-combatants is looked upon as criminal even when there is a state of war between two countries, as will appear from the following extract made by the *Mahratta* from the Report of the Bryce Committee appointed by Mr. Asquith's Government to enquire into the alleged German outrages in France and Belgium :—

"The latter kind of murder is the killing of the innocent inhabitants of a village because shots have been fired, or are alleged to have been fired, on the troops by some one in the village. For this practice no previous example and no justification has been or can be pleaded...

Such acts, are no part of war, for *innocence is entitled to respect even in war. They are mere murders*, just as the drowning of the innocent passengers and crews on a merchant ship is murder and not an act of war."

"The question then arose how they could have happened.....The explanation seems to be that these excesses were committed—in some cases ordered, in others allowed—on a system and in pursuance of a set purpose. *That purpose*

was to strike terror into the civil population and dishearten the Belgian troops, so as to crush down resistance and extinguish the very spirit of self-defence. The pretext that civilians had fired upon the invading troops was used to justify not merely the shooting of individual francstireurs, but the murder of large numbers of innocent civilians, an act absolutely forbidden by the rules of civilised warfare."

It is on record that Dyer also wanted to strike terror, and reduce the morale of the "rebels." And he had the support of O'Dwyer. And Lord Chelmsford's assurance given long previously that he would support his subordinates in any steps which they might take in suppressing disturbances—a fact which came out during the Indemnity Bill debate—must have increased the 'strength' of all 'strong men.'

The Simla Archbishop's Letter.

As capital has been made of the letter written to the London *Times* in defence of Dyer by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Simla, we quote below the opinion of the *Standard*, an ably conducted Roman Catholic weekly of Madras, without agreeing in detail with all that it says.

Of course, General Dyer has tried to defend his conduct at Jallianwallah Bagh, and apologists for his action have come forward to defend him, among whom we are surprised to find the Archbishop of Simla. "*Que fait il dans cette galere.*" His Grace's views were given in a purely private capacity as a British subject not at all as a representative of the hierarchy or of Catholics in India. The Archbishop has a perfect right to have his own views on any matter and we may be sure he spoke from the highest motives. But we must insist he wrote his letter to the *Times* as an individual and has committed no body of Catholics to his position. We have to call attention to this aspect of the matter because capital has already begun to be made in England of the Archbishop of Simla's views in favour of General Dyer, and will be made by the Indian Press against the Catholic Church. And if we deal further with the Archbishop of Simla's views of this matter, it is mainly because he is the most distinguished of those who have so far defended General Dyer's action. It all comes to this—the shooting at Jallianwallah Bagh saved the Punjab, and saved India. We are ready to allow it did—but the point is, was it necessary? Even the administrator of martial law must adjust his means to his ends—especially as he is endowed with such vast powers. He

not justified in using an iota of physical force more than necessary. If striking terror was necessary to save the Panjab and India, General Dyer need not have gone to Jallianwallah Bagh. He might have ordered a number of raises and rays into his compound and worked off his battue there. But the Jallianwallah crowd disobeyed his orders and disobedience was punished! But could he be sure that everyone in the crowd had heard of his order, and did they know they were disobeying any order? No, the whole thing is sickening and indefensible. The deed was pure Prussianism, the policy of frightfulness which shocked the world during the war. But, say the apologists of General Dyer, if you condemn his action, you would be paralysing the nerve of any soldier who might be called upon in the future to perform a disagreeable duty. We think much better of officers and soldiers than that. No man, called upon to preserve order with the use of extreme physical force, will ever be turned a hairsbreadth from what he considers to be his duty by the fear of a prospective judicial enquiry. He will do his duty, by the light of his understanding and his conscience and he would be punished if he did not do it. He is there to save the situation and he must use all the force that is necessary to save it. And it is sheer cowardice to fear that because a man may not abuse his powers, he will not make a good and proper use of them.

Mr. Lajpat Rai and the Panjab Council To Be.

Mr. Lajpat Rai is perfectly right in deciding not to seek election to the enlarged Panjab legislature. The reasons quoted below must appeal to all self-respecting sons of the Motherland :

(2) Those officers who in the martial law regime took a prominent part in disgracing and dishonouring the educated community of the Panjab, are still adorning their thrones. Col. O'Brien who perpetrated unspeakable horrors on the pleaders of Gujranwala, Major Bosworth Smith who with his stick raised the veil of Indian ladies and addressed them in the most contemptuous of tones, are still occupying their offices. Mr. Thompson, the chief secretary, is about to come. Similarly other officers who were the right hand men of Sir Michael O'Dwyer have either come to occupy their old offices or are about to do so. These officers will be the official members of the Punjab Council. I have no personal enmity against them, nor have I suffered any personal wrong at their hands. But any Indian member going into the Council will be in duty bound to meet these officers. He will have to deal with them every day and it would be improper for him to keep himself studiously aloof from them; because the very object of going into the Council is to serve one's country and countrymen thereby and to co-operate as far as possible and work harmoniously with Government officials and to oppose them whenever necessary. But the wounds inflicted by martial law on

the Punjab are so fresh that I am myself unfit for the task. My heart is utterly broken. I do not want to go to the Council with this 'wounded heart'. Although I have personally sustained no wrong at their hands my self-respect does not permit me to cultivate friendship with those hands that harshly caned my brethren, that contemptuously laughed at and taunted them and who otherwise disgraced them in many ways.

These new councils can only prove beneficial to us when and if the Indian and official members work in unity and concord and together solve problems of state by mutual consultation. Yet in the present circumstances of the Punjab there is no prospect of the fruition of this hope. If the "Civil and Military Gazette" correctly represents the views of Punjab officials (European), then I have no hesitation in saying that the time has not come for Indians and Europeans to work together for the good of the country. I heartily desire that the time should soon come, but to say that the time has come is to shut our eyes to facts. Up till now they are the rulers and we are the ruled. The Punjab Publicity Committee which is a confidant of the Government also says the same thing. As long as their relation continues it is very difficult for us to work together. They suspect us and we suspect them. In my view therefore I cannot be useful to my country from inside the Council and it is better therefore that I should not go into it.

The Question of Boycotting the Reformed Councils.

In independent countries where the representative form of government prevails, it is not every capable man who seeks to enter the legislative body. Many have no aptitude for the work of such bodies, many do not like such work, and many think that their time and energies may be better employed elsewhere in other kinds of work. This is the case in dependent countries, too, like India.

Here we find that in the provincial councils and in the Indian council as they are, there are elected Indian members belonging to both the parties known as Moderate and Extremist or Liberal and Radical. There has not been any talk among Moderates of boycotting the enlarged provincial and all-India legislatures, though it is admitted that the Moderates have not got all that they wanted. It is among the extremists that there was some talk of having nothing to do with the reformed councils. It may, therefore, be asked, why some leading men of this party entered and remain members of the existing councils? Can it be said that the present councils are better than what the reformed councils would be? Or, in

other words, that these afford greater opportunities of controlling the government and conducting it according to the will of the people than the enlarged councils would afford? We do not think that that is or can be contended. On the contrary, it must be recognised that, though in some details the new Government of India Act gives the bureaucracy more autocratic powers than they at present have, on the whole the reformed councils will be at least better debating clubs than the present ones and they will enable the elect of the people to produce greater "moral effect" and wield greater "influence" than now. We speak of moral effect and influence not power, because while there may be a difference of opinion as to how much, if any, real power the representatives of the people will enjoy in the new legislatures, there can be none as regards the greater opportunity for producing moral effect and exercising influence. And we have used these last expressions, also because in the decades during which Indians have served in the legislatures as elected members, they have practically done little but "produce moral effect and exercise influence", whatever their value and meaning. And we may incidentally say here with due respect to men like the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, that considering the time and energy spent, the "moral effect" and the "influence" were purchased at too high a price. If men like Mr. Gokhale had given so much time, energy and devotion to national service outside the councils, they could have done greater good to the people. It may be said that the reformed councils to be, are the result of the aforesaid "moral effect", &c., produced by them. If it be taken for granted that the reformed councils are rudimentary parliaments, which they are not, it must be said that the "anarchists", too, have claimed the credit for whatever real rights may be conceded to the people. Without attempting to adjudicate between the claims of the Moderates and the "anarchists", it may be said that Mesopotamia would soon have a constitution of a more advanced character (with a definite promise of ultimate independence) than

India would have in 1921, without the Mesopotamians having to serve apprenticeship for nearly sixteen decades of British rule and without their leaders having to waste their lives for some decades in merely producing moral effect.

But not to digress farther.—

If both Moderates and Extremists have so long been content to produce moral effect and wield influence, why should not both parties agree now to produce greater moral effect and wield greater influence? The Moderates agree. The Extremists may not as a party agree; but those of them who are now members of council should be able to clearly state their reasons if they decide not to have anything to do with producing moral effect in future.

The Extremists may indeed say that they have had enough of fooling all these years; they are not going to have more. But let us have it in plain language from their Honourable leaders.

Those Extremists who are not satisfied with the constitutional reforms—and who among them is?—will no doubt carry on agitation for real constitutional reforms and real power, for, as a party, they are not yet thinking of any "direct action" as Mr. Gandhi has decided upon. Such of them as are thinking only of "constitutional agitation" we may be permitted to remind that "freedom of speech" has been guaranteed only within the council chambers, not anywhere else in British Indian territory. Why not carry on "constitutional agitation" within these halls, as well as without? Mr. Gandhi's position is more sensible, logical, courageous and straightforward than that of those who would merely boycott the councils but continue to pay the taxes levied and obey the laws made by the authorities. There is no sense in merely paying the taxes and obeying the laws, without exercising even the right of criticising *freely* the law-maker, the law-enforcer, the tax-levier and the tax-spender. And the boycotting of councils *unbefits* grown-up men the more if done in a huff, because things are not to our liking or up to our standard, just as children sulk and give up taking meals or wearing good clothes when they

are dissatisfied with their parents. But are the bureaucrats really our loving *ma-baps* that they would care for our sulking? On the contrary, they would like our best men not to be in the councils. It will be said, criticism in the council chambers is practically ineffectual and a waste of breath. But is criticism more effectual outside these chambers? If criticism be of any the least use anywhere, surely it would be of use where freedom of speech is guaranteed; because it can be more unfettered in the council halls than outside.

We do not much care for the words co-operation and non-cooperation. We understand the meaning of the word utilization better. We do not care to co-operate with the bureaucrat who is here only to rule and exploit, for real co-operation is based on reciprocity. But we can certainly utilize every right and every disability.

It is not our role either to advise or to lay down rules for the guidance of parties or persons. It may be that we sometimes provoke thought, and that in more senses than one. And that is perhaps not an absolutely useless part to play. However, our concluding idea is that those who are well-informed and good speakers and debaters and can work hard and have a taste for council work may seek the suffrage of some constituency or other, if they cannot think of turning their hands to something more useful and more to their liking.

Scarborough Labour Conference.

London, June 23. At the Labour Conference at Scarborough Mr. Tom Shaw, M. P., moved a lengthy resolution condemning the Peace Treaty as destructive instead of constructive and demanding its revision, also recognition of Russian Soviet and arresting of chaos in Central Europe.—Reuter.

India and Labour Conference.

London, June 24. The Labour Conference at Scarborough has passed a resolution demanding full application of the principle of self-determination to India, deploring cruel barbarous action of British officers in the Punjab, and urging criminal trial of officers concerned, also the recall of Viceroy.

Mr. Mohammed Ali speaking to-day at the Labour Conference at Scarborough said that

the Turkish Treaty contained clauses unacceptable to the Mussulmans. It was Indian troops who beat the Turks. He insinuated that there might be trouble in the Indian Army unless the treaty were revised.

Dealing with the Labour Conference and the Punjab riots Mr. Ramsay Macdonald declared that General Dyer ought to be punished but only after proper judicial enquiry. He urged the recall of Lord Chelmsford and resignation of Mr. Montagu. Mr. B. P. Wadia of Madras thanked the Conference for the resolution and said it would be gratefully remembered in India for generations. He hoped that the Labour members of Parliament would work for the repeal of the coercive measures which were a disgrace to Britain.—Reuter.

Ireland and Labour Conference.

The Labour Conference has adopted by a large majority a resolution declaring that the Irish people are entitled to decide for themselves the form of Government they desire. An amendment in favour of giving Ireland Home Rule within the Empire was defeated. The resolution declares that the time is past for half-measures and the Conference demands that the Government shall immediately provide for the election of a Constituent Assembly for all Ireland by proportional representation.—Reuter.

Ireland's claim to independence has found voice in India, too. A correspondent of the *Catholic Herald of India*, a paper which we like for its geniality and ability even when we do not accept its views, writes to say that Dominion Home Rule and things of that sort cannot satisfy the Irish. They will not be content with anything less than independent nationhood. *The Standard*, the Catholic paper of Madras, writes editorially:

Why not an independent Ireland? That is the issue with which recent events in Ireland have brought us face to face. It is not a mere revolt, it is a revolution that we are witnessing in Ireland. Three-fourths of Ireland has declared its intention of seceding from England and setting up an independent republic. The time when Dominion Home Rule would have been acclaimed by the people seems to have passed. And the welcome which the idea of an Irish republic has received in America shows that the public opinion of Europe would not be averse to the idea. The greatest English objection to an Irish Republic would be the military objection—it would make the defence of England difficult. But this objection is not insuperable. Ireland could be neutralised or the Republic could give England the same guarantees that Cuba has given the U. S. A. The passing away of the connection between Ireland and England

has by now lost even the character of a first-class event. If there is any historical justice in the severance of the Netherlands from the Spanish Empire, or in the resurrection of Poland or in the rise of the new Slav states, Ireland has earned its right to be independent of England. What will the English cabinet say to the U.S.A. Secretary of State's message to the Chairman of the House of Representatives that "nothing connected with the foreign relations of the U.S.A. should deter the Committee from any action it might feel impelled to take with regard to the American recognition of the Irish Republic"?

Egypt and the Labour Conference.

The Labour conference has passed a resolution urging full recognition of the Egyptians to independent and responsible Government and limitation of British action in Egypt to that to which responsible Nationalist government freely consented.—Reuter.

Sir Vithaldas Thackersey's Educational Benefactions.

Says the *Indian Social Reformer* :—

Sir Vithaldas Thackersey could not have chosen a nobler and more enduring method of commemorating the deep piety which distinguished his late mother, Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey, than the dedication which he has just announced, of Rs. 1,500,000, (£150,000) to the founding of an Indian Women's University in Bombay. This crowns a series of judicious benefactions which he has made in recent years to the cause of education. Most important of these is the Educational Fund of Rs. 500,000 which he has set apart for the purpose of helping 100 students attending Colleges to prosecute their studies. Such help is given mostly in the form of loans repayable in convenient instalments when the students concerned have begun to earn their livelihood. The full complement of 100 students is now receiving such help. Equally well-conceived is Sir Vithaldas's gift of Rs. 100,000, also in the name of his mother, to the Vanita Vishram, an institution founded by a few devoted Gujarathi ladies to impart religious and secular education to women on Orthodox Hindu lines, for maintaining 16 women of the Bhatia caste, to which Sir Vithaldas belongs. Another munificent and well-chosen gift of his, is that of Rs. 65,000 to the Poona Seva Sadan for the purchase of the Patvardhan Wada to be used as a Hostel, Library and Meeting Hall for the benefit of the members of the institution. This building will also be named after Sir Vithaldas's mother. This does not exhaust the list of his educational endowments. He has undertaken to maintain, as a beginning for two years, at a cost of Rs. 50,000, a large number—about 40—elementary schools for the benefit of children of members of co-operative credit societies in rural areas, with the object of promoting the permanence of this great movement of self-help. A distinguishing feature of these noble benefactions is that they have all been directly inspired by the great affection and reverence in which he, like a true Indian, holds the memory of his saintly mother.

A noteworthy feature of Sir Vithaldas's endowments is their wide range and catholicity.

Self-government in Schools.

It is said that Mr. E. A. Craddock of the Holloway Polytechnic Day School, made an experiment of allowing the boys of his school to govern themselves, with truly remarkable results. He restricted the functions of the teacher strictly to teaching. The discipline of the school, both inside the class-room and outside, was left in the hands of a Committee of boys selected by themselves. Punishment had become rare. The Head Master had not a single occasion during the two years of the experiment for interference, and his decision not to return to the old system is not to be wondered at.

School boy self-government is no longer an experiment. It has been an established fact in Rabindranath Tagore's school at Shantiniketan for nearly two decades. An account of it may be read in Mr. W. W. Pearson's book on "Shantiniketan" published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

Aurobindo Ghose the Poet.

At the time when we saw *The Bengali Book of English Verse* selected by Mr. T. D. Dunn, it struck us as odd that there was no poem in it by Sri Aurobindo Ghose. We had the honour of publishing in this Review a few of his poems. Unfortunately some years ago in the days of house-searches a printer destroyed in a panic the entire edition of his *Perseus the Rescuer*, a drama on the Greek model, which was almost ready for publication. The only available poetical works by him are his translation of Kalidasa's *Vikramorvasi* and his small book of lyrics *Ahana and other poems*. Political reasons should not have led to his exclusion from a book of verse by Bengali writers.

Exhibitions and Indian Arts and Crafts.

The *Lahore Tribune* says that the Baroda Economic survey has brought to light the fact that certain artistic craftsmen who exhibit their wares in various industrial exhibitions and obtain excellent testimonials, find there is no market for their goods and the art consequently dies out. It adds that many such arts have already died out or lost their purity or value in competition with machine-made goods. This result is greatly to be

deplored, and many causes may have brought it about. Efforts should certainly be made to revive and preserve our beautiful arts and crafts, by proper organisation, financing and encouragement. We should be able to love and appreciate them in order that they may not die out. It is also worth investigation what part exhibitions have played in bringing about their destruction. At exhibitions the enterprising foreign manufacturer sees and collects them most easily and turns out cheap imitations of them by machinery.

Conservation of Natural Wealth.

The Mysore Government are to be congratulated on the publication of the following notification :—

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja are pleased to direct that, pending further investigation as to the requirements of local industries and the available supplies of material the following ores and minerals shall be reserved within the areas specified below and that, until further notice, no applications shall be entertained for the grant of leases and licenses in respect of these ores and minerals within the respective areas specified. It will however be open to Government to grant licenses and leases for minerals within these reserved areas at their discretion to approved applicants with a view to develop local industries.

<i>Ore or mineral</i>	<i>Reserved area.</i>
Gold	... The whole State.
Iron ore.	
Limestone.	
Dolomite.	
Corundum.	
Manganese :	Parts of Shimoga and Gubbi Taluks.
Chrome Ore :	Channarayapatna and Mysore Taluks.
Magnesite :	Part of Mysore Taluk.
Asbestos :	Whole of Mysore Hassan and Districts.
Kaolin and China clay :	Bangalore Hoskote and Taluks.

It is to be hoped the people and the Government of Mysore will be able to extract and utilize the mineral wealth of the state thus conserved. It should not remain like a miser's board.

Illiteracy and Economic Loss.

The illiteracy of fifteen million persons in the United States is said to mean an annual loss of one billion five hundred million dollars. If that be true, what is India's loss from the illiteracy of the 288 million of her people ? asks the *Indian Witness*.

Indian Chemical Service.

The reader is aware that Sir P. C. Ray is opposed to the establishment of an Indian Chemical Service, his reasons being embodied

in a separate note published in the report of the Chemical Service Committee. He has also written a letter to *Nature* stating some of his views, from which we select the following passages :—

For the scheme to be successful the directors must be men who are conversant with almost all the different branches of chemistry, and keep in touch with the most up-to-date advances in their science. Moreover their minds are to be occupied with swarms of problems awaiting their say to be delivered to the care of the researchers. Lastly, they are to do justice with the impartiality of a Privy Council Judge, to each individual worker according to his work and accomplishments. Even the greatest chemists of the age would hesitate to acknowledge that they are supermen of this description.

His foreboding regarding the proposed Service is not groundless.

I am afraid that the proposed Service will simply be an asylum for a few officials in favour with the Government who find administrative work much more suited to their taste than bottle-washing and other humdrum work of the laboratory, and want to legalise the exploitation of the brain and labour of the young men just coming out of the universities full of new ideas and enthusiasm for work. We shall have a number of chemists working under a peripatetic director whose claims to the post will be his seniority, which in India often goes hand in hand with incompetence. I am afraid that the so-called research work will lapse into dull, mechanical, routine outturn, and will kill all enthusiasm and initiative on the part of the actual workers. They are even, as Prof. Soddy remarks, "to be deprived of what little satisfaction and independence genuine scientific work for its own sake affords," and in many cases will have to renounce their own work for the propitiation of the directors.

He states what is wanted.

Each branch of science, notably chemistry, has now grown so vast that a particular worker, however highly gifted, can honestly tackle and follow intelligently the developments of only a minute fraction of his subject. In the quest after truth and in the exploration of few paths of knowledge every worker has to find out his own way, and it not infrequently happens that a young and unknown worker may achieve much more brilliant results than men who have grown grey in the service of science. What is wanted is co-operation, provision for more ample facilities, and the opening up of better prospects for the earnest-minded and enthusiastic workers.

He dwells next on India's deplorable condition so far as scientific teaching and research are concerned.

In India at the present state of her scientific development, the institution of the Chemical Service on the proposed lines will be not simply a blunder, but a crime. There is not a single technical teaching institute in the whole of India. In the universities and Government colleges there is very meagre provision for research work. The universities are just trying to emerge from mere examining bodies into centres of

education, and the demand for State aid for founding chairs in experimental and industrial subjects is very great. In Bengal, the most advanced province in India, there are, technically speaking, no endowed chairs at all (except one or two founded by the generosity of patriotic citizens). Altogether we have five or six high posts in the Government colleges but the occupiers of these posts are required only to teach, and not to do any research work. The number of research scholarships is only three or four. But the man who has done good original work, and has the good fortune to be taken into the Service, has no better prospects before him than the man who has nothing to his credit except his original degree in the university; for under the Service system promotion is by favour and seniority, not by work and efficiency.

In the opinion of Sir P. C. Ray the most pressing needs of India at the present moment are :

- (1) The foundation by the Government of a number of chairs in various branches of pure and applied chemistry in the universities, and also a larger number of readerships, assistant professorships, and research scholarships.
- (2) The establishment of a number of technical institutes and the strengthening of the laboratories and scientific libraries.
- (3) The organisation of the posts so created and of the posts already existent on a professional rather than on a Service basis.
- (4) The replacement of the director by boards of recruitment composed chiefly of university professors, one official and one or two non-official representatives of the public.
- (5) The encouragement of the foundation of scientific societies.

There should be no watertight separation between those who are engaged in special types of work in Government research institutes and those working in the university laboratories. The official in the research institutes should be asked to maintain a lifelong connection with the university in some shape or other and the researchers in the universities may be invited, when an occasion arises, to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded in the research institutes.

Sir Leonard Rogers has also written to *Nature* to associate himself with the view "that the present decentralized system of team-work by experts in different branches of science in agricultural, forestry, and medical research institutes is greatly superior to the proposed centralization in distant Simla of each separate science—chemistry, botany, etc.—under directors of research with autocratic powers to decide what each original worker in his branch throughout India shall investigate and publish; for it is clearly impossible in these days for one man to be sufficiently conversant with each special division of his science adequately to fulfil such a stupendous task." He asks whether the Government of India may not "learn a lesson from the Medical Research Committee of eminent medical men of science, which is wisely utilizing the large sums

supplied by the British Government in assisting the investigations of university and medical school workers with established reputations and with a minimum amount of interference?"

"The Undying Flame of Thought"

The Inquirer of London reports an address which Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose delivered in London on "The Undying Flame of Thought" before a distinguished company of members and friends of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in the last week of May. The great scientist said, "the intimate relation between the Unitarian Association and the Brahmo Somaj of India had not been of recent growth, but had lasted for a century from the time of the visit of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to this country. It may be asked how it is that the two communities so widely separated, one in the East and the other in the West, should have been drawn so close together. The answer is that the common ideal of humanity is one, and that they would come to realise more and more the unity of all human efforts in the establishment of the Kingdom of righteousness. The speaker came increasingly to realise the idea of unity in the course of his particular work. Is nature a cosmos in which the human mind is some day to realise the uniform march of sequence, order and Law? India through her habit of mind is peculiarly fitted to realise the idea of unity and see in the phenomenal world an orderly universe. This trend of thought led him unconsciously to the dividing frontiers of different sciences from the investigation of response in inorganic matter to that of organic life and its multifarious activities of growth, of movement and even of sensation.

"The thrill in matter, the throb of life, the pulse of growth, the impulse coursing through the nerve, and resulting sensations, how diverse are these, and how closely unified they are found to be! How strange it is that the tremor of excitation in nervous matter should not merely be transmitted, but transmuted and reflected like the image on a mirror, from a different plane of life, in sensation and in affection, in thought and in emotion. Of these, which is more real, the material body or the image which is independent of it? Which of these is undecaying and which of these is beyond the reach of Death?"

"It was a woman in the Vedic times who, when asked to take her choice of the wealth that would be hers for the asking, inquired whether that would win for her deathlessness. Many a nation had risen in the past and won the empire of the world; a few buried fragments are all that remain of the memorials of dynasties that wielded the temporal power. There is, however, another element which finds its incarnation in matter, yet transcends its transmutation and apparent destruction; that is the burning flame born of thought which has been handed down through fleeting generations.

"Not in matter but in thought, not in possession or even in attainments, but in ideals are to be found the seed of immortality. Not through material acquisition but in generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true empire of humanity be established."

The Allies and Russia.

The German view of the Allies opening up trade with Russia is interesting. The *Berliner Tageblatt* says:

All Europe has been startled by the reversal of the Entente policy toward Russia implied in the proposal to reopen commercial relations with the people of that country. The conservative press of France, and the bourgeois press of Germany are equally hostile to this programme.

Dr. Joseph Jahn, an economic writer in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, interprets the measures proposed by the British Government as an effort to anticipate German competition.

However, he considers that while Germany cannot participate directly in this trade—at least for some time to come—it will derive indirect advantage from it. Moreover, a large number of German and Austrian war prisoners have remained in Russia and have become an important influence in the industrial and commercial life of the Soviet republic. According to a Moscow newspaper, they are permitted to operate in 'almost a capitalist manner,' because they have contributed so effectively to increasing production. Eventually, the influence of these people upon Russian commercial relations with Germany will be felt.

Meantime, the countries nearest Russia refuse to believe that real peace with that country is at hand. They are profoundly impressed with the increasing efficiency of the Russian army and the apparent resumption of normal economic life in that country.

The Stockholm *Dagblad* says:

Our absolute, but, well-grounded distrust

compels Sweden to keep constantly in view the prospect of a new war in the East, which will not be confined to Asia, but will be directed likewise against Western Europe.

Mr. Gandhi on Non-Cooperation.

Mr. Gandhi has written a letter to the Viceroy explaining his connection with and his conduct in the Khilafat question, in which he says, in part:—

The peace terms and Your Excellency's defence of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate the Ministerial pledges and utterly disregard Mussalman sentiment. I consider that as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of India, if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be punished if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment on their own Khalifa, or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussalman attitude had been consistent throughout these five years. My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty requires me to resist cruel violence that has been done to Mussalman sentiment. So far as I am aware, Mussalmans and Hindus have, as a whole, lost faith in British justice and honour.

In our opinion no exception can be taken to the above statement of Mr. Gandhi's personal position. It were only to be wished that a distinction had been drawn between the indignation which Musalmans and right-thinking non-Musalmans must alike feel at the *political* wrong done to Turkey and at the broken pledges of Mr. Lloyd George, and the wounded *religious* sentiment of the Musalmans because of the loss of prestige and power of their Khalifa and at their holy places being placed outside the sphere of his power and influence and protection. With the latter kind of sentiment non-Musalmans can only sympathise. This sympathy, however, cannot impel large masses of non-Musalmans to act in the same way as the personally felt feelings of the Musalmans would lead them to act. Moreover, there are men who, with all respect for Musalman belief and feeling, think that the Moslem belief in the spiritual authority attaching to a particular office irrespective of the per-

sonal worth of its incumbent and in the sanctity of particular places, cannot stand the scrutiny of reason. Such men cannot, merely out of neighborly sympathy, agree to undergo suffering and make sacrifices for the sake of what they may, rightly or wrongly, consider a superstition which they respect; though they may be prepared to take the risk of standing up for international justice.

Mr. Gandhi is right in saying that the report of the majority of the Hunter Committee, the Government of India's despatch thereon and Mr. Montagu's reply, have only aggravated our distrust. He observes that if he had no faith in the superiority of the British constitution he would have cut off all connection with British rule; but as he has such faith and as he hopes that, somehow or other, justice will yet be done, if we show requisite capacity for suffering, he has decided upon the method of non-cooperation. Because, in his words, "the British constitution helps only those who are ready to help themselves. I don't believe it protects the weak. It gives free scope to the strong to maintain their strength and develop it. The weak under it go to the wall." It is because Mr. Gandhi believes in the British constitution that he has advised his Musalman friends to withdraw their support from the British Government in India and the Hindus to join them should the peace terms be not revised in accordance with the solemn pledges of ministers and Muslim sentiment.

Three courses were open to Mahomedans in order to mark their emphatic disapproval of the utter injustice to which His Majesty's Ministers have become a party, if they have not actually been the prime perpetrators of it. They are: (1) To resort to violence, (2) To advise emigration on a wholesale scale, (3) Not to be a party to the injustice by ceasing to co-operate with Government. Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the boldest though also the most thoughtless among Musalmans favoured violence and that the Hijrat (emigration) has not yet ceased to be the battle cry. I venture to claim I have succeeded by patient reasoning in weaning the party of violence from its ways. I confess that I did not attempt to succeed in weaning them from violence on moral grounds but purely on utilitarian grounds. The result for the time being, at any rate, has how-

ever, been to stop violence. The School of Hijrat has received a check, if it has not stopped its activity entirely. I hold that no repression could have prevented a violent eruption if people had not had presented to them a form of direct action involving considerable sacrifice and ensuring success, if such direct action was largely taken up by the public. Non-cooperation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action, for it is a right recognised from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist the ruler who misrules.

Mr. Gandhi recognises that non-cooperation practised by the mass of the people is attended with grave risks.

But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussalmans of India no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to run some risk will be to court much greater risk if not virtual destruction of law and order.

He suggests that there is yet an escape from non-cooperation. "The Mussalman representation has requested Your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself as did your distinguished predecessor at the time of the South African troubles." The reasons for asking the Viceroy to lead the agitation are given in the

Sunni Leaders' Letter to the Viceroy.

In this letter the Sunni leaders, after stating how the Musalmans feel and think and why they feel and think in that way, say:—

We would therefore request Your Excellency and your Government to ask His Majesty's Ministers to secure a revision of the peace terms and tell them that on the failure to do so Your Excellency will make common cause with the people of India. We make this suggestion as Your Excellency has repeatedly declared that your Government has consistently and often pressed upon the attention of His Majesty's Ministers the case of Indian Mussalmans in this matter of vital concern to the vast majority of them. We feel, therefore, we have a right to ask Your Excellency to reassure the Mussalmans of India that they still retain your active co-operation and powerful advocacy in the prosecution of their claims, even to the point of resignation of your high office should His Majesty's Ministers fail to secure a revision of the terms consistently with the pledges and sentiments mentioned above.

We venture respectfully to suggest had India been a dominion enjoying full self-government her responsible Ministers would have as-

matter of course resigned as a protest against such a serious breach of pledges and flouting of religious opinion as are involved in the peace terms.

The Khilafat Considered in the Light of History.

It has been said that the present attitude of the Indian Moslems towards the Khilafat is a development of the nineteenth century, that Moslems in Afghanistan and in the Nizam's dominions do not offer prayers for the Sultan, that the independent Musalman Kings and emperors of India did not acknowledge the Sultan as the religious head of Islam, that Sir Syed Ahmad denied that the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa of Indian Musalmans, &c. We do not think it necessary to examine the accuracy of these statements. However it may have grown, we find that present-day Indian Musalmans do for the most part believe that the Sultan of Turkey is their Khalifa, and we feel that we ought to treat this belief as a serious fact and respect it. Freeman's words, quoted in a previous page, as to how one should treat what he may consider superstition, should be read in this connection.

Oppressed Panjab and Non-cooperation.

Writing on the Hunter Committee's report and the action taken or proposed to be taken thereupon, Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India* that he need scarcely attempt any elaborate examination of the report or the despatches which have been so justly censured by the whole national press, whether of the moderate or the extremist hue. "The point to consider," says he, "is how to break down this secret—the secrecy ever so unconscious—conspiracy to uphold official uniqueness. A scandal of this magnitude cannot be tolerated by the nation, if it is to preserve its self-respect and become a free partner in the Empire." The step which he advises and exhorts the nation to take is outlined in the following passage:—

In my opinion the time has arrived when we must cease to rely upon mere petitions to parliament for effective action. Petitions will have

value, when the nation has behind it the power to enforce its will. What power then have we? When we are firmly of opinion that grave wrong has been done us and when after an appeal to the highest authority we fail to secure redress, there must be some power available to us for undoing the wrong. It is true that in the vast majority of cases, it is the duty of a subject to submit to wrongs on failure of the usual procedure, so long as they do not affect his vital being. But every nation and every individual has the right, and it is their duty, to rise against an intolerable wrong. I do not believe in armed risings. They are a remedy worse than the disease sought to be cured. They are a token of the spirit of revenge and impatience and anger. The method of violence cannot do good in the long run. Witness the effect of the armed rising of the allied powers against Germany. Have they not become even like the Germans, as the latter have been depicted by them?

Mr. Gandhi believes that there is a better method, which, unlike that of violence, involves the exercise of restraint and patience, but it requires also resoluteness of will.

This method is to refuse to be a party to the wrong. No tyrant has ever yet succeeded in his purpose without carrying the victim with him, it may be, as it often is, by force. Most people choose rather to yield to the will of the tyrant than to suffer for the consequence of resistance. Hence does terrorism form part of the stock-in-trade of the tyrant. But we have instances in history where terrorism has failed to impose the terrorist's will upon his victim. India has the choice before her now. If then the acts of the Panjab Government be an insufferable wrong, if the report of Lord Hunter's Committee and the two despatches be a greater wrong by reason of their grievous condonation of these acts, it is clear that we must refuse to submit to this official violence. Appeal to the Parliament by all means, if necessary, but if the Parliament fails us and if we are worthy to call ourselves a nation, we must refuse to uphold the Government by withdrawing co-operation from it.

Though all persons may not have Mr. Gandhi's courage and iron will, and though opinions may differ as to when and under what circumstances non-cooperation should be resorted to, no lover of liberty and of the Motherland can fail to approve of his general line of argument.

As the oppression in the Panjab affected Hindus, Mahomedans and Sikhs alike, the intensity of feeling is the same among all these sects.

"The Law of Suffering."

As recourse to non-cooperation is sure to bring suffering in its train, Mr. Gandhi has written an article on "The Law of Suffering" in *Young India*. Therein he observes :—

No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. Mother suffers so that her child may live. The condition of wheat growing is that the seedgrain should perish! Life comes out of Death. Will India rise out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering?

If my advisers are right, evidently India will realise her destiny without travail. For their chief concern is that the events of April 1919 should not be repeated. They fear non-co-operation because it would involve the sufferings of many.

The progress of nations may not be marked by suffering at every stage, but it is certainly true that no nation has ever made progress towards freedom, enlightenment and prosperity without great suffering at some stage or other. But truth, as we understand it, also compels us to say, that suffering in itself, undergone at any time under any circumstances by any men in any number, does not possess any particular virtue of purifying or uplifting a nation. If suffering had such virtue, the cult of suffering for the nation would lead to practices little removed in their essence from the superstitious and fanatical practices of hook-swinging, self-mutilation in various forms, &c. We wish to make our meaning clear by taking the parallel case of war. The best soldier is not he who in mere reckless bravery throws away his life, but he who, using the best strategy, dies fighting to some purpose. The best general is not he who leads a forlorn hope just for the sake of the daring which the act requires, but the master of strategy who risks the lives of his soldiers and himself only for the sake of a possible victory of which he has seen the vision though others may not have, or for the honour of his nation when it can be saved only by such a supreme sacrifice. Similarly as regards the bloodless method of non-cooperation, there should be wise choice of the occasion, the men and the methods,

And as in fighting, courage, strategy and weapons are not everything, but a certain numerical strength also is required according to circumstances, so in launching a movement of non-cooperation an endeavour should be made to forecast the probable number of adherents.

This precaution is necessary only in the case of a movement: individually, of course, every one is entitled on his own responsibility to withhold his support from Government at any time he thinks fit for reasons sufficient in his judgment.

It is not with a view to advise or guide Mr. Gandhi or anybody else that we write thus. Journalists have often to repeat old things, by way of reminder, it may be, or because there may possibly be men whom particular ideas or lines of thought may strike as new.

We agree in the abstract with Mr. Gandhi when he writes :—

We must voluntarily put up with the losses and inconveniences that arise from having to withdraw our support from a Government that is ruling against our will. Possession of power and riches is a crime under an unjust government, poverty in that case is a virtue, says Thoreau. It may be that in the transition state we may make mistakes; there may be avoidable suffering. These things are preferable to national emasculation.

We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been roused to a sense of this iniquity. We must not, for fear of ourselves or others having to suffer, remain participators in it. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrong-doer directly or indirectly.

In the similitudes which Mr. Gandhi employs in the last paragraph of his article, his choice of the first item has been superfluous and unhappy. Says he :—

If a father does an injustice, it is the duty of his children to leave the parental roof. If the headmaster of a school conducts his institution on an immoral basis, the pupils must leave the school. If the chairman of a corporation is corrupt the members thereof must wash their hands clean of his corruption by withdrawing from it. Even so if a government does a grave injustice the subjects must withdraw co-operation wholly or partially sufficiently to wean the ruler from his wickedness. In each case conceived by me there is an element of suffering whether mental or physical. Without such suffering it is not possible to attain freedom.

The first case conceived by him is not at all similar to the others. Because the relation of parent to child is natural, the other relations are artificial or conventional. Moreover, by not specifying the degree or kind of injustice and the age of the children when they may judge their parents, but by simply laying down the rule in general terms, Mr. Gandhi has, unintentionally it should be presumed, enunciated an antisocial principle. The best of parents cannot probably on taking a retrospect of their domestic lives help feeling that they have sometimes been guilty of injustice to their children. If Mr. Gandhi's rule were followed, there would be few parental roofs sheltering children. This is not a plea for cruelty or injustice to children, but a commonsense view of domestic life and the sacrifice and self-control which all, young and old, living together should undergo and exercise. Even in the case of so great an injustice as that of which Dasaratha was guilty towards Rama, would the latter have set a nobler example by simply leaving his father's roof than what he actually did by living in exile for fourteen years?

With Mr. Gandhi's general line of argument we wholly agree.

In Case of Afghan Invasion of India

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* that at the Khilafat meeting at Allahabad some Hindu speakers "saw many practical difficulties and they feared also complications arising from Mahomedans welcoming an Afghan invasion of India. Mahomedan speakers gave the fullest and frankest assurances that they would fight to a man any invader who wanted to conquer India, but they were equally frank in asserting that any invasion from without undertaken with a view to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy, if not their actual support."

We do not know whether the upholding of the prestige of Islam may or may not require an invasion of India by a Musalman nation, for we have not studied Islam; but we do say quite plainly and

emphatically that if the prestige of Islam did require such a thing we should be absolutely opposed to such notions of prestige. As regards the vindication of justice, we cannot conceive how justice can be vindicated by inflicting on the unoffending people of India the indignity and misery of an invasion, for an offence committed by the Allies, among whom are the British people, the masters of India. If the Afghans really came to drive out the English—if that were at all a feasible proposition—and set the Indians free, that might be something deserving of academic discussion. But the world has not yet known the Afghans in the role of liberators.

And then, who is to judge whether an invasion is for purposes of conquest and plunder or for the upholding of Islamic prestige and the vindication of justice? In former ages Mahomedan invaders of India like Mahmud of Ghazni claimed that their expeditions into India were undertaken in the interests of Islam. They may have been sincere in this declaration of their object. It is not necessary to question their sincerity. But non-Musalman historians have not taken the same view of the object of these expeditions. In any case, non-Islamic peoples may be excused if they prefer not to be molested for the sake of the prestige of Islam being upheld.

Antiquarians Please Note.

We desire in the interests of the public to draw attention to an advertisement by which the Manager of the Panini Office of Allahabad offers for sale "a rare and valuable collection of about 60 pieces of Gandhara sculptures and plaster casts, ancient Indian beads, a carved stone slab with an ancient inscription (described by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Archaeological Survey Report for 1913-14*, pp. 262-263), and a few other articles of antiquarian interest and importance." We have seen these things and think that they are well worth acquiring for museums, art galleries and research institutions.

The Liberal Programme.

We have read with interest the pro-

gramme of the Liberal Party printed in the *Servant of India*. We will not discuss the claims of its achievements. Perhaps we are not qualified to do so. And if we were, we would not do it. For we do not like to add our voice to the wrangling notes of which newspapers are at present full. As regards the programme proper, we may say in general terms that we do not find in it anything which we would wish the party not to do. If it can carry out even a part of its programme, it will have done much good to the country.

Is Calcutta a Rotten University?

We criticise the Calcutta University when we think it justly deserves criticism, and we defend it against unfair criticism when it merits such defence. It, therefore, gives us pleasure to find that Mr. J. D. Anderson, I. C. S. (retired), D. Litt., has some good words to say of it in the *Asiatic Review*. Says he :—

In the first place may I venture to say that critics of the Report have been a little too ready to assume that there is something very rotten in the state of higher education in Bengal? If we are to judge the Calcutta University by its fruits, by the best results of its teaching, we need not despair. Educated Bengalis have not done badly in the world-wide struggle for distinction. A Bengali was the first to enter the Indian Civil Service: another was the first to attain to the responsible post of a Commissioner of a Division: a third was the first selected to be Chief Secretary of another province than his own, a post requiring much tact, discretion, and knowledge of men. Another was the first Indian to be made a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, and we all rejoice that Lord Sinha's services "to his king and country" (to use his own words) were rewarded by elevation to the peerage. We all hope that a famous Bengali man of science may shortly be elected to the coveted honour of Fellowship of the Royal Society. I might multiply other instances of distinguished success in academical or political life. I must at least, mention the names of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, lately Vice-Chancellor of the university, and author or instigator of many interesting additions to its curriculum; of Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri; and among juniors, such already distinguished scholars as Mr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Mr. Kiran Chandra Mukherjee, Mr. Jnanendramohan Das, and many others. A university that can boast of such graduates as these has not wholly failed in the promotion of sound learning.

He adds that the teaching of English

in Bengal has had beneficial results in the evolution of Bengali literature.

Again, though no one can be more conscious than I of the drawbacks of imparting instruction in a foreign language, let us at once admit that the teaching of English has had wonderful and not altogether expected, results in the evolution of Bengali literature. In Europe we are familiar with the influence which foreign literatures exercise over the growth of indigenous literary expression. In Bengal there has been no mere aping of English style. But the quick wits and vivid imaginations of Bengali writers have seized with avidity on the various forms of literary art presented to them by English poets, novelists, essayists, dramatists. Not only men, but women also, some of the latter graduates of Calcutta, have written books which manifestly owe their matter or their manner to what has been written by English men or English women. Let me repeat that there has been no mere imitation. In almost every case there is an individual style, and a style which is unmistakably Bengali.....I merely wish to assert, very earnestly, that, so far as the elite is concerned, Calcutta has been justified by the literary exploits of her children. She may well be proud of them.

The Residential System.

Owing partly to the effect of direct and indirect official propaganda and partly to other causes, an impression prevails that residential universities are under all possible circumstances, the first and the last word in university ideals. We have repeatedly tried to correct this impression which will require to be modified on reading the following passage in Dr. Anderson's article:

Even the now condemned system of living in messes and lodgings (which, after all, is the system still followed by the University of Paris, venerable mother of our own Oxford and Cambridge) had its advantages, as any reader of modern Bengali novels may see for himself. Some day soon, I am told, we shall all be reading Tagore's "Nauka Dubi" in a translation. Read it, and you will see that a Calcutta undergraduate's life in "digs" is not without its agreeable humours and compensations.

Dr. Anderson points out the familiar defects, too, of our university, which could be removed to a great extent even under its present constitution if there had been informed and effective criticism in the Senate and in the public press.

Lawyers as Public Leaders.

We have given some space in our "Notes

Foreign Periodicals" Section for supplying information on the subject of the leadership of lawyers in public life. The reader has seen there that virtually every man who played a role of distinguished leadership in the early days of American history was a lawyer, but that at present lawyers are not so prominent in public life in the United States of America. "What can be said," asks the *Century Magazine*, "to account for this shift away from the colonial pre-eminence of the lawyer as a public leader?" The answer lies fairly clear, says the same journal. "In colonial days most of the vital questions that held the hopes of the American colonists in their balance were legal questions that required legal knowledge for their handling," of which examples are given. And the present change of the public attitude towards lawyers is also clearly explained.

A change has come in the stage setting of American life since those early days. American life is to-day rooted in social and economic considerations more than in legal considerations. We still have a problem of the freedom of the press, but it is more a question of economic than of political freedom. We still have a problem of taxation without representation, but it is more a question of price determination and the profiteer than taxation by a mother country. We still have virtually every one of the problems that vexed our colonial forefathers. To solve these problems now requires a statesmanlike understanding and handling of social and economic forces rather than, or perhaps in addition to, a mastery of legal knowledge and practice. Our public leaders have to make a fight for the same rights for which the lawyer-leaders of colonial times fought, but the battle has shifted to another quarter of the field, and new weapons are demanded.

The decline of the lawyer in public leadership is due in no small measure to the fact that he has been slow to adjust his technic and outlook to the changed demands of the times. Surrounded by burning social and industrial issues, he too frequently has busied himself with legal quibbles and the sterilities of precedent. The lawyer will again dominate public leadership when he becomes as effective a champion of the rights of the people as were his colonial predecessors. This demands a dynamic conception of the law. It requires a constant recognition of the fact that law must be the progressive expression of a nation's life before it can effectively and justly govern a nation's life. The outstanding colleges of law are ministering to the static idea of the law, and we may hope

for a generation of lawyers who, by joining a devotion to the public rights with the constructive conservatism of the judicial mind, will bring a healing ministry to our disordered time.

Some of our burning public questions, too, are no doubt rooted in legal considerations, but there are social, educational, economic and industrial problems of not less importance which are awaiting solution. Our lawyer leaders or would-be leaders, therefore, require more than mere legal equipment, and if they want to do their duties well, they must be prepared to sacrifice some part of their incomes.

British Responsibility for the Turkish Peace Terms.

In India public opinion has held Great Britain practically responsible for the terms of treaty offered to Turkey. But it is conceivable that all the Allies share this responsibility, and therefore agitation directed against Britain alone may be an injustice to her. But an article in the *Manchester Guardian*, from which *New India* has made extracts, appears to prove Britain to be more responsible than the other powers. Let us take Italy first. Signor Nitti, the Italian Premier, in an interview to the Associated Press, published by *Le Temps* of Paris, says:

War in Asia Minor would be the result, and that for this war neither one soldier nor one lira would be provided by Italy... You have taken from the Turks their holy city, Adrianople, you have placed their capital under foreign control. You have taken all their ports and the greater part of their territory. The five delegates, chosen by you, will sign a treaty which will have the sanction neither of the Turkish people nor of the Turkish Parliament.

The Italian Government have been consistently following this policy, says our Madras contemporary. The moment compulsion was introduced in Turkey, it says, withdrawal of Italian troops began, and the French paper *Le Temps* declares that Italy is prepared to abandon the Concert of Nations, when "concerted action would alone ensure the application of the Treaty." *Giornale d'Italia* of Rome is quoted as having warned the Allies that Italy "will take no further military action" beyond giving the contingent necessary to maintain the special regime

at Constantinople and the Straits. It asks :—

Who, then, is to furnish the army to make Turkey submit to the will of the Entente? ... Venizelos intervenes...and says: The Greek army. The offer of Greece is astute but dangerous. Do we want to set the Musalman world ablaze by giving the Greeks a mandate to crush the Turks? And, in any case, would they be capable of doing it? The example of Smyrna is not particularly reassuring! ... The only thing the Entente can do is to formulate their diplomatic agreements on the map, only to find themselves sooner or later faced with the impossibility of carrying them out.

Idea Nazionale of Rome sees the danger of a new *jehad* or holy war, because the peace terms offered to Turkey amount to "decapitation of the Musalman world."

We learn next that Roumania was not asked to take part in the discussions about Turkey in the San Remo Conference and *L'Independence Roumanie* tells the powers that such a settlement, dominated by the Big Three, "would only displace the source of injustice, of discontent, and of complications."

The French view will be understood from the following extract from M. Paul Louis's letter to *L'Humanite* :—

In the east of Europe Imperialism is satisfying all its ambitions. It has reduced Turkey to an enclave in the midst of States which will be its vassals or of regions which it will itself govern. It will have the oil of Mosul, and will control, by its indirect hold of Batum, the oil of Baku. It occupies Constantinople. Even better, by putting the Greeks in Adrianople and bestowing innumerable presents upon Venizelos, it prepares the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire in favour of Hellenism, and makes of that enriched Hellenism one of its most valuable auxiliaries in the East. It will use it against Turkish nationalism, and eventually against Russia. *The shadow of England covers the world.*

"The Editor's Apology" in the June Number.

To what was said in our last issue by way of explaining the omission of the Fontispiece in it, it is necessary to add that the omission was due to circumstances over which neither Messrs. U. Ray & Sons nor the Modern Review Office had any control. It is necessary to say this; otherwise a slur would be implied on the firm which was not intended and which it did not deserve.

Famine in Puri and Elsewhere.

The Government of Bihar and Orissa have sent to some newspapers lengthy communication explaining what has hitherto been done to mitigate the effects of (what is popularly known as) famine in Puri and trying to show that there has not been a single death from starvation in that district. This communication cannot be taken seriously. The Bihar and Orissa Government have not been wise in pitting the evidence given by frightened *chaukidars* and *dafadars*, and interested police sub-inspectors, &c., against the careful and well-weighed words of men like Mr. Gopabandhu Das who are honourable not merely in the official or conventional sense. We continue to have full faith in the report penned and published by Mr. Das and his colleagues. In attempting to gloss over clear neglect of official duty, the Bihar and Orissa Government have had to make admissions which are sufficient to establish against them the charge of criminal neglect of duty. Legally they may not be guilty of the death of a single Oriya, but morally they are guilty of the deaths of many Oriyas. Whoever may be, rightly or wrongly, made the scapegoat, the entire administrative machinery must be held responsible for the series of tragedies. It is really difficult to see how a single death from starvation can by any means be proved to the satisfaction of Government. Supposing notice were sent to the collector of a district by a man who was starving that he was without food and would die exactly three days thence (if such notice were possible to give), and if that man really died on the date fixed, Government would be able in this enslaved and terror-stricken country even under such circumstances to bring forward witnesses to prove that the man had eaten grass or mud or some such delicacies, say, four days before his death!

As medical science does not definitely state what length of time a person should have been without food before his death for it to be attributed to starvation, no indubitable case of such death can ever be brought to the notice of Government. Moreover, as before the death of a starv

ing man, some vital organ of his or other may be affected, his death may be attributed with literal accuracy to some disease or other.

Truce, however, to word-combats and logice-hopping. In Puri and Cuttack many men are without food as food, is generally understood. There may be sufficient grass or leaves, or mud in those districts, or even some wild roots or fruit; but as people do not and cannot live and thrive on such fare, we again appeal to our readers to send their contributions to Babu Jagabandhu Sinha, Treasurer, Famine Relief Fund, Puri.

It is not in these two Orissa districts alone that famine conditions prevail. Deaths from starvation have been reported in the newspapers from many districts of Bengal. And even of a rich town like Bombay, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—

That between thirty and forty beggars should have been found dead of starvation on the roads of Bombay and about 200 more dead of disease, between the 1st of January and the middle of April, this year as certified by the Commissioner of Police, is as shocking as it is discreditable to a city which prides itself on being known as *Urbs prima in Indis*. What have our "public-spirited" City Fathers to say to this awful fact?

How to produce and keep in the country sufficient food for all its inhabitants and make it available for the poorest without pauperizing or impairing the self-respect of any, is the gravest of all problems confronting us.

The Disbanding of the Bengali Regiment.

Those who like soldiering have urged all the arguments that can be thought of against the disbandment of the Bengali regiment. We, however, find one compensating advantage. If there be no Bengali soldiers in the Sarkar's pay, there will not be any possibility of Bengali hired men shooting their innocent fellow-countrymen dead at the bidding of a wretch like Dyer as Indian sepoy did at Jallianwalla Bagh.

All-India Mahratta Conference, Against Communal Representation.

In this note, by Mahratta is to be under-

stood not the inhabitants of Maharashtra in general, but, as defined in the Bombay Electoral Rules, "a person belonging to any of the following castes, namely, the Mahratta, Kunbi, Mali, Koli, Bhandari, Shimpi, Lohar, Kumbhar, Dhangar, Bhoi, Bari, Lorcar, Bhavin and Deoli or Shinde castes, or to any caste which the local Government may, by notification in the Gazette, declare to be a Mahratta caste."

It is encouraging to read in the *Mahratta* that at the recent All-India Mahratta Conference communal representation was unequivocally condemned, and the assembled Mahrattas expressed their resentment at being considered and styled a depressed class. Mr. Zailoba, the chairman of the Reception Committee, said:—

"They could not be satisfied with one or two annas of reforms, when they asked for sixteen annas of Swarajya. They must accept what they had been given and try their best to get more rights. Mahrattas were strongly opposed to any sort of communal representation, and he was against any special seats being reserved for their community. He exhorted all to live in complete unity with each other for the advancement of their Motherland. It was necessary that they should have compulsory primary education for any further national progress."

Mr. Khaserao Jadhav, the president, observed:—

"Communal representation was one of the most potent evils in the way of the onward march of a nation. There could be no advancement in India without unity; but he was surprised that those who repeated that parrot cry were now fighting tooth and nail against that fundamental principle of unity by asking for communal representation. The primary purpose of communal representation was that the interests of backward classes should not be neglected. Communal representation erected a kind of wall between the different communities and thus estranged them permanently. When it was of the utmost importance that all differences between them should disappear forever, they were doing their best to accentuate them by means of separate representation, and there could not be a greater blunder than that. For the sake of immediate advantage, they were sacrificing the greater good of the country. But they did not get even temporary advantages by communal representation, for then they would lack the incentive, to keep pace with other communities, and thus lag behind. How was it possible for a man who purposely made

use of crutches ever to walk without them? He strongly deprecated any special representation and earnestly asked the Conference to consider what was now taking place in Madras over this sorry question of communal representation."

He strongly objected to the Mahrattas being called or calling themselves a depressed class.

"It was a matter of shame and disgrace that some of the Mahrattas took credit in calling themselves as Depressed Classes. There will always be social differences in this world, and some people will always be more advanced than others. But that was no reason why they should call those who were lagging behind as Depressed Classes. If men could not have any respect for themselves others would not have any for them. Up to this time they were not aware that they were a backward class; only now had they come to realise that, and the seed of this evil was in the new Reforms. Simply because their interests should not be neglected these classes called themselves backward classes with a view to getting more privileges. To him it was a matter of shame and disgrace that simultaneously with the new reforms this cry of depressed classes was raised by the Mahrattas. But their saint Tukaram had told them that there was nothing more disgraceful in this world than to depend upon the charity of other people, and that was equally applicable to political matters."

Education Famine.

Many students are going about from college to college seeking admission but finding no room anywhere. This is particularly the case with those who have matriculated in the second and third divisions. Evidently more educational institutions are wanted. More students seek admission to medical colleges and schools than the existing medical institutions can make room for. More students want to learn engineering than can be accommodated at Sibpur. But by far the largest number of those who have to come away disappointed from the college gate consists of students who want to join the ordinary Arts and Science colleges. We are not among those who say that liberal non-professional university education in Bengal has been overdone and that it is already as widespread as in the United Kingdom. We have proved the baselessness of such assertions, in our Note on "Statistical Jugglery" in the last March number. Nevertheless, as there is

too little professional, technological and vocational education, it would be best if energies and educational benefactions were directed to these fields to a greater extent than now. Hence we consider the efforts of the Mymensingh people to have a medical school in their midst very encouraging. Hence, too, we support the resolutions of the Calcutta University Senate in Committee which lay stress on the need for an incorporated college of science, pure and applied, an incorporated college of technology, an incorporated college of agriculture, an incorporated college of commerce and eventually an incorporated college of the fine arts, and which point out the desirability of new courses, preparatory to technological and professional studies in the university, being provided on a sufficient scale at a number of convenient centres throughout Bengal.

Two Heart-rending Tragedies.

From the copies of two memorials addressed by Babu Rajkamal Nag to the Governor of Bengal and the Governor-General of India relating to the death of his two sons Chandi Charan Nag and Rebati Charan Nag, it is clear that he is a peculiarly unfortunate parent. It is stated in his memorial to the Governor-General that his "eldest son Chandi Charan Nag was unnecessarily arrested and detained in Rangoon Jail under the Ingress Into India Ordinance, 1914, where he lost his weight by 40lbs. and contracted tubercular consumption, as the inevitable result of which he died after his so-called release from jail (for he was still kept under surveillance) at his village residence in Bengal." After memorializing in vain the Lieutenant Governor of Burma and the Viceroy, on the 17th November, 1917, the afflicted father submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State in which he prayed that that high authority might be pleased to ascertain—

(1) What were the charges against the deceased and if they were formulated and if he was given any opportunity to explain the charges. (2) How and under what circumstances the Ingress Into India Ordinance Act V of 1914 was applied against him. (3) What was the treatment meted out to the deceased while

he was in Jail and how did a robust and young man contract the tubercular consumption while he was in Jail. (4) Who was responsible for sending Chandi to Calcutta as a deck passenger without making proper arrangement for his diet, etc. (5) If the memorialist's petition to His Excellency the Viceroy reached His Excellency and how it was disposed of.

And grant him such relief as the occasion requires.

The memorialist has not up to date received any satisfactory reply to his memorials.

The memorial to the Governor of Bengal relating to his second son Rebati states that a police officer made over to the memorialist's nephew 89 articles of Rebati and informed him that Rebati had been murdered by his own party [the anarchists] some three years ago. The memorialist prayed to be informed why the fact of the murder was kept concealed from him so long, why it was communicated, not direct to him, but in a round-about way, whether any attempt was made to trace the murderer, if so with what result, what became of the dead body, &c. But Babu Ram Kamal has not received any reply to this petition either. The memorial also states that a letter, of which a copy was attached to the memorial, addressed to him by one Gaurishankar informed him that Rebati's death was the result of police torture.

This is a very gruesome and mysterious affair and requires to be cleared up to the complete satisfaction of the public. Otherwise the impression on the public mind would be that Rebati was murdered by some police men and that the Government of Bengal have connived at the murder. The stability of the British Empire will not be destroyed by such an impression; but neither will that stability be destroyed by a thorough investigation of the case, and it is just imaginable that a satisfied public is a source of strength to the

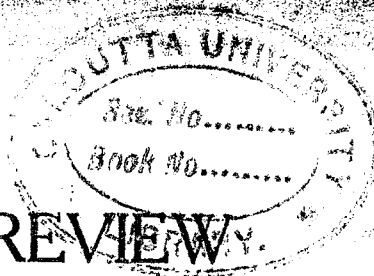
Empire. We purposely refrain from appealing to the highest considerations, as they do not generally come into the reckoning in state affairs.

The "Charkha" or the Spinning Wheel.

The Madras letter of *Young India* has some very sensible things to say regarding the movement for popularizing hand-spinning with the *charkha* among India women.

South India has not yet realised the meaning of the hand-spinning movement. [Has any other province?—Ed., M. R.] We have still to see that as long as the weavers have to depend on foreign yarn, be it British or Japanese, there is no emancipation. The taste for thin counts has not yet been overcome. This is due to an insufficient realisation of the national importance of wearing thick cloth in order that foreign yarn may be replaced. People still ask whether hand-spinning will bring adequate wages to the spinner. As long as present conditions continue, hand-spun yarn cannot serve as a wage-earning occupation. Does knitting, painting or singing bring any wages to the ladies who spend their leisure time in these occupations? The spinning wheel must be installed in every middle class house where an hour or more can be saved by the ladies from domestic work. If men can without personal profit spend their leisure time in recreations or in political work, why should not the women be employed in spinning for the nation? If only all who can spare a little leisure time thus turn the spinning wheel the question of yarn would be solved. If we add to this number the poorer class of women who may prefer smaller earnings in their own homes to bigger wages amidst temptations and insults, we can entirely dispense with foreign yarn.

At present the best and, we may say, the only way to uphold and promote swadeshism in wearing apparel is to prefer coarse cloth made in India of coarse yarn spun in India. And for that purpose the introduction of the *charkha* all over India is necessary.



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INDIAN SETTLERS IN UGANDA

IN this article, I wish to write chiefly concerning the wonderful kingdom of Uganda in Central Africa, and of the part which Indians have played in helping forward the development of that country.

When the coast of East Africa is reached from Bombay, the ship drops its anchor in the inland channel between the island of Mombasa and the main-land. The harbour itself is called Kilindini, and it is certain to become one of the most important ports on the East Coast of Africa. The Uganda Railway starts from the harbour mouth and after passing a barren tract climbs, through the night, up the hill slopes till the great plateau is reached, which rises in certain places to 8000 feet. The direct rays of the sun beat down in the day time,—for the country is on the equator,—but at night the air is cold, and a blanket is always needed in the early morning.

At the end of a full day's journey, Nairobi is reached, where the seat of Government has been placed. It is also the centre of the railway, with its offices and workshops. Here, the Indians were the earliest occupants, but gradually they are being confined within a segregated area by the Europeans, who are determined to make Nairobi what they call "The White Man's Capital." Quite recently, a further European appropriation of important business sites was very nearly effected; but a timely representation to the Colonial Office has checked this intended administrative transaction.

From Nairobi the railway ascends till it reaches very nearly 8000 feet. Herds

of zebras, ostriches, and all kinds of antelopes, can be seen from the carriage windows; and at one time in the past, the country, in certain parts, was infested by lions. In the construction of the railway, carried out by Indian workmen, very many labourers lost their lives through being devoured by lions. The story is told in a book entitled, "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo."

This higher part of the country is well watered. It is greatly coveted by Europeans, who believe, that, in spite of the action of the sun's rays upon the white skin at the Equator, the country can be turned one day in the future into a 'White Man's Country.' If by this is meant, that the 'white man' will do labourer's work in the fields, the suggestion is palpably absurd. And even if it is only implied that the 'white man' can live a healthy aristocratic life, as master and overlord, the prospects are doubtful, especially for the rearing of his family. The East African Government has its own clear-cut and definite opinion, founded on experience, against the healthiness of the climate; for it still insists on every civil servant taking a furlough outside the protectorate every three years. The leading doctor at Nairobi has, in the same manner, consistently maintained his own opinion, after long years of residence, that the uplands of East Africa are neither suitable for permanent European settlement nor for the healthy upbringing of European children. This is no slight or unimportant question, because, as a matter of fact, the whole of the European argument for making the Uplands of East

Africa into a 'White Man's Preserve' and turning out the Indians altogether from it, is based on the assumption, that the Uplands are peculiarly suited, on account of their temperate climate, for European residence. If my own opinion is asked on the subject, I have very little doubt in my own mind, that Europeans from the North of Europe will never become wholly acclimatised to the sun at the Equator combined with the high altitude. The skin reaction is abnormal, and the strain upon the heart is very great. Exceptionally healthy Northern Europeans may be able to continue to live in good health, but even these will be comparatively few. Nature will very slowly perform her task of weeding out the unfit. I have to add, as a corollary to this opinion, that I doubt if even Indians, with their families, in any large numbers, will thrive and flourish there. The high nervous tension which is noticeable among Europeans and Indians alike in these uplands, is undoubtedly due to the climate. It is also to be noticed, that the native African population has always been scanty in these higher regions compared with the coast belt of land where the population is large.

After the Railway has reached its greatest height, a magnificent panorama comes before the eye of the traveller. An immense Rift,—which runs for more than a thousand miles, North and South,—breaks the back of the plateau suddenly, and the railway train has to creep down the side of this Rift; afterwards, the train winds slowly up again, but not to the same height as before. The plateau, on the further side, which leads to the great Lake, is only four thousand feet.

Along the Lake margin are Indian settlements of Punjabi farmers, who work very hard to obtain a living in a very malarial climate. The terminus of the railway on the border of Lake Victoria Nyanza, is called Kisumu. Here a large number of railway workmen from the Punjab are collected, and I was greatly distressed to see their sickly condition. The State Railway makes immense profits for itself and also provides the wealthy settlers along its borders with all kinds of means of making money

quickly. So great have been the railway profits, that, up to the present time, there has scarcely been felt the need of any income tax at all. And yet this same State Railway has so neglected the poorest of its Indian workmen, *who do the really hard work which produces these profits*, that after fifteen years they have still to drink the water of the Lake, which has been condemned by every medical authority, simply because the Board of Managers at Nairobi will not incur the expense of bringing pure spring water from higher ground, at a few miles distance, by means of a pipe line. Hundreds of lives must have been quite needlessly thrown away and thousands of lives must have been enfeebled (including those of women and babies and little children) merely to save a few thousand pounds for extra profits. When I spoke indignantly about this, I was told that a scheme was in the course of preparation!

The journey across the Great Lake takes a little more than twenty-four hours to accomplish. After dark, each evening, all steamers are obliged to anchor, because of the innumerable small islands and the consequent danger of the ships running aground. The Captain told me, as we talked together on the voyage, that to the South of the belt of islands, through which we were running, there was open water for three hundred miles,—so vast is this equatorial Lake. It is from the Lake itself, that the waters of the River Nile are continually fed.

All along the route, from the sea coast to the Great Lake, the Hon. Abdul Rasul Alladina Visram, who was my friend and host, has his line of warehouses and stores. They stretch across into Uganda and also into Tanganyika. He himself is abstemious to a degree and very simple in his daily habits,—a member of the Khoja Community and a follower of His Highness the Agha Khan. Mr. Abdul Rasul's father, whose name was Alladina Visram, had built up this remarkable business by his persistent energy and industry and thrift and business capacity. He was a man of sterling character and upright life. He lived to an honoured old

age and was respected by everyone throughout East Africa, European and Indian alike.

Men of this type went out from India in the early pioneer days and penetrated far beyond the footsteps of any European traders or explorers. It was an Indian merchant at Zanzibar, who marked out the route for the greatest and noblest of all European explorers, Dr. Livingstone, on the memorable journey when he tracked down the main caravan slave-routes in the interior. That was his last expedition, for it ended in his death, but not until he had exposed to the full the hateful slave traffic before the eyes of the whole civilised world. The fact is far too little known, that Dr. Livingstone's great journeys could scarcely have been accomplished, had it not been for the pioneering work of the Indian merchants and traders who had preceded him. It was through the help of these same Indian merchants that Speke in earlier days and H. M. Stanley in later days accomplished their journeys of discovery.

Hundreds of years before these scientific explorations were undertaken by European explorers, Indian Traders had ventured to travel right through the worst malarial districts far into the interior. We do not know exactly in what period these trading enterprises first began, but there are evidences of their stretching back even to the Puranic Age.

The coast line from Mombasa and Zanzibar to further South was probably one of the recognised trade sea-routes of the East from very early times—the ships passing along the coast of Arabia and then crossing by way of Socotra and the Gulf of Aden. The Arabs were adventurous sailors and they held for a considerable period the West Coast of India. During the days when the Khalifate reached its greatest magnificence under Mansur and Harun-al-Raschid, such voyages must have been quite frequent. The voyages of Sinbad the Sailor and other similar stories in the Arabian Nights will show how full of adventure these journeys often were and how they fascinated the minds of the people of those days by their

perilous nature. We can see the part played in them by Indian merchants and we may picture to ourselves how the negro slaves were purchased along the African Coast and brought to the court of Baghdad where gold was so plentiful.

In those days of sea enterprise the Western Coast of India was another great highway of the busy, adventurous and commercial East. From Kathiawar and Kutch, to Malabar and Cochin, to Travancore and Ceylon, the great ships, laden with merchandise, passed backwards and forwards. We must not picture these early days of the world as tame in character and stay-at-home in manners. In many ways the hardihood and daring and fearless facing of death, while meeting physical danger, were stronger forces in men's nature than they are to-day. The 'Vikings' of the world, the reckless sea adventurers,—were not confined to the Northern regions of the earth's surface.

There is a fascinating passage in the famous book of travels, written by Speke, whose title is 'The Sources of the Nile.'

"Before leaving Zanzibar," he writes, "Colonel Rigby, the British consul, gave me a most interesting paper with a map attached to it about the Nile and the Mountains of the Moon. It was written by Lieutenant Wilford from the Puranas of the ancient Hindus. It exemplifies, to a certain extent, the supposition I formerly arrived at concerning the Mountains of the Moon being associated with the country of the Moon. It is remarkable that the Hindus have named the source of the Nile Amara, which is the name of the country at the north-east corner of Lake Victoria Nyanza. This, I think, shows clearly that the ancient Hindus must have had some communication with both the Northern and Southern ends of Lake Victoria Nyanza."

When we come to judge the political situation to-day and the conflicting claims of Indian and European Settlers, it must not be lost sight of that the Indian settlement has had its origin in such early intercourse as this between the two coasts. There has, it is true, never been any sign of any desire for occupation and conquest

from India, but intercommunication and settlement have been continuous. Merely by the natural flow of population, Zanzibar, which is twelve hours by sea from Mombasa, is now more an Indian than an Arab colony, as far as its trade and industry are concerned. Indeed, it may be roughly stated, that nearly eighty per cent. of the coast trade to-day is in Indian hands.

At the time when the British took possession of East Africa, the main claim established by Great Britain was the right of protection of British Indian subjects. It was stated in the Royal Charter of 1888 issued by Queen Victoria, that the occupation by the Imperial British East Africa Company was calculated to be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of the British Indians and that the possession by a British Company of the East African coast line would protect British Indian subjects from being compelled to reside and trade under the government and protection of Alien Powers.

However slender this ground may have been for an occupation which has led on to a Protectorate, it was practically the only solid argument put forward by British diplomacy at that time. It is therefore a fact of history, that the protection of British Indians was the primary reason for British occupation of East Africa.

There never was, therefore, and never could be, a more bare-faced piece of impudence in the recent history of Great Britain and her Colonies, than this claim of the European settlers (who only began to come in any numbers after the Uganda Railway was built) to drive out the British Indians altogether from East Africa and to occupy it themselves exclusively as their own preserve.

To show to what lengths the deliberate suppression of the truth can go, where racial bigotry and hatred are allowed to intervene, the East Africa Economic Commission, presided over by a high Government official and appointed by the East African Government, have published their "Report" and written in it a chapter on

the 'History of East Africa'. In this 'History' not a single reference is made to the part which Indians have taken in the development of the country. It might be inferred from reading the chapter, written by this Commission, that Indians had done nothing at all.

Yet Sir John Kirk, whose knowledge of East Africa went back to the times of the Queen's Royal Charter itself, gave evidence before the Sanderson Commission as follows :—

"But for the Indians we should not be there now. It was entirely through being in possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were able to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position (as a Protectorate)."

Other important writers, who have either visited East Africa and Uganda, or else spent long years of residence there, have written equally strongly. When Mr. Winston Churchill was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, he said : "It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could earn a living, has, *more than any one else*, developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication."

I had spent some weeks in Mombasa and Nairobi dealing with the more local questions in each of these Indian centres. At last the opportunity came to make the more extensive journey to Uganda. My companions on the journey were Mr. M. A. Desai, the self-sacrificing secretary of the Congress, Mr. Hasan Ali, the son-in-law of Mr. Sulaiman Virji, the Congress President, and Mr. Narsinghbhai Patel, a follower of Tolstoi, whose very carefully written notes I made use of in my second article. I have described in the papers some of the indignities which are placed upon Indians when they travel on the State railways and State steamers, for the maintenance of which they have to pay taxes. I shall not enter into these again, but at once describe the Uganda people,

who live on the opposite side of Lake Victoria Nyanza.

The country of Uganda is one of the most fertile in the world. It has an abundant rainfall all the year round, and the vegetation is always green. It has also an extraordinary beauty of its own, and I shall never forget the glorious picture of the blue waters of the Lake which I often saw from some eminence or else through the trees. I also watched a sunset over the Lake, or rather over that gulf of the Lake from which the waters of the Nile descend. It was indescribable in its beauty. Another sunset which will always remain in my mind was when we were on the steamer crossing the Lake among the islands. There is only one country in India that I have as yet seen that has come up to the beauty of the sunrises and sunsets and wonderful green foliage that I saw almost every day of my visit in Uganda, and that is Bengal. Possibly the Malabar coast would give a similar picture of green foliage and shining waters under a sky flecked with pure white clouds during the day and with golden fire, morning and evening.

The people of Uganda are far more intelligent than any other Africans whom I have met. Education has spread very widely among both men and women and their newly-learned Christian faith has left a deep mark upon their characters and on their domestic life. They are also the one people of Africa, whom I have seen up to the present, who appear certain to have an artistic future. One can feel this in their music and can see it in their dress and in their houses and in their common utensils. The time they are now passing through is a terribly critical time for them, because the invasion of the vulgarity of cheap manufactured articles from Europe has begun and the pressure of the West is enormous. But, up to the present, they have sturdily resisted in almost every respect. Above all they have stoutly resisted the invasion of the English language. Instead of rushing in crowds to learn English in their schools, they have, in a marvellously short time, established a literature of their own, with their own poets and

prose writers. They are exceedingly proud of this great national achievement, and they well deserve to be proud of it for it has been the very salvation of their national character.

One of the most interesting mornings I ever spent was at the National Parliament called the Lukiko, which was held at Mergo. The whole of the proceedings were in the mother tongue, and the speeches that were made were brief and clearly spoken. They were taken down by reporters who were present, and the President's ruling was immediately obeyed. I have told before the story of the Chief Justice (who has a seat in the Parliament equal to that of the President and the Treasurer), how he raised a laugh concerning the Indian question. The Lukiko held a discussion upon the Economic Commission Report, which had stated that Indians were doing harm to the country and had retarded the development of the Africans. "Why!" said the Chief Justice, "if the Indians left the country, we should all have to go back to our bark-cloth again!" This remark of his was cheered more than any other, and the Indians have no truer friends in Africa than the people of Uganda.

What touched me most of all was the way that the younger chiefs and sons of chiefs came to me and asked me to meet them, without any other Englishman being present. When I did so, they told me how they wished to come more into touch with India; they could never feel altogether at home with Englishmen, not even with the missionaries. There was something that kept the two races apart, and they felt that the gulf was growing wider. But on the other hand, they found that they could get on very well with the Indians, and they made friends with them quite easily, because they were not proud and haughty. But with the Indians whom they met at present, their difficulty was that those whom they met were of the petty trading type and not the literary type of Indians. They told me they had often read about the greatness of Indian intellect in the past and their country had traditions about this. One of them said to me that he had read in the English translations

some of Rabindranath Tagore's Poems, the greatest Indian Poet, and these poems had influenced him greatly. Was it not possible, he asked me, for some of these great men of intellect, in India, to come over to Uganda and see them and teach them in the midst of all their difficulties? "We are like little children," another said to me. "We have to meet all these new difficulties, and we do not understand. We are like children."

They told me, also, that they wished some of the bigger Indian merchants to come out and establish banks and business firms in Uganda. "We can get on, in business," they said to me, "much better with Indians than with the English."

These young chiefs, with whom I spoke, had learnt English. Two or three had been to England, and some had been to Trinity College, Kandy, in Ceylon. I expressed a great hope that, before long, some of them might come and live with our students in Shantiniketan.

It is easy to understand how deeply this whole incident moved me. I promised them faithfully, that I would do my best to make their request known in India. I have done so, and I hope to do so again and again.

"What about the missionaries?" it may be asked. I do not think there has been a finer and nobler piece of work done in the last half of the Nineteenth Century than that accomplished by the early missionaries to Uganda, who went out in obedience to Livingstone's great appeal. The whole story resembles that of the early days of Christianity more than any other narrative I have ever read. And it has not been exaggerated: it is all true. Another parallel to this story of the 'love conquest' of Uganda, must have been the story of what actually happened in Java and Celebes and the South-Eastern Seas, when the Buddhist monks went out, preaching their gospel of love to the savage tribes who, just as in Uganda, at first answered their love by hate and murder. I have seen this story told in stone upon the walls of Boro-budur, and the analogy of Mackay and Harrington and the little band of pioneers, both men and women,

who were ready to lay down their lives, in order to win from savagery this truly noble people of Uganda, has often come home to me.

Surely these are the true conquests of the world! These are the true landmarks of history!

But while my words cannot express too strongly the nobility of those early missionary days, yet I could feel at the present time that an ebb had come in that tide which had before swept forward. The missionaries, who have come out in recent days, seem unable to win the love of the Uganda people, as the earlier missionaries did, though I must quickly add that I found notable exceptions. Among the young chiefs there is a strained feeling which at times almost amounts to bitterness. They are afraid that England means to rob them of this fair country. They are nationalists to a man and, I would add, to a woman also; for the women are as fiery patriots as the men. Perhaps the change in tone towards the missionaries arises from this.—They are not altogether certain that the missionaries will side with them, if a crisis in English rule occurs. They are afraid that they will always side with their own English fellow countrymen. Strangely enough, I found almost exactly the same stage reached in Fiji; and there, too, the young Fijian Christians came to me with the same feelings of anxiety and apprehension. There was the same mistrust of the missionaries, where before there had been unbounded affection.

The danger has been, that the missionaries in each case, being of the same race as the Government, have shared the unpopularity of the Government and have been looked on with the same fear, with which the British rule is now being regarded.

It is in this crisis of their destiny that the people of Uganda have turned with wistful eyes to India.

It is quite true that, to-day, there are some of the most profitable mercantile undertakings in the world to be engaged in with respect to Uganda. The cotton of the vast belt of black cotton soil has yet to be exploited. There are fortunes to be

made and Englishmen and Indians are rushing in eagerly to make them. But the young chiefs of Uganda said to me with pathetic earnestness,—“Is this all, that India can do to help us! Can she not give us from her store of learning also? Can we not be taught by her, how to meet these problems which have arisen in connexion with the mighty material power of the West? As India has felt the pressure of that power, so we are feeling it also; and it causes us the same dread and alarm that has been raised by it all over Africa and Asia. We feel that we can be friends with the Indian people, because they are struggling like ourselves with the same

difficulties, and they are not proud. They do not want to dispossess us of our land. They wish to live in peace with us. Will they not come to help us?”

I have expressed in these last words the substance of much of their talk with me,—some of it through interpretation, some of it through the medium of English. It was, as I have said, the one thing that moved me most deeply of all among all my experiences in East and Central Africa. I have, therefore, felt it necessary to speak about it more than anything else on my return.

Shantiniketan. C. F. ANDREWS.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REPUBLIC IN CHINA

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A.

1. THE REVOLUTIONIST MANIFESTO.

IN 1688 the English people drew up their “Declaration of Rights.” In 1776 Jefferson framed for the American colonies the articles of their “Declaration of Independence.” In 1789 the French National Assembly proclaimed the “Rights of Man.” And on the 5th of January, 1912, Sun Yat-sen, as President of the provisional Republican Government of China, issued from Nanking the first manifesto of republicanism in modern Asia.

The declaration runs thus:

“To all friendly nations,—Greeting. Hitherto irremediable suppression of the individual qualities and the national aspirations of the people having arrested the intellectual, moral, and material development of China, the aid of revolution was invoked to extirpate the primary cause. We now proclaim the consequent overthrow of the despotic sway of the Manchu dynasty, and the establishment of a republic. The substitution of a republic for a monarchy is not the fruit of transient passion but the natural outcome of a long-cherished desire for freedom, contentment and advancement.

“We Chinese people, peaceful and law-abiding, have not waged war except in self-defence. We have borne our grievance for two hundred and sixty-seven years with patience and forbearance. We have endeavoured by peaceful means to redress our wrongs, secure liberty, and ensure progress; but we failed. Oppressed beyond human endurance, we deemed it our inalienable right, as well as a sacred duty, to appeal to arms to deliver ourselves and our posterity from the yoke to which we have for so long been subjected. For the first time in history an inglorious

bondage is transformed into inspiring freedom. The policy of the Manchus has been one of unequivocal seclusion and unyielding tyranny. Beneath it we have bitterly suffered.

“Now we submit to the free peoples of the world the reasons justifying the revolution and the inauguration of the present government. Prior to the usurpation of the throne by the Manchus, the land was open to foreign intercourse, and religious toleration existed, as is shown by the writings of Marco Polo and the inscription on the Nestorian tablet at Hsi-an-fu. Dominated by ignorance and selfishness, the Manchus closed the land to the outer world, and plunged the Chinese into a state of benighted mentality calculated to operate inversely to their natural talents, thus committing a crime against humanity and the civilized nations which it is almost impossible to expiate.

“Actuated by a desire for the perpetual subjugation of the Chinese, and a vicious craving for aggrandisement and wealth, the Manchus have governed the country to the lasting injury and detriment of the people, creating privileges and monopolies, erecting about themselves barriers of exclusion, national custom, and personal conduct, which have been rigorously maintained for centuries. They have levied irregular and hurtful taxes without the consent of the people, and have restricted foreign trade to treaty ports. They have placed the *likin* embargo on merchandise, obstructed internal commerce, retarded the creation of national enterprises, rendered impossible the development of natural resources, denied a regular system of impartial administration of justice, and inflicted cruel punishment on persons charged with offences, whether innocent or guilty. They have connived at official corruptions, sold offices to the

highest bidder, subordinated merit to influence, rejected the most reasonable demands for better government, and reluctantly conceded so-called reforms under the most urgent pressure, promising without any intention of fulfilling. They have failed to appreciate the anguish-causing lessons taught them by foreign Powers, and in process of years have brought themselves and our people beneath the contempt of the world. A remedy of these evils will render possible the entrance of China into the family of nations.

"We have fought and formed a government. Lest our good intentions should be misunderstood, we publicly and unreservedly declare the following to be our promises :—

"The treaties entered into by the Manchus before the date of the revolution will be continually effective to the time of their termination. Any and all the treaties entered into after the commencement of the revolution will be repudiated. Foreign loans and indemnities incurred by the Manchus before the revolution will be acknowledged. Payments made by loans incurred by the Manchus after its commencement will be repudiated. Concessions granted to nations and their nationals before the revolution will be respected. Any and all granted after it will be repudiated. The persons and property of foreign nationals within the jurisdiction of the republic will be respected and protected.

"It will be our constant aim and firm endeavour to build on stable and enduring foundations a national structure compatible with the potentialities of our long neglected country. We shall strive to elevate the people to secure peace, and to legislate for prosperity. Manchus who abide peacefully in the limits of our jurisdiction will be accorded equality and given protection.

"We will remodel the laws, revise the civil, criminal, commercial and mining codes, reform the finances, abolish restrictions on trade and commerce and ensure religious toleration and the cultivation of better relations with foreign peoples and governments than have ever been maintained before.

"It is our earnest hope that those foreign nations who have been steadfast in their sympathy will bind more firmly the bonds of friendship between us and will bear in patience with us the period of trial confronting us and our reconstruction works, and will aid the consummation of the far-reaching plans, which we are about to undertake, and which they have long vainly been urging upon our people and our country.

"With this message of peace and good will the republic cherishes the hope of being admitted into the family of nations, not merely to share its rights and privileges, but to cooperate in the great and noble task of building up the civilization of the world."

Revolutionary manifestoes are, from their very nature, first, apologies for the revolution, i.e., statements of the crimes of the preceding regime, and secondly, promises and assurances from the new order, i.e., declarations of future policy. But these paper documents, howsoever true and just in their claims, are the least part in the making of a revolution.

Revolutions draw their sustenance from discontent with the existing state of things and with the powers that be. This discontent need not necessarily be all founded on wrongs per-

petrated by the *status quo* and on grievances actually suffered by the people. It can be effective as fuel to the revolutionary fire even though it should happen to be chiefly sentimental and fanciful. The "natural leaders" have only to nurse it and engineer it in such a manner that the active support or passive cooperation of the masses, nay, of a fraction of the people may be enlisted on its behalf. It is the strength and competence of the *personnel* in the propaganda, i.e., the organizing capacity of the intellectuals, that constitutes the real soul and apology of revolutions.

The world has never recognized an insurrection as *fait accompli* simply because the charges drawn up against the preceding government are just, unless indeed it pays the interested Powers to intervene of their own accord, as the United States did in Columbia-Panama disputes (Dec. 1903), and the allies in the secessionist activity of the Czech nationalists of Bohemia (August-September 1918). Right or wrong in their pretensions, revolutionists have had to establish the legitimacy of their cause by the sheer fact of success. Only then has the movement been accepted by mankind as almost a "historical necessity"—one of those "far-off Divine events toward which the whole creation moves."

The wording of a revolutionary instrument indicates, of course, the trend of political philosophy that nourished its being. At any rate it reveals the pious wishes of those who are responsible for it. But how far it is an accurate picture of the order subverted is none the less a matter for sceptical investigation on the part of scientific history.

It is well known that the English Civil War, Restoration, and Revolution have a Tory and a Whig version. And the leaders of the American revolution are thus appraised by Lord Acton :

"Not only was their grievance difficult to substantiate at law but it was trivial in extent. The claim of England was not evidently disproved, and even if it was unjust, the injustice practically was not hard to bear. The suffering that would be caused by submission was immeasurably less than the suffering that must follow resistance, and it was more uncertain and remote."

Even the plea for the French Revolution has not passed unchallenged by the critical students of the *ancien regime*. Tocqueville, Jefferson, and Arthur Young gave contemporary evidences of the silver lining that edged the economic cloud of Bourbon France. The condition of the masses in contemporary Spain, Italy and the German-speaking territories was far worse than that of the French peasants.

Indeed, "the ideas of 1789" are neither what one reads in the "Rights of Man" enunciated by the National Assembly (August 26, 1789) nor in the draft of the new constitution under which the Legislative Assembly held its first meeting (October, 1791). The real document of the

revolutionists in France, as it turned out, was the inspiring personality of the young lieutenant from Corsica. Napoleon was the living embodiment of all the floating ideas of the age, the rationalistic enlightenment of Voltaire, the anti-statal Nature-cult of Rousseau, as well as of the mobocratic radicalism of Danton and the utopian idealism of Robespierre. It was the military hypnotism exercised by Napoleon over twentyfive million men and women that enabled them to feel the justification of their principles as a matter of course. It was the spiritualizing leadership of a dynamic soul that heartened the army of raw recruits and lay generals to venture on defying the aggressive Concert of Europe in its attempt to nip the revolution in the bud. Down to 1815 the French people did not once care to exhibit or even remember the paper manifesto of their "principles", but the fall of Napoleon proved to be similar to the fall of Epaminondas in ancient Thebes. As long as another Napoleon was not forthcoming, thousand such documents were of no avail.

A revolution is justified only by its success. The justification of the Chinese revolution does not consist in the evils of the Manchu administration, howsoever atrocious they may have been in reality. It would have to be sought in the achievements of the "futurist" patriots of young China. In the meantime the Nanking document of 1912 may be examined as a record of political literature.

2. DESPOTISM AND MAL-ADMINISTRATION.

This document of an Asian revolution contains the familiar phrases, "inalienable right," "consent of the people," "irregular and hurtful taxes," etc. But evidently it does not attempt to exhibit a philosophic grasp of life's fundamentals. Nor does it display sweeping generalizations of an absolute character, whether social or economic. The instrument is not marked either by any characteristic theory of popular sovereignty or by any epoch-making political *Weltanschauung*. But one finds in the general tone of this Chinese manifesto a distant family likeness of the Bill of Rights. There can be detected in it a faint echo of John Adam's eloquence on the 4th of July. It bears probably also a weak reminiscence of the heated pamphleteering of the mob-leaders in France noticed by Arthur Young in the course of his travels.

More or less the same language was used in Mexico by the partisans of Carranza against the dictatorship of President Diaz. The wordy side of the pre-Bolshevik revolution in Russia has not been far removed from this argument. And this would be manifest also as much in the revolutions of any of the lesser republics in Latin America as among any of the peoples in Asia or Africa, should they ever rise to overthrow the dominant races.

Like the steam-engine and the U-boat, revolutionary ideals and democratic platitudes, songs of freedom and humanitarian cant are the universal or cosmopolitan goods of the modern world. They are not the "patent" of the individuals or races in and through whom they were born. These shibboleths are at the service of anybody that can command them. Probably it is well-nigh impossible for a people to be essentially original in the manufacture of a revolution. For this we should perhaps have to wait for the epoch of socialism triumphant. That is likely to usher in a radically new psychology with its ethics of the "rights of human personality" as distinct from the conventional "rights of man" and "rights of woman." The plutocracies masquerading today under the guise of constitutional monarchies and even republics would then automatically be subverted. Eventually a new phraseology and idiom of revolution may thus grow up for the future pioneers of civilization and the apostles of new types of democracy.

If the political philosophy of the Chinese revolution is anything but extraordinary, the demands of its leaders do not rise above anything but the stereotyped. The case made by them against the Manchus does not exhibit a picture of the atrocities of Spanish rule in the Netherlands and Peru or the horrors of the Siberian dungeons under the Romanoffs. It is not a record of the age-long social and political persecution of Jews in every Christian land.

The definite references to the iniquities of the Manchu administration are vague indeed, but they would be equally applicable to the declining periods of the indigenous Chinese dynasties. Sun Yat-sen's account of the Manchus is the same as Emperor Shoon-chi the Manchu's account of the last Mings and the historian Sze Ma-chien's account of the last Hans.

Besides, the grievances enumerated in this republican manifesto of the modern orient were the grievances of every European people in the eighteenth century. Which Occidental nation was then free from one or other or all of the following features of socio-political life: serfdom, intolerance, persecution, oligarchy, arbitrary taxation? These were practically the "inseparable accidents" of every "enlightened despotism," e.g., that of Frederick of Prussia, Joseph of Austria, and Catherine of Russia. It is notorious also that in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century Guizot, the French minister, out-Walpoled the English premier Walpole in the use of bribery, corruption, sale of offices, and nepotism as political methods.

Corruption in the earliest American democracy (c. 1776) is thus commented on by a writer cited in Weyl's *New Democracy*:

"In filibustering and gerrymandering, in stealing governorships and legislatures, in using force at the polls, in colonizing and distributing patronage to whom

patronage is due, in all the frauds and tricks that go to make up the worst form of practical politics, the men who founded our state and national governments were always our equals and often our masters."

The degeneracy of pre-Revolution France is described by Gustav Bang, the Danish socialist, in the following terms:

"The Court and the two upper estates represented an exploitation which became more and more flagrant and which more and more was felt to be destructive of civil activity. The burden of taxation kept the urban as well as rural population down. . . . An indescribable demoralization was spreading throughout the ruling classes; . . . bribery and sales of offices flourished; administration of justice became a mockery. . . . It was a condition which in many respects resembled that of modern Russia. And as in Russia, so also in France under the old regime, it was felt that a catastrophe was impending.

This is a recent "Labour" view of Bourbon France. The "anarchist" Kropotkin in his "popular" history of the French revolution draws, of course, the same picture. And these are not mere extremist standpoints. The facts are too well known. Even under the mighty Louis XIV the laws of France were not uniform in all the provinces. The country, though but one-seventh of China Proper in area, was not a single unit. It was divided by custom lines into numerous almost independent states. Under his successors, as before, the privileged classes were exempt from taxation, the royal household was extravagantly managed, the third estate did not exist, and freedom of thought was a taboo. The person and property of the people were at the mercy of the ruler who was the state by Divine right.

The defects of the Manchu regime will thus be found to have been neither essentially Manchu nor exclusively Oriental. Some of them are the inevitable attributes of despotism or *tyrannos*, i.e., one-man-rule, as such, even though it be benevolent, paternal or enlightened. Others are the results of mal-administration and non-administration to which every government is liable during its degeneracy. There is nothing climatologically or ethnologically Asian in the decline and fall of the Manchu empire.

Montesquieu wanted to reform the French monarchy on the model of the English state. This was before 1789. The Chinese also under the guidance of Kang Yu-wei had for some time (c. 1897) tried to rejuvenate the Manchu dynasty. The programme was that of European constitutionalism. That effort having failed, the reform movement has taken shape, however amorphous for the time being, in General Li Yuan-hung and Sun Yat-sen's republic. The Chinese revolution is thus, no less than its younger sister in Russia with its distinctive social philosophy, a move in the direction of humanity's natural evolution indicated by the march of history.

3. ASIA AND EUR-AMERICA.

The leaders of the revolution have blindly accepted the conventional verdict of Eur-American scholars as to the non-militaristic character of the Chinese people. They have made it a point to assure the world that Chinese are a mild and peace-loving race.

But this is a fallacy totally unfounded in history. This is one of the many superficial generalizations which the successful Occident of the nineteenth century has been pleased to propagate about its victim, the fallen and down-trodden Orient. The logic of the "superior races" in modern Eur-America has superstitiously allowed the characterization of the entire East for all the ages as "unchanging", "mystical", "quietistic" and so forth. It is the triumph of the Asian over the white at Port Arthur in 1905 that has recently led to a slight exorcizing of this *idola* out of the Occidental mind. But the fallacy virtually retains its undisputed sway.

To treat the Chinese as a pacifist race is the greatest piece of practical joke, to say the least, in historical literature. The truth is the exact opposite of the current idea. If the Chinese have not been an aggressive people, one would have to define afresh as to what aggressiveness means. The people and the rulers of China have exhibited warlike and vindictive habits in every generation. Even the Buddhist monks used to form themselves into military bands whenever the need arose. The martial characteristics of Chinese have really been as conspicuous as those of the proverbial fighting races of India. The war-spirit has not been less active in China than among the over-dreaded Bushidoists of New Japan or the modern "Huns" of Europe.

In China today there is a lack of literacy among the lower orders. The army, as all other departments, is not backed by sound finance. The military and naval equipment is not scientific and efficient enough. Adequate discipline of the modern standard is therefore wanting on all sides. The present defects in China's fighting material and administration may easily mislead one as to the capacity of the race for future developments, but the present conditions and misgivings as to the future must not eclipse the actual facts of the past from our view. Chinese history has throughout been the record of unrest, warfare, secret societies, rebellions, and adventurous raids.

Indeed, the proper question that sociologists should have to answer is, "Has there been on earth a race more aggressive than the Chinese?" Chinese culture came into existence in one of the lesser states of the north-west. This was probably about B. C. 3000. The three ideal rulers, Yao, Shoon, and Yu, whose names are household words even in modern China and are almost daily cited in the forward journals of the Chinese republic, flourished between B. C. 2897

and 2356. Today at the end of five thousand years Chinese culture comprises within its fold a heterogeneous and mixed population as extensive as that of Europe, and governs an area which is seven times that of Germany. Besides, there is a greater China, including the now lost Indo-China, Formosa, and Korea, as well as the seceding Mongolia, Turkestan, Tibet, and Manchuria. All this "expansion" had to be effected inch by inch. It was not the fiat of an individual will. A race, whose collective consciousness is persistent enough to demand and achieve a continuous overflowing and cumulative enlargement, is certainly not a conservative stay-at-home, and war-dreading people.

The truth, therefore, must unequivocally be admitted by students of comparative culture-history. Under favourable industrial and financial conditions a Gustavus Adolphus can yet drill the Celestial man-power into a real "Yellow Peril". And this may turn out to be even more momentous than the successful Pan-Islam from which the crusades had to defend southern Europe for the Europeans or the avalanche of the Tartar hordes in Eastern Europe during the middle ages.

Another feature of the revolutionist manifesto requires special notice. There is manifest in it a too palpable desire to placate the Christian Powers. But, unfortunately, the references to foreigners form the least satisfactory part of the document.

It was during the reign of Kubla Khan, the Mongol "barbarian", that Marco Polo was in China for twentyone years (1274-95). He occupied an important Government post for three years. The reference to Marco Polo proves the reverse of what the revolutionists want to demonstrate. For, the Venetian's account of toleration in China indicates that the alleged foreign dynasty of the thirteenth century was not ignorant and boorish, after all. The Tangs had protected the Zoroastrians, Manichaeans, Nestorian Christians and Mohammedans together with the Confucians, Taoists and Buddhists. The Mongols also were liberal enough to maintain the same religious policy. Further, China was "open" even then to foreign intercourse and receptive of new ideas from strangers. Otherwise a European could not have been deemed fit to hold office in the Middle Kingdom.

The Nestorian tablet, discovered in 1625, proves indeed that during the seventh century when it was set up by Christians, China was not closed to foreigners. But does it prove that China had been closed since then? There is a good deal of false and erroneous ideas in the air regarding this closing and opening of China. It is thoughtlessly alleged by Euro-American politicians that Cathay has always vegetated in "splendid isolation." The Chinese framers of the manifesto should not have swallowed this monumental untruth.

The China of actual history was in touch

with the "Roman Orient" during the Han period. The Hans, the lesser dynasties, and the Tangs had intimate relations with Hindu India during the first seven centuries of the Christian era. The Chinese of more primitive times had communication with the Babylonians. In later times, the Sungs promoted maritime trade with the Arabs. And not only the indigenous Mings, but the foreign Mongols, as we have seen, appreciated the services of Europeans. Even the much-condemned Manchus were long friendly to Christians. Shoonchi, the first emperor, had the empire mapped out by Jesuits. The Manchus learnt from them the manufacture of new artillery. Kanghi the Great appointed German and French astronomers to reform the Chinese calendar. He was presented with a bronze azimuth and a celestial globe by Louis XIV. In 1692 he revoked the edict against Christian missionizing.

The history of Christian missions in China has passed through the same stages as in Japan. It was during the sixteenth century—the epoch of Ashikaga Shogunate and Ming dynasty—that the Jesuits first came to these countries. The chequered career of Christianity in the Far East since then was not due to the natural open-mindedness or conservatism of the Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese. Its vicissitudes depended, first, on the internal dissensions among the various Christian sects themselves as to the articles of faith, and secondly on the character of the missionaries as political agents of their home governments.

Christians were at first welcomed as much by the Mings and Manchus of China and by the Ashikagas and their successors in Japan as by the Great Moghuls of India. But political intrigues of the missionaries compelled Iyeyasu, the first Tokugawa Shogun, while regent for his son, to issue an anti-Christian edict in 1614. That was the beginning of a persecution which lasted for about twenty years. By 1638 Christianity was all but extirpated in Japan for two centuries.

Missionizing was most prosperous in China during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Here the persecution began a full century after that in Japan. The Chinese came to know of what had happened in the land of the rising sun. Iyeyasu's work was done by Kanghi in 1717. The sole object was to defend the country from the machinations of the "wolf in sheep's clothing." The same desire for self-preservation had prompted Jahangir, the Moghul emperor of India (1605-1627), to declare: "Let the English come no more."

Such was the "Monroe Doctrine" of Manchu China against Christendom. Measures of political defence are not to be interpreted as instances of Manchu exclusiveness, as the revolutionist manifesto seeks to point out. Nor are they to be treated as evidences of traditional

Chinese isolation, as Western scholars are wont to understand.

The document does not touch China's relations with the Powers during the Manchu regime. This would have involved a delicate and dangerous ground. It is obvious that the real foreigners are not the Manchus but these Powers. The Manchu emperors, as Chinese patriots, did for their fatherland the only duty open to them. They closed the country to Eur-America. But one cannot honestly lay one's fingers on any peculiarly Manchu weakness with regard to the eventual failure of this step. It remains for social science to explain the crumbling down of *entire* Asia in modern times.

From the time that Albuquerque (1510-15), the Portuguese admiral, first conceived the plan of establishing a European empire in India, down to the bombardment of Shimonoseki in Japan by the British, Dutch, French and American ships in 1862, the story of the contact between the East and the West was throughout uniform in procedure and results. Is not this the nemesis or reaction to the long history of aggressive Asia,—beginning with the Persian Wars of the fifth century B. C., carried forward by the Mohammedan Caliphates and Buddhist-Shamanist Tartars of the Middle Ages, and culminating in the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and the Ottoman domination of Southern and Eastern Europe down to the peace of Carlowitz in 1699?

But whatever be the ultimate consequences of the contact between the East and the West—whether annihilation of Asia or her re-emergence as a system of sovereign powers, the ætiology of the revolution in China is to be sought in the fact that the last Manchus had proved

to be too weak to cope with the cumulative foreign aggressions, and not in the fact that Manchus were foreigners. Young China feared the alidom of Eur-America, i. e., the subjugation by an "albinocracy" more than they could have reasons to hate Manchu absolutism. Majlisist or parliamentary activities in Persia (1907) have had the same origin, viz., the long-standing incapacity of the ruling Shahs to counteract European expansion in the Middle East. Similarly it was the fear of foreign control in Turkish Macedonia owing to the weakness of the Sultan's government that hastened the party of "Union and Progress" to extort from the throne a constitution (1908) and finally to depose the monarch after an abortive counter-revolution (1909). Nor is it less well known that New Turkey embarked on the war of 1912, because the Balkan allies had raised the demand for European mediation in the administration of Macedonia.

The fundamental fact in the politics of Young Asia is thus the revolt of the East against the domination of the West,—no matter whether it manifests itself in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy or in the founding of a monarchless republic; no matter whether it consists in the expulsion of a ruler or in the subversion of a dynasty. In overthrowing the Manchus the Chinese *intelligentsia* has sought simply to rebel against Occidental exploitation and to emancipate Eastern Asia from Eur-American vassalage—political, economic and cultural. The significance of Chinese unrest can be grasped only by realizing that the expulsion of the West from the East furnishes the sole *elan de la vie* of China's statesmen and patriots.

THE THREE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION IN INDIA

IN his masterly presidential address before the Panjab Provincial Conference in April last, Lala Harkishan Lal, the great financier of the Province, declared that the problem of all problems was that of bread. This problem of *Roti* dominated all others. He estimated the worth of the Reforms or the result of the Panjab tragedies in this light and this only. In other words, he dealt with the problem of more and more production. It should be examined as to how our country stands as regards the three Factors of Produc-

tion which are considered to be quite essential by Economists, viz., Land or Natural Resources, Labour, and Capital. An attempt will be made in the following lines to judge India's position in all these three respects.

NATURAL RESOURCES.

If there is anything which gives India a substantial hope for her Industrial regeneration, it is the vastness of her natural resources. Nature has been very liberal towards this country, and if the people had

also been equally well-endowed as regards their energy, we should not have been depending upon the favours of foreign countries. Our natural resources have attracted, for ages past, flocks of people from far and near. Even to-day these foreigners are able to dump our markets with their manufactures, not for hard cash, for India is too poor to afford enough money, but in exchange for our raw materials.

Our natural resources were there, even before these foreigners visited this country, but they awaited the Human Hand to develop and turn them into manufactures. Influenced by the spiritualistic tendencies of the age, our forefathers did not extend that Human Hand, and so let the outsiders do their work and reap the profits. Had we studied, developed and conserved our own wealth, we should not have been depending upon Manchester or Germany, America or Japan. We could have witnessed an Industrial Revolution as a result of this war, and not only a small boom, perhaps only temporary.

India has been characterised as the Geographical Laboratory of the world and provides almost every variety of food and raw material for our industrial development. Would it not be infinitely better, if instead of getting our raw materials turned into manufactures in other countries, paying double the price to foreigners, we should ourselves be utilising the gifts of nature in our own country, thereby providing subsistence to our millions of half-fed countrymen? When countries without any raw materials can become great in industries and manufactures, India should be supreme in this respect, if it can set itself to the task of developing and utilising its resources to the best and to her advantage. To name only a few, jute (in which we have got a monopoly), cotton, and wheat are some of the materials which give India an invulnerable position as regards her food supply and her textile industries.

Indians have got the *first* right over these raw materials, and others may have a share of them only when they exceed our needs. But it requires some very essential qualities in us to assert our rights effectively against those of the "vested interests".

Unless we acquire all such qualities in the shortest possible time, we are doomed for generations to come. We have anyhow *pulled on* against the competition from without and rivalry from within, but our children will actually curse us for having neglected our duty towards them. It is never too late to begin and we must even now open our eyes to the events around us, and be alert lest we are again left behind in the future fierce struggle of the world. Unless we also get up and buckle up, we are sure to be beaten in our own stronghold.

LABOUR OF VARIOUS GRADES.

The second factor of production is one which will turn the previous one to good account. Fortunately enough India has got an abundance of labour. Rather we have got an over-supply of labourers, leading to almost annual visits of epidemics and famines to this most favoured (by God only and not by Man) country of the world. An oversupply of labourers does not, however, mean a corresponding supply of labour. It is better to clear a false and yet widely accepted notion that mere number of men can produce food and manufactured articles. If this were so, China should be the most advanced country in the world in industries and manufactures. When we refer to Labour of a country, we mean the Product which the labourers turn out and not merely the number of workmen. It is quite obvious that a dozen of *skilled* workmen would, in the end, produce much better and more goods than double that number of unskilled men.

This explains the backwardness of India in industries (and even in Agriculture) in spite of her vast number of labourers. A comparative study of workmen in India and other countries would show that the amount of production per head or per acre is more in England and many other countries than in India. So the question is to increase the quality and not the quantity of Labour by such means as would be suitable to the conditions obtaining in this country. The first need is to improve the physical and resisting power of our men by providing cheap but

sanitary dwellings and wholesome food. Then we should give them such education as would inculcate in them habits of thrift and hard and persistent work. Experience has by now amply proved that even a smattering of the three R's goes a longer way than many other conveniences that may be provided for our workmen.

There is a general complaint about the Indian Labourer that he is too much attached to the soil. In Bombay, for instance, it has been found that the regularity of workmen is anything but satisfactory. At harvest time, the fields are full, while factories are deserted. This is because those workmen do not find the factory life sufficiently attractive and remunerative, and have, therefore, to supplement their income from the fields. In short there is no factory labour like the one we find in England and other countries. The result is the hampering of factories on the one hand and severe burden on the soil on the other. On one side we see the terrible effects of seasonal famines, on the other side we are told that we are unfit for any industrial progress, and are destined to remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Thus the candle burns at both ends.

To remedy this state of affairs we have to like and look after our labour as we care for our hands. We should learn to love those miserable and innocent countrymen of ours, if not for their sake, at least for our own selfish ends. We should make their life cheerful and worth living, for only in that way can we save ourselves from the eternal degradation and helplessness of depending upon others even for our necessities of life. The hand that feeds us and works for us must be kept clean and strong, lest it becomes filthy and lean, so also the men who toil for us should be made to keep clean and healthy. We must not treat our men unhumanely as if they were so many machines. There should be a strong "personal touch", the lack of which was attributed as one of the causes of strikes of mill-hands in Bombay by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in February last. The conditions of work, the methods of

remuneration, the state of the surroundings should be such as would conduce to their well-being and consequently, but surely, our own prosperity.

It is expected that as a result of the war and of the labours of the Industrial Commission, India is soon to have an Industrial Revolution. Signs too are not wanting which show a tendency towards that millennium. But all our energy and enthusiasm will be wasted if we do not profit by the lessons of similar revivals in other countries, specially England. One of the worst evils of what is known as the 'capitalistic stage of production' is the strained feeling between labour and capital, or in other words an utter lack of "personal touch" between the employer and the employee, such as was found to exist in our country in January last. In Bombay these strikes, even without any organizations or any strong resisting power, took such a serious turn as to require the help of the military to enforce peace and order. It is therefore absolutely essential that we should, from the very beginning of our Industrial Life, promote feelings of sympathy and goodwill between our Capital and Labour. If we are successful in this effort, we shall be compensated for our delay in our industrial awakening to some extent at least.

In short we have to prepare our men by making them strong physically, intellectually and morally. They should be strong in body, mind and intellect. Further our labourers should be well spread over the whole country, and should be well-trained in their line of work. For all this we have the huge and difficult task of imparting primary, and if possible compulsory, education. And the sooner it is undertaken the better would it be for these dumb millions as well as for the 'microscopic minority' of the 'politically minded classes.'

CAPITAL.

The third factor of production performs the function of bringing the first two together. It supplies the second with the necessary power to develop the first in order to increase the production of the country more and more as years roll on.

There is a very strong belief in India among a certain class of people that this country is very rich, and that there is an enormous amount of wealth hidden underground, dug out only on occasions of marriage or death. Such a belief is justified on account of and is supported by the "shyness" of Indian Capital. In spite of our vast resources in Labour and Land we have not been able to produce even the barest necessities of a civilised life. Almost all that has been accomplished is due to the energy and capital of foreigners, for which they have got an upper hand in everything and to such an extent that even the very life of Indians is regarded as cheap as compared to their "vested interests". (See the attitude of Europeans towards the Punjab atrocities). They boast of being the pillars of India's prosperity, not as shown by the number of well-fed Indians, but as shown by the trade statistics of any period. And for all this capital and boasting, Indians have been all along been paying a huge price in the form of interests and Government guarantees (see for example the history of Railway Finance of the last 70 years).*

The foreign capitalists have found it profitable to invest their money in India, primarily for their own prosperity (and this is but natural) and incidentally for the industrial growth of India. Evidently they know more of India than the Indians themselves have cared to know about the potentialities of their country. Even now there are some whispers of an Industrial Revolution ere long. Foreign capitalists are eagerly looking forward to extend their business relations and to increase their "vested interests". As to what the British capitalists think of India as a field for their capital the following extract from the 'Times' Trade Supplement of 2nd August 1919 will make clear :—

Taking it all round, our Indian Empire is destined for big things and surely British Capital is going to be at the foundation of them. Our friends, the Americans and the Japanese, have got hold on the Indian market,

and the Old Country (i. e. England) must "wake up".

So it is clear that British Capital will be dumped into this country, so long as we leave a room for it. Be it noted for ever, that we shall have to pay a much higher price for our indifference and their capital, than what has been exacted in the past. If we allow this sort of invasion of foreign capital on our country, we shall have to face the opposition of this ever-increasing "vested interest" at every step of our progress—political or industrial. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" refers to the above speculation of the "Times" in its issue of 16th September, 1919, in the following terms :—

Truly patriotic of the *Times*, but what a sad comment and an outlook for us, the people of the country 'destined for big things'. British Capital has no doubt done much for India—(is it really British Capital or Indian?)—and we are fully alive to the fact that there must be more of it to develop our industries, but exactly upon those terms on which Japan and America got it, and not on preferential terms which have helped to crush all indigenous industrial enterprise and destroy our industrial instinct. This is one of the many reasons why we have always advocated the transfer of the Portfolio of Commerce and Industry to our hands, and we are still of opinion that without it we shall be driven to the wall. In the meantime our countrymen should look up just as the *Times* wants the Old Country to 'wake up'.

Happily there are signs of the old order changing "giving place to new", for during the last two or three years we have seen Indian Capital shaking off its shyness though very slowly indeed. The proceeds of the three war loans of the Government of India, the floatation of the Tata Industrial Bank, and various Companies, and lastly, the recent 'boom' in the share markets are some of such hopeful signs. Indeed during the current year the progress has been so rapid as to attract the cry of "halt" lest there be any disastrous reaction like that of 1913. But there should be no cause for alarm, as the present awakening is a result of a different kind of events than what preceded that of 1905-12. The former is based on the lessons of this terrible war, while the latter was associated with political movements, and

* See Mr. R. C. Dutt's "India in the Victorian Age."

derived its stimulus from those quarters. As soon as the political enthusiasm became cool, or the cause of it disappeared, the Swadeshi movement also fell to the ground.

It is, however, a sound policy to be cautious, lest there be a "crash" again and we be doomed as unfit for any Industrial or Commercial progress. Up to this time the Capital has been shy, but if now we have a crash, this shyness may turn into a conviction that hoarding and contentment with the present worth of money are the golden rules, for they are the safest to follow. It will be then a

formidable task to bring round the wealthy people to the sounder view of investment, for at that time our persuasion will not be backed up by the whip of any economic distress created by any war. Anyway we should now "wake up", that we may not have to sell our economic freedom and progress for foreign capital, while our own may be rotting in unprofitable corners. And lastly, we should be hurrying up in this as in other directions, so that it may not be too late in the day to mend matters, and delay may not prove fatal to our very existence as a civilised people.

JAGDISH PRASAD.

THE DEATH OF KING ALCOHOL IN AMERICA

BY INA DELO

FROM the beginning of history, the subject of intoxicating liquors has occupied the attention of mankind. Much has been said and written concerning this traffic and today we find the effort to justify its existence still going on.

Three thousand years ago this question was asked in the Bible: "Who hath woe, who hath sorrow?" and the answer was made, "They that tarry long at the wine." A great prophet five hundred years later spoke in no uncertain terms when he said: "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning to buy strong drink." Two thousand years ago a great Jewish teacher taught that "No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God." Thus, condemnation was pronounced not only on the traffic itself, but also upon its addicts.

Through the centuries man has grappled with this monster which was enslaving generations. It has been like some destructive dragon, crushing all things in its path, leaving death and despair in its wake.

About one hundred and fifty years after the discovery of the continent of America, the colonies began taking account of this traffic, and enacted, at various times, laws regulating manufacture and sale. These laws met

with only indifferent success; but the fight has never ceased and early in the nineteenth century a great revival of interest along temperance and prohibitory lines took place.

It is of interest to note that the first temperance society in America was composed of two hundred New England farmers. Also that the first official recognition and sanction of the liquor traffic by our Congress, was as early as 1790.

Within our borders, however, there was one State that, from the beginning, spurned the liquor traffic—the great state of Maine. Since the year 1851, when the prohibitory law was written into its constitution, there has never been any serious question of its repeal. May it not be possible that this has been the "leaven that leaveneth the whole lump?" Legislation by a few other States about this time was made along the same line, but later repealed.

Before the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States, now almost sixty years ago, he said: "Soon or late the majority of the people will reach a reckoning with John Barleycorn. Slowly the people will have to set down all the items in the ledger of common sense that passes from sire to son. By and by some generation will

strike a balance. If there is too much against him they will act."

These words stand today as a distinct prophecy that has been fulfilled. Prohibition is a fledgling in America, but it is here to stay. It is true the contest which marked the last great battle, covered a period of over fifty years; but in its consummation is illustrated the truth of those words of a great American statesman: "Civilization is a running stream and can no more be dammed than the current of a mighty river." Prohibition is a long forward step in that march of civilization.

As the years passed, each generation has indeed set down in its ledger of common sense the items to the credit or discredit of the liquor traffic, until in 1920 the debit side of the account so far over-balanced the credit side of the question, that almost as one man the American people voted King Alcohol to be no more part and parcel of our National life.

When this Republic was hard pressed for funds with which to carry on the great American Civil War half a dozen decades ago, our martyr president Abraham Lincoln reluctantly signed the measure called the Internal Revenue Bill. How unwillingly he appended his name to this document is evidenced by the historic words: "If this traffic becomes rooted in the revenues of the Republic, it will give us more trouble than slavery." His avowed intention was to have the law repealed at the close of the war. But alas! when peace came, his memory belonged to the ages; and the evil had become so deeply rooted that Congress dared not repeal it.

In the long list of items set against this nefarious traffic, we found that sixty per cent of the paupers who filled our almshouses were its products. That eighty per cent of the criminals within our jails and penitentiaries laid their downfall at its doors. Looking back with cleared vision we see it to have been the prolific source of poverty and delinquency. It was no respecter of law or virtue or the decent things of life. It was the parent of discord and strife. Outraged womanhood and the misery of little children were its attributes.

It was ever a destroyer of the equality of opportunity. How often children have been deprived of that education which would have fitted them for a life of service to their fellow-men by having to become wage-earners,

while a besotted father spent his earnings over the bar.

Before the recent World War, the American War College conducted an exhaustive investigation into the results of war. A comparison found that 3,500,000 white men came to their deaths yearly from the use of alcoholic liquors, proving that alcohol was ten thousand times more destructive than war, counting all the wars back to 500 B. C. The Government's investigations, therefore, showed King Alcohol as the Great Destroyer and war as a secondary cause of National decline.

Taking into consideration the fact that the use of alcoholic beverages impairs a man both physically and mentally, the investigators found over 125,000,000 sufferers from its effects among the white race.

The consumption of liquor in the United States alone had increased in fifty years from four gallons per capita to twenty-two gallons per capita. This, in spite of the warning sounded by a great statesman, that America was the last stand of the white race.

But these inquiries did not end here. Quoting from their report: "Alcoholic beverages, even in moderation, reverse the processes of Nature and set back the purposes of creation." A great scientist studied carefully the cases of fifty-seven children from ten homes, born from alcoholic parents. He found only seventeen per cent of these children to be normal, while eighty-three per cent were abnormal. Selecting the same number of children from the same number of families, in the same community, born from non-alcoholic parents; he found the percentages to be completely reversed.

As an item in this comprehensive report, the loss of productive efficiency was found to reach the astounding figure of \$8,500,000,000, during one year, in the United States. The cost also of providing for crime, pauperism, idiocy, and insanity, produced by alcohol and paid for by direct taxation, exceeded \$2,000,000,000 per annum. To sum up, including the cost of the total consumption of liquors, the United States found herself losing \$16,000,000,000 annually.

Of all the items on the debit side of the ledger in the account with this Great Destroyer, none loomed larger than the blight on human liberty—that principle which formed the corner-stone of the American Constitution. Honest and efficient government seemed

impossible. So firmly had the liquor interests entrenched themselves in political affairs, that "it elected mayors, aldermen, sheriffs, judges, state legislators, Congressmen and United States Senators." The enactment of laws was controlled by them. At every turn in our political life this monster hurled his defiance and remained triumphant.

Immediately after the legalization by Congress of the sale and manufacture of intoxicants on a large scale, these interests became politically active and very aggressive commercially. We are told that "under the license system the liquor business became a political peril, a social corrupter, a commercial vampire and an organizer and stimulator of the most dangerous and unpatriotic elements in our National life."

During these decades, the character of American life had been gradually changing. When Abraham Lincoln signed the Internal Revenue Bill, eighty per cent of our population was associated with rural pursuits. There was produced throughout these years the noblest race of men that the world has known. Institutions sprang up and inventions flourished. The rapid development of the latter, especially in farm equipment, released a large part of the rural population to follow other pursuits. Cities sprang up in a day and an increasingly large number of agricultural people flocked to them. Immigration also furnished and is still furnishing a large city population. Today only thirty per cent of our American people are engaged in agricultural pursuits. These conditions were highly conducive to the maintenance and growth of the liquor traffic.

But it needed a World War to bring our account with this giant startlingly before us. It was at that time that human consciousness could no longer evade the issue. When our soldiers, and the soldiers and peoples of other lands needed bread, the question was brought squarely before us whether we might, with justice, continue to divert one million dollars worth of food-stuffs each year into intoxicants; also whether we could afford to allow a million dollars worth of coal to be consumed annually by this traffic, when the fuel was needed to light the fires of world freedom and world democracy.

The war was a direct refutation of the argument of the brewers, that the workingman needed intoxicants to maintain his strength; during those strenuous years,

miners in great mining centers petitioned the Government for the establishment of dry zones around their mines, promising the production of thousands more tons daily, if this were done.

The President of the National Labor Union and Eight Hour League speaks authoritatively when he says:

"The use of liquor and its influences have done more to darken labor's homes, dwarf its energies and chain it hand and foot to the wheels of corporate oppression, than all other influences combined."

Emphasis on the attitude of leaders of great labor organizations, is seen in the terse statement of the Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers:

"If I could, I would inaugurate a strike which would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth."

Because the working class is in the majority, its welfare is a matter of transcendent importance to every patriot in this country.

Recent investigations have determined that, taking an average year, each grog shop, which in America is called saloon, was causing the death of three men annually. As a consequence, the question confronting the people was, whether a Government could perpetuate itself and remain in league with assassins.

But the American conscience had not failed to take cognizance of this rapidly growing evil in the early days, and in 1869 there was formed the Prohibition Party. This political party was a great factor in moulding public opinion; and about fifteen years later a society called the Anti-Saloon League sprang into being. This organization combined its strength with that of the Prohibition Party, the two becoming a mighty force in combatting the liquor traffic. Antedating these two organizations, however, the women of the state of Ohio had banded themselves into societies called "Crusaders", adopting a "do everything" policy for the protection of home and country from the great evil that menaced it. Thus, these brave women were pioneers in what we are pleased to term temperance work:

"Within a few years in almost every city and hamlet in the United States was organized this praying, working band of temperance women. The children of communities were gathered into Temperance Legions, and a constant agitation against the liquor business grew in prominence."

The year of the formation of the Prohibi-

tion Party saw the first introduction into the public schools by law, of scientific temperance instruction. This law was mothered by the Crusaders who had now adopted the name of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; this society was the first body to present a petition to Congress asking for National Constitutional Prohibition. Thus in those early days was blazed the trail we are following today.

With this sentiment springing up throughout the country, the liquor interests soon realized that the battle between them and the forces for purity and righteousness must be fought to the death. Organized manhood and organized womanhood combined to fight this battle "For God and Home and Native Land." Feeling grew more bitter as time passed, and the graves of martyrs in this cause—victims of the assassin's bullet—mark in these later years, as so many milestones, the progress of the Prohibition movement in America.

But the battle seemed to progress slowly for the forces of righteousness. "The year 1911, however, was epochal. At this time was issued by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, "the historic proclamation that within a decade prohibition would be written in the Constitution of the United States, and called to active co-operation all temperance, prohibition, religious and philanthropic bodies; all patriotic, fraternal and civil associations and all Americans who loved their country."

Inspired by this heroic act, a noted Congressman immediately presented a bill calling for National Constitutional Prohibition. It was defeated. Twice thereafter the same bill was introduced, and at its third presentation in December, 1917, it was passed by a safe majority. Later it became a law, becoming effective January 17, 1920. The awakened conscience of thinking men is strongly reflected in the fact that the majorities of both the Republican and Democratic parties favored the bill. When the American people found they could no longer defend the saloon, they would no longer associate with it.

At the present time all the states of the Union except three, have ratified the measure—a marvellous example of the unanimity of public opinion.

All of the forces having a part in bringing about this final and complete reckoning with John Barleycorn agree that "nothing in his life became him so much like the leaving it."

At this writing, what are some of the results of this Nation-wide house-cleaning? We are aware that America, as well as the rest of the world, has passed through a period of industrial unrest during the past year; but it is believed by those who are in a position to judge, that the strikes and other disturbances would not have been terminated so quickly or successfully, had the sale of intoxicating drinks not been restricted.

From every part of the country comes the authentic testimony of governors of states, judges and of men in every phase of official life, extolling the advantages of a dry regime. They point to the improvement in law enforcement, the betterment of social and economic conditions. The usual economic law is that demand creates supply. In the sale of intoxicants, this law is reversed and we find the supply creating the demand. This is ever the law of vice. Because man is a social being, the saloon has capitalized his desire for social intercourse and his love of friends.

The dire prediction by the liquor interests of impending calamities in closing over two hundred thousand saloons, employing four hundred thousand men, has failed of materialization. Financial panic was predicted. Instead, these men have quietly sought other lines of work and the abandoned saloons, breweries and distilleries have become productive centers for useful commodities. A large percentage have been converted into restaurants. The owner of a large number of cafeterias, living in one of our greatest cities, points to the fact that a much larger amount of food is being consumed since intoxicating drinks were banished. This has called for the establishment of more eating-houses, and it is safe to say that this condition is typical of all other cities and towns of our country. An increase of twelve per cent is noted in the cost of dinner orders, and ten per cent in desserts. Increased use of sugar, it is pointed out by a great medical expert, is the substitute for alcohol; and while sugar is the substance of nutrition, alcohol is only its shadow. From these facts we may infer that the use of sweets can do little if any physical harm, while the use of alcohol retarded digestion and prevented the body tissues from performing their natural work. A number of breweries have turned to the lucrative business of making syrups out of grains from which beer was formerly made, and also from plants containing starch, such as potatoes and corn.

this connection can be seen the reason for the enlargement of the soda fountain business, the making of candy and all other products in which sugar is used.

It has been said, and perhaps in a measure justifiably, that money is the God of America; and that commercialism is the prevailing vice of the American people. But when we clearly realize that the owned and rented capital of saloons and places where liquor was sold, aggregated one billion of dollars; that the liquor making establishments represented a value of seven hundred and seventy millions; and that the revenue to our Government from this immense business was four hundred and forty-three millions of dollars, we can readily see that by wiping out this traffic the American people placed the qualities of better citizenship, more comfortable homes, health and rightness of living, above dollars and cents.

The argument that the Government can not exist without these revenues is without foundation, when we consider the reduced cost of administering government, in cities, counties, and states, as well as Nationally.

The Governor of the state of Mississippi, which was the first state to ratify the Amendment to the National Constitution, enthusiastically states:

"We desire to see a world-wide prohibition law. We have faced this matter from every angle. In our own state crime has lessened eighty per cent. Our courts and officers are almost idle in this respect. Prosperity reigns where poverty once ruled. We want to join with the world in giving the people of old Mother Earth one good chance to get sober."

This testimony comes from a state containing about forty-nine thousand square miles and having within its borders a population of over one million five hundred thousand, fifty-eight per cent of whom are of the Negro race.

Statements from sea-port cities, manufacturing cities and mining centers all agree that law enforcement is easier, and prosperity increasingly evident.

Domestic trade is in a more flourishing condition than ever before; almshouses are being emptied and jails are being put to other uses than those for which they were built. Hospitals built and maintained for the exclusive treatment of inebriates are being turned into hospitals for wounded soldiers and other useful purposes.

Opponents to Prohibition wasted no efforts in trying to convince the people that a National prohibitory law could not be enforced.

But now that the Nation is dry, Honorable Daniel C. Roper, United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue says: "The people of the country are observing the prohibition laws well. The law breaking element is small and growing smaller."

From the General Manager of a large foreign bank has gone forth the word that "Prohibition has made America the most formidable industrial competitor that we now have in the world."

Banks everywhere throughout this country show greater deposits than ever before known. This fact not only argues in favor of a more prosperous Nation, but also that it is a happier one. Thousands upon thousands of homes have been literally transformed. Comfort and thrift have replaced poverty; and heavy hearts have been relieved of their burdens of years. Children no longer cringe and hide from the blows of a drunken father or mother, but are entering into their childhood's heritage of joy.

Miss Jane Addams, the famous social worker, out of her great experience says: "Prohibition has more than made good on the most sensational promises of its advocates." And it is generally conceded by all observing Americans, that Prohibition as "a money-saver, an efficiency-promoter, misery-eradicator, health-creator and business-increaser" will steadily grow in popularity and spread throughout the world.

There are many reasons for this prophecy. One of the greatest is that the health of its people is of paramount importance to a Nation. Since war-time prohibition went into effect less than a year ago, we can only indicate the effect that "dryness" has had upon public health. The groups of diseases which show the largest falling off in their death rates, are those of "mal-nutrition, or under-feeding, chronic diseases, of the heart, liver, kidneys, and accidents of all sorts—street, industrial and Railway." We are told that the morgue of the great city of Chicago is "three-fourths empty since the city went dry." Tuberculosis and diseases of infants are the two groups which medical experts give as furnishing the best index of the vigor and nutrition of a community. A falling off of the death rate in the former disease, of more than two thousand in the city of New York, was noted in the year 1919, and nearly fifteen hundred in the death rate of infants. A noted physician, Dr. Osler, is authority for the statement that "poverty, bad-housing and drink" furnish the direct

cause for the spread and continuance of the tuberculosis. He further states :

"When men have a living wage, and the house becomes the home, when the nation spends on food what it now spends for drink, there will be millions instead of thousands with practically continuous immunity against tuberculosis."

The use of alcohol in the treatment of disease during the past twenty years has fallen off eighty to ninety per cent, and some physicians go so far as to state that the medical profession could get along satisfactorily without it.

The epidemic of influenza in this country gave opportunity for widespread education against the use of alcohol as a medicine, as the majority of reports gave little or no value to its use. A body so wellknown as the New York Academy of Medicine, in a bulletin issued at the beginning of the second epidemic of influenza, urged : "Do not take any beer, wine, whisky or other spirits unless ordered to by the doctor."

While prohibition has given such an impetus to health, it will require much more education to convince the world that the medicinal value of alcohol is a delusion. But as convincing testimony in that direction, health officers all over the country are pointing to the lowest death rates on record.

Nor is there a marked increase in the use of habit-forming drugs, such as opium and morphine, as was predicted. A very stringent law restricting the sale of these narcotics, is rigidly enforced.

Great Insurance Companies have their word to say in this mass of argument on the side of Prohibition. They tell us that among brewery employees there was to be found "the highest disease rates and the lowest expectations of life of any of the great industries." Also "that even the moderate use of alcohol shortens the life and lowers the life expectancy of their policy holders more than twenty per cent."

Next to the health of a nation, we find prosperity as a basic factor. A great research expert gives it as his opinion that

"through Prohibition human wastage and unemployment will be reduced; industrial ambition will be aroused and increased savings will be made possible through the directing of expenditures into wholesome channels. Therefore, a great buying power will be directed from the lines that weakened man's efficiency to other lines that spur men on to greater activities."

We know that no one ever went forth from a saloon to scale the rugged heights of sterling

character, or to make the most of his talents. On the contrary, potential statesmen, heroes and poets have been made paupers and law breakers. It gives nothing, but takes all.

The conservation, therefore, of the morals of its people is the highest duty of any Nation. This was the attitude of the United States in her conduct of the great Civil War. The people of the North stood for the great principle "that there was no property right in man." The age-old struggle between the two great principles of Right and Wrong, is settling the question of the liquor traffic as it did that of slavery.

The most potent reason that Local Option failed to provide a solution for the handling of this traffic, is, that "it is wrong to give any community the right to legalize a wrong." It would be impossible to apply the principle of Local Option to our Tariff or to any other great question of Government; so why should it be applied to this greatest of all questions?

Perhaps the argument most heatedly discussed is that of "the curtailment of personal liberty." Since the dawn of law, every law which promotes human liberty has been restrictive in character. And this fallacious argument melts like snow before the sun when one views the real freedom from the bondage of drink, from crime and vice and destitution in the lives of those who once were its slaves.

Science tells us that when the golden glow from our cozy homefires gives us warmth and comfort and light, we are basking in the stored up sunlight of long-gone generations. So, when the white attractive light from the saloon's open door streams across our path, we are seeing only the light stolen from scores of darkened homes and lives.

It would not be a fair presentation of the question of prohibition in America, did we fail to speak of the strenuous efforts of the minority to defeat law and bring back the palmy days of the saloon. All of the concerted effort, however, will prove futile for the reason that much faster than they can invent arguments or publish their sophistries, converts are being made to the prohibition policy. Multiplied instances of a change of heart are found everywhere. The Chief of Police of the largest city in the state of New Hampshire is a notable and typical example. He lays his reversal of opinion to "less crime, better business and, best of all, happier homes."

Even the liquor dealers themselves admit that prohibition has improved their condition.

A prominent Jewish Rabbi in the great city of New York aptly writes :

"There are only two things to be said of prohibition : One is, that it ought to have come, and the other, that it never will go—and now let us pass on to the next business."

And what is the "next business" in the wake of the enactment of such a sweeping national law ?

New plans, vast new responsibilities parallel the unlimited opportunities that a dry nation affords. Is it to be wondered at that we are a little bewildered as to what shall be done next ?

Since the enforcement of all prohibitory laws is now a matter of loyalty to the Government of our country, the creation of sentiment for law enforcement seems the first duty confronting us. In this way the people will be shown that the policy of the closed saloon is right.

The maintenance of the race also appeals to the mother- and father-hearts of America. Prohibition and the world-war has indeed brought about child conservation. It is an undisputed fact that a nation's greatest asset is its children. They are the presidents, statesmen, in fact the whole working machinery of the future. As such, children have challenged our patriotism. The response has come not only from our Government, but from organised lines of thought and action all over the country. Vast new programs in child welfare, entailing time, workers and money, have been promulgated. Thirty states now have child-welfare laws, and a mass of legislation in the making, is along this line. Into the minds and hearts of the youth of our land will be inculcated with great energy the principle of total abstinence.

Plans for Americanization centers, to help "put the spirit of America in the foreign speaking home," will be carried out. The aim of this movement is to make English the language of all those holding this land to be their country. America covets the loyalty and sympathy of all who come to her shores. Children will be taught to regard this as their Fatherland ; that all American history is theirs, as well as the benefits and privileges of our institutions, thus making of them one American people who have moulded their lives to the life that has made their adopted

country so great and so free. With these principles instilled they will look forward to the future of their new land and to a better civilization than they or we have ever known.

The greatest aid in this work is the banishment of intemperance with its waste of money, disorder, pauperism and crime, insuring a cleaner life for the children of the immigrant, as well as for our own.

The problem of the liquor traffic is confined to no country or race. But we see the trend of world opinion in the fact that thirteen countries have adopted Prohibition and ten countries have enacted restrictive laws, with the same end in view.

Already bills have been introduced into our National Legislative body, providing that it shall be unlawful for any American citizen to engage in the traffic of alcoholic liquors in foreign countries. Throughout America is sounding the slogan "A saloonless world by 1925 !" Is it too much to hope for ? Perhaps ; but not too much to work for. Any phase of government that brings health, wealth and happiness to individuals, to states and to a Nation, will bring these same blessings to the world. The past years have called for courage, faith and moral leadership. The years of re-construction will call for a double portion of these virtues.

The temperance forces of America are ready to render financial as well as other lines of support in establishing world-wide Prohibition. It is recommended that an International League of Nations be organized for the extermination of the liquor traffic. Looking to this end, in the spring of 1919, a special Conference for the study of Alcoholism was held in Paris. Nine countries were largely represented and one of the questions considered was : "What new methods shall be adopted after the establishment of peace, to carry on temperance work throughout the world."

In this connection, a month later in Canada and America were held general world-wide conferences. In the call jointly issued by these countries were these meaningful words : "No great problem that has to do with human welfare can be solved fully and permanently by a single Nation, regardless of others. Races and Nations are subject alike to that high law of international ethics which insists that the solution by any people of a problem which concerns the world, carries with it the

The bow was the chief weapon (*kārmuka*, a bow, lit. that which is good in action). One who appeared with his bow *stretched* was regarded as an assailant (*atatāyin*, lit. having the stretched one).

The arrow was made of the reed. Hence *sara* means both the reed and the arrow.

Manliness (*paurusa*) was the chief virtue of a man.

Fame was acquired by possessing abundant food or wealth (*yasas*, food, wealth, fame).

Marriage was effected by carrying away the bride from her father's house, (*vivāha*, *vahatu*, *udvāha*, marriage; from *√vah*, to carry). The bridegroom was the carrier (*vodhā*) and the bride the thing carried (*vadhu*). Marriage was celebrated by leading the bride by the hand round fire (*parinaya*, lit. leading round, *pāni grahana*, lit. taking the hand, both meaning marriage).

Polygamy was in vogue. *Dāra*, wife, is always used in the plural. Co-wives (*sapatni*), however, were inimical (*sapatna*) to each other.

Women sometimes remained widows (*vidhavā*) for life, whereas males seldom remained widower for a long time. *Vidhavā* has no masculine form.

There was an inner compartment (*antah pura*) for women, where they were sometimes so much secluded (*avarodha*, the zenana) as *not to be seen even by the sun* (*asuryampasyarupā*).

Husband and wife were the heads of the family (*dampati*, the two masters of the house). The husband, however, was bound to maintain the wife (*bhāryā*, lit. maintainable).

There was no infanticide, the son being regarded as a purifier of the father (*putra*, son, lit. the purifier) and the daughter being especially desired perhaps for the fee which she fetched at her marriage (*kanyā*, a daughter from *√kan*, to desire).

Cousins were often enemies (*bhratravya*, brother's son and enemy. *Pānini*, IV. 1. 145).

Towns were first built near hills which served as forts (*nagara*, a town, from *naga*, a mountain).

Townsmen were regarded by themselves as polite and civil (*nāgarika*, polite, civil) and the villagers as vulgar (*grāmya*, vulgar). While perhaps villagers retaliated on townsmen by regarding them as profligates (*nāgara*, *nāgarika*, profligate).

Gold was produced by melting the ore

fire. Hence fire was called *jātavedas*, the producer of wealth, *hiranyaretas*, having gold as its seed. Latterly, however, when the melting of ores for gold was almost forgotten and gold dust was picked from the banks of rivers, particularly the river called the *Jambu* (*jāmbava*, *Jāmbunada*, gold), myths arose to explain the appellations of *jātavedas* and *hiranyaretas* for fire. The *Aitareya Brāhmana* (III. 12) thus derives the name *jātavedas*: "Prajāpati created all beings. Being created they went away with their back to *Prajāpati* and did not turn. *Prajāpati* surrounded them with fire. Then they turned to fire. Hence even now men turn to fire (for warming themselves). *Prajāpati* said, 'These *jāta* (created) have been *vitta* (obtained) with the help of fire.'.....This is how fire (*jātavedas*) became *jātavedas*." *Satapatha Brāhmana* (II. I. 1. 5.) and the *Mahābhārata* (*Anusāsanik*, chap. 84, 85) narrates myths how gold was produced in water by fire.

Silver and gold were current as coin, hence they were called *akupya*, not to be concealed.

The Indo-Aryans were not averse to sea-voyage like their later day descendants. *Avārapārīna* is one who has crossed the sea (*Pānini*, V. 2. 11). A master in anything is one who has gone to the other side (*pāraga*) or who has seen the other side (*pāradrsvan*, *pāradarsin*). To be able is to cause to cross over *√pāra*. It was, however, a coasting voyage. So that the wind that blew *towards the coast* was favourable (*anukūla*) and that blew *away from it* was hostile (*pratikūla*). The sons of King *Sagara* were the first to attempt to cross the sea (*Sāgara*, the sea); *Bhagiratha* was the first to discover or to trace the *Ganges* from its source to its mouth (*Bhāgirathi*, the *Ganges*). The boats (*nau*) were propelled by oars (*aritra*).

Oil (*taila*) was first extracted from *sesamum* (*tila*).

Racial difference was owing to the difference of colour (*varna*, colour, race).

The heart was regarded as the seat of feeling. (*Suhrid*, a friend, lit. one with a good heart; *durhid*, an enemy, lit. one with an evil heart; *hrdya*, pleasing to the heart).

The Indo-Aryans faced the east in their prayers; hence *purva*, the east, the front; *pascima*, the west, the behind; *daksina*, the south, the right. This might have been also the Hebrew custom. In Hebrew *shemol*, *shemāl* means both the left hand and the

north ; contrast Arabic 'shimal' meaning the left hand and the south.

The priest was to sit before the worshipper (purohita) and to receive a cow placed on his *right* as his fee (daksinā).

An honourable person was circumambulated by an inferior from left to right, so as to keep the superior always to the right of the inferior ; hence pradaksina, circumambulation, and daksina (adjective), civil, courteous, obedient.

The Indo-Aryans believed in augury by birds, hence sakuna, a bird, also an omen ; sākunika, a fowler, also the interpreter of omens.

The crane (vaka) and the cat (vidala) were marked for their hypocritical manners. Hypocrites were called vaka-vratachārin and vidāla-vratin.

The dog (svā) was noted for its mean fawning nature ; hence service was called svavrtti, the profession of the dog. It was specially unclean (svapāka, svapac, a chāndāla).

During the new moon period, the sun and the moon were thought to *live together* (amāvasyā).

Lightning (saudāmani) was regarded to be produced from a mountain in heaven called Sudāman.

Writings (lekḥā, lipi) were either scratched (√likh, to write, to scratch) or painted (√lip, to paint) on leaves (patra) and the leaves were then tied by a knot (grantha) to form a book (grantha).

The Indo-Aryans had some peculiar beliefs. The crow was believed to possess only one eye which it turned from one socket to another according to its needs. Hence ekacaksu, a crow ; kākāksigolakanyāya, the similarity of the eyeball of the crow doing work in both the sockets as occasion arises. It was said to produce one brood and then to be barren once for all, hence kākabandhyā, barren like the crow after once bearing a child.

The serpent was supposed to *hear with the ears* ; hence it was called caksusravas. It was also supposed to live by inhaling air alone ; hence vāyubhaksa.

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MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH,

THE SCOPE AND METHODS OF ANTHROPOLOGY*

ANTHROPOLOGY in its widest sense embraces the whole history of the whole man—his physical structure, mind, morals, language, religion, social organisation, government, law, economic condition, and arts and crafts. Other specialised sciences such as anatomy, physiology, psychology, ethics, linguistics, politics, economics and archaeology have already appropriated to themselves a good deal of this vast area. The residual area to which the term anthropology is more strictly applied is usually divided into two main branches, physical anthropology and cultural anthropology, also called social anthropology, ethnology or sociology. Physical anthropology is concerned

with the origin of man and of the origin and development of the varieties or races of man, while cultural anthropology is concerned with the origin and development of the varieties of activities, ideas, institutions, and customs of man. As the mental characters of man vary with his physical characters, and as culture varies with the races of man, cultural anthropology may be recognised as a branch of the physical anthropology and they together constitute the topmost branch of the science of Biology. So anthropology may be defined as the whole history of man as pervaded by the laws of Evolution and Heredity.

The primary value of anthropology, like all other sciences, is an educational or disciplinary one. Like other sciences it teaches the student the exact methods of observation, recording and generalisation. But it may be said that anthropology is even a more effective instrument of mental training than other sciences.

* Introductory lecture (abridged) delivered as University Lecturer in Ethnology, Calcutta, under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, on the 3rd November, 1919.

Disinterested observation and interpretation of the physical and mental traits of ourselves and of our neighbours is much harder than the observation and interpretation of such traits of the lower animals and the properties of inanimate objects, and, consequently, more efficacious as discipline. Again, the accurate observation of human prejudices which fall within the scope of ethnology is surely calculated to develop the habit of *unprejudiced observation* to a greater degree than any other group of facts. But in these days when the cultivation of any branch of knowledge for the sake of knowledge only is in disfavour, every science must justify its existence by proving its usefulness to practical life. What, then, is the value of anthropology to our practical life? Is it as useful as the applied sciences like chemistry, physics, mineralogy, agriculture or medicine? To this our answer is, yes it is. Man cannot live by bread alone. He has not only to contend against hunger and thirst, heat and cold, and mosquitoes and microbes, but he has to contend against himself—his passions and prejudices, and also to deal with such neighbours as we have in India belonging to almost all possible physical and cultural varieties. In Europe and America anthropology is already recognised as a science of practical value. The Bureau of Ethnology created by the United States Government is an outgrowth of "investigations conducted on behalf of the Commissioner of Indian affairs to determine the affinities of the various tribes of the Indians to serve as a guide in grouping them on reservations, as it was believed that an effective classification of the tribes materially reduced the danger of warlike outbreaks."^{*}

In 1914 a Conference of eminent British administrators, anthropologists, and representatives of the universities and the commercial interests held in London passed the following resolution:—

"That this Conference approved the findings and views of the Joint Committee, and is of opinion that, in the highest interests of the Empire, it is necessary so to extend and complete the organisation of the teaching of Anthropology at the Universities of Great Britain, that those who are about to spend their lives in the East or in parts of the Empire inhabited by non-European races, shall at the outset of their career possess or have the opportunity of acquiring a sound and accurate knowledge of the habits, customs, social and religious ideas and ideals of the Eastern and non-European races, subject to His Majesty the King-Emperor."[†]

To a citizen of the Indian Empire, knowledge of anthropology is of as great value as it is to a British administrator or merchant who is to spend his life in the East. The boon of self-

government is soon going to be conferred upon us. A citizen of self-governing India should have, to begin with, that cultured sympathy for his countrymen of diverse races, tribes, castes and creeds that is born of sure knowledge of their affinities, customs and ideas. For an Indian public man and reformer a sound knowledge of anthropology is, therefore, a matter of primary importance. There is even a higher necessity for the study of race. We live in an age of progress; educationists, administrators, reformers, and organisers of commerce and industry are making vigorous efforts to improve the intellectual, moral, and material condition of our people. But this group of activities does not constitute the only factor that determines progress. There are two other factors, race or inheritance and place or physical environment that stimulate or hamper progress. A knowledge of the racial including both physical and mental affinities of a people may enable the educationist, the statesman and the reformer to so direct the movements to foster progress as to keep them in line with the inherited tendencies of the people and thereby better ensure success, or, when race serves as a handicap to progress, they can add to other activities a vigorous effort to overcome the handicap of race.

What is race? Races are the permanent physical or rather physico-psychological varieties of the human species. There are a few ethnologists, who do not believe in race on the ground that physical characteristics of man are so plastic that permanent physical varieties are inconceivable. According to the majority of anthropologists one of the most permanent physical characters is the shape of the head as indicated by the ratio of breadth and length or cephalic index. In a report on American immigrants published in 1912 Professor Boas arrived at the conclusion that the head of the America-born issues of long-headed immigrants from Europe grow broader and that of the America-born issues of broad-headed immigrants grow longer, so that there is a convergence towards one and the same American type evidently as a result of the influence of environment. This proposition has been made the subject of searching criticism and it has been shown that in many parts of the world men with different types of head have been living side by side for thousands of years, without disclosing any tendency to convergence of type. Even a character like skin-colour does not seem to be as unstable as it is supposed to be. The population of the north of Europe is white-skinned, but the Greenland Eskimo has a brownish yellow complexion tinged with red. Races living along the equator are of course all dark-skinned. Still there is a good deal of difference in pigmentation among these races. The Africans are black, the men of Borneo are yellow, and the South Americans are coppery. The next way to determine how

* Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1916, p. 151.

† *Man*, 1914, p. 63.

far the osteological characters that differentiate races are constant seems to be to study the physical history of man in the light of dateable skeletal remains where such documents are available. Such documents are available in South-Western Europe and England from early Glacial period to our own day. Professor Sollas writes: "In reviewing the successive Palæolithic as they occur in Europe, I find little evidence of indigenous evolution, but much that suggests the influence of migrating races."* In the middle part of the Glacial Period Europe was occupied by a race of men who had retreating forehead, prominent eye-brow ridge with arch above, and lower jaw lacking chin prominence very much like the apes. This race is called Neanderthal after the valley of Neanderthal near Dusseldorf in Prussia where the first



Spy Skull No. 1, (Neanderthal Race)
side view (after Hrdlicka).

skeleton of the type was discovered in 1856. This type of men appeared to have lived in Europe for many thousands of years without undergoing any appreciable change of physical structure. The Neanderthals were probably exterminated by a body of invaders of very tall stature, long head and short face who have left behind wonderful works of art. These Palæolithic artists were overthrown in the epoch marking the transition from the Palæolithic to the Neolithic stage by the ancestors of the short-headed Alpine and the long-headed Mediterranean or brown races of Europe.† The physical history of man in Europe as known from the skeletal remains of successive ages discloses the fact that

* *Ancient Hunters and Their Modern Representatives*, London, 1913.

† For a graphic account of the prehistoric races of man see Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*.

the forces of evolution that are supposed to cause gradual change of structure have been practically inoperative in the Glacial and the post-Glacial epochs. This is in agreement with the views of the biologists of the school of Mendel who hold that the forces of evolution cause changes in an irregular manner as isolated events. Professor G. Elliot Smith who, on the contrary, believes that the environmental forces of evolution are still operating with undiminished vigour though very slowly and imperceptibly requiring vast spans of time for the production of their effects, is forced to admit, "The conviction must be reached sooner or later, by every one who, conscientiously and with an open mind, seeks to answer most of the questions relating to man's history and achievement—certainly the chapters in that history which come within the scope of the last sixty centuries—that evolution yields a surprisingly small contribution to the solution of the difficulties which present themselves."* So we can recognise the characteristics that differentiate the existing varieties of man as stable for all intents and purposes. In India where the majority of the inhabitants have been practising cremation from time immemorial dateable skeletons are not available for studying the physical history of the people. But it is possible to trace this history from the present backward to the past by studying the physical characters of the living subjects. Late Sir Herbert Risley inaugurated the anthropometrical measurements of the living subjects thirty years ago. But since then the work has been carried on rather sporadically. A regular and comprehensive anthropometric survey of the Indian peoples and a survey of other features like skin colour and arrangement of beard are wanted to serve as a basis for the study of physical anthropology in India.

Cultural or social anthropology or ethnology proper is as stated at the outset, a branch of physical anthropology, a question of racial contact and intermixture. The culture of a people is dependent on the mental attributes of the people and, if the physical attributes of the different peoples vary so much, it cannot be assumed that all the races of man have the same type of mind. The recognition of mental varieties corresponding to physical varieties raises an issue on which the ethnologists are sharply divided. Men of the older school, called the evolutionary or psychological, start with the assumption that there is a fundamental psychological unity among men, and that as a consequence same type of culture—same type of implements, myths, beliefs and institutions have developed spontaneously and independently in different centres. The new school, called the ethnological or historical school, does not recognise spontaneous evolution but holds that

* Presidential address, • Section H., *Report of the British Association*, 1912, p. 576.

there is as much difference between the psychology of one group of man and another as there may be in their physical characters. In the words of Professor Elliot Smith, "Difference of race implies a real and deep-rooted distinction in physical, mental and moral qualities." As a consequence the ethnologists of this school assert that the progress and variations of culture are due not to independent evolution based on a community of thought, but to racial mixtures and the blending of cultures. Ratzel is the founder of this school and its most prominent exponent in Germany is Graebner. The difference of the two schools may be illustrated by their views regarding primitive art. "In the decorative art of all lands there are found transitions from designs representing the human form or those of animals and plants to patterns of a purely geometrical nature." The ethnologist of the old school endeavour to explain this transition by assuming that the operation of the evolutionary process leads to the degradation and conventionalisation of human, animal and plant designs so that in course of time they become mere geometrical forms. But according to the new school "these transitions are examples of the blending of two cultures, one possessing the practice of decorating their objects with human, animal or plant designs, while the art of the other is based on the use of geometrical forms." In his presidential address at the Anthropological Section of the Portsmouth meeting of the British Association held in 1911, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers declared that he had been led quite independently to much the same general position as that of the new school till then known as the German school, by the results of his own work in Oceania with the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition. In the following year in the Dundee meeting of the British Association and as President of the anthropological section Professor Elliot Smith thus declared his adhesion to the same principle :—

"The modern problems of anthropology that we have to solve, those which relate to man and his inventions since the time of his world-wide distribution and differentiation into races, are not so much questions of independent evolution, but rather those concerning the migrations, the intermixtures and the blending of different races and cultures. The hypothesis of the 'fundamental similarity of the working of the human mind' is no more potent to explain the identity of customs in widely different parts of the world, the distribution of megalithic movements, or the first appearance of metals in America, than it is to destroy our belief that one man, and one only, originally conceived the idea of the mechanical use to which steam could be applied, or that the electric battery was not independently evolved in each of the countries where it is now in use."

Report of the British Association, 1912, p. 398.

The ideas underlying this hypothesis are : like the invention of steam engine and electric battery of modern times the invention of geometrical forms of decoration, the discovery of copper, and the use of big stones as monuments in primitive days were due to gifted individuals working under fortuitously favourable circumstances. Same was also the case with new beliefs, rites, or customs. They owed their inauguration to individuals and was primarily confined to the kith and kin of those individuals. But as a particular usage or invention spread in wider circles it crystallised into a race heritage. Later on it migrated to other countries with the migration of the race or people with whom it was a heritage and was transmitted to other races or peoples as a result of cultural contact or racial amalgamation. In the field of cultural anthropology Graebner's theory occupies a place nearly analogous to that of heredity in the sphere of physical anthropology and biology. Both the theories exclude evolution and explain the origin of new types of culture or physical structure by the intermingling of pre-existing types. I myself have been led to adopt this theory as a result of the comparative study of the Śākta and Vaiṣṇava cults as they are practised in Bengal and to conclude that Śaktism is rooted, as it were, in the germ-cells of our people, and was originally adopted in consequence of amalgamation with immigrants belonging to what may be called a Śākta race. Now, what is the most distinctive feature of Śaktism? To a Śākta the *Śakti* or energy that creates, sustains, and destroys the universe is personated as a female being, the *jagannātā*, 'Mother of the Universe', or Great Mother. The Paurāṇik triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are Her offsprings and subordinate to Her. In the first chapter of the *Nirvāṇa-tantra* is narrated this myth of creation. In the world of truth (*satya-loka*) was she as a shapeless (*Nirākārā*) mass of light. From Her pervading the universe (*jagannāyā*) was born Brahmā. She advised Brahmā to marry and gave him as his wife Savitri who emerged out of her body. Viṣṇu was born next. The Great Mother (*jagannātā*) gave Vaiṣṇavi, who also came out of her body, as wife of Viṣṇu. Śiva was born of her last and She Herself married Śiva. In the *Kubjika-tantra*, Chapter I (as quoted in the *Prāṇatoshini*), we are told, Brahmanī (the Śakti of Brahmā), creates and not Brahmā himself who is only a ghost (*preta*); Vaiṣṇavi (the Śakti of Viṣṇu) protects and not Viṣṇu himself who is but a ghost; Rudrānī (the Śakti of Śiva) destroys and not Śiva himself, who is but a ghost.* Śaktism now prevails to some

* ब्रह्माणी कुरुते सृष्टिं न तु ब्रह्मा कदाचन ।

अतएव महेशानि ब्रह्मा प्रेतो न स भयः ॥

वैष्णवी कुरुते रक्षां न तु विष्णुः कदाचन ।

अतएव महेशानि विष्णुः प्रेतो न स भयः ॥

extent in Bengal and in the neighbouring Mithila, and to a less extent in Maharashtra and Gujarat. Vaishnavism is far more widespread. In Bengal Vaishnavism has more votaries than Saktism and in Assam Saktism is all but dead. But there is a good deal of difference between Vaishnavism as it prevails in the Śakta countries and the Vaishnavism of the other countries. In Hindustan the Vaishnavas are Rāmāits, they worship Rama and Sita. In Southern India, among peoples speaking Dravidian languages, there are two great Vaishnava sects, the Śrīvaishnavas and Madhvas who worship their deity as Narayana or Vishnu and though they adore the incarnations, Rama and Krishna, the cult of the child Krishna of Vrindavan has no recognised place in their systems. But in Bengal and Gujarat Vaishnavism prevails in the shape of the cult of Radha and Krishna. Vaishnavism, I believe, is a founded religion that owed its first impulse to the historical personality of Krishna-Vāsudeva. But like Buddhism, Vaishnavism has also undergone profound modifications among different peoples under the influence of indigenous cults. The peculiar form of Vaishnavism that prevails in Bengal and in other areas where Saktism was once dominant, has assumed its present form, the cult of Radha and Krishna, under the influence of Saktism. I hope to develop this thesis on some future occasion. For the present, I think, it will be sufficient to point out that the Radha-Krishna worshippers of Bengal though recognising Krishna as the Supreme Being (*bhagavān svayam*) and Radha as the personification of the intensest form of devotion to Krishna, disclose a tendency to place Radha even above Krishna. This is well illustrated by a very popular Bengali song which contains an interesting dialogue between a parrot and its mate. I shall translate two of the stanzas:—

Parrot says, "My Krishna lifted a hill." His mate replies, "My Radha (enabled him to do so by) giving him the strength; or else how could he do it?" Parrot says, "The crown in my Krishna's head inclines towards the left." His mate retorts, "(it so inclines) in order to touch the foot of my Radha; or else why should it be so inclined?"*

The Vaishnavas of Bengal also identify Radha with Adya-sakti, the primordial energy personified as a female. This is of course

Saktism pure and simple. The Radha-Krishna cult of Bengal is Vaishnavism greatly modified by Saktism and adopted to Śakta cast of mind. The Vedic people did not possess this trait, for, in the Vedic literature female divinities play only minor parts. Neither is it a Dravidian trait. The Dravidian worship of the *grāma devātās* or village deities is recognised as a survival of the pre-Brahmanic Dravidian religion. In the Telugu Canarese countries these village deities are almost all female. This has led anthropologists to the conclusion that in the old Dravidian religion the worship of the female principle was the leading feature. But among the typical Dravidians in the Tamil districts of Southern India the most prominent position in the village pantheon is occupied, not by any *amma* or goddess, but by a male deity called Iyenar or Ayyenar. Bishop Whitehead has observed this fact in the Tamil districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Cuddalore, and I have noticed it in the interior of the Madura and Tinnevely districts. According to Gopinath Rao, Ayyenar is a corruption of *arya* and means the noble one. In the Tamil country Ayyenar is also known as *Hari-hara-putra*, the son of Vishnu and Siva, but he ranks no higher than a mere village deity worshipped mostly by lower classes and his worship performed by sudra priests. But among Malayalam speaking population of Malabar Ayyenar under the name of Sastri or ruler occupies the place of the national deity. His worship is performed by the Brahman priest. Gopinath Rao writes: "It is an invariable rule in the Malayalam country that in every temple, be it of Siva or of Vishnu, there must be in its south-west corner a shrine of Sasta. He is considered by them as the guardian of the land and as such eight mountain tops along the Western Ghats are surmounted by eight temples in which are set up eight images of Sasta to protect the country on the west of the mountain ranges, inhabited by the Malayālis, from all external evils and misfortunes."† So we are not warranted in believing that the primitive Dravidians were Saktas, and as we have already seen no trace of Śakta influence is found in the Vaishnavism of the Dravidas.

Saktism or preference for the conception of the Divine as Goddess the Mother to God the Father has not only succeeded in resisting the invasion of Vaishnavism among the Bengalis, Gujaratis and other neighbouring peoples of India, it has succeeded in maintaining itself in Western Asia against far more unaccommodating invaders. Ancient monuments and traditions bear witness to the existence of the cult of a great Goddess, the Great Mother, in Western Asia and in the island of Crete. In Anatolia she was known as Kybele, and under other names

বুড়ানী কুরতে আস' ন হু বুড়: কদাচন।

ঐতৎবে মইয়ালি বুড়: প্রেতী ন ম'গ্রহঃ ॥

* শুক বলে আমার কৃষ্ণ গিরি ধরেছিল।

শারী বলে আমার রাধা শক্তি মঞ্চারিল।

নইলে পারবে কেন?

শুক বলে আমার কৃষ্ণের চূড়া বামে হেলে।

শারী বলে আমার রাধার চরণ পায়ে বলে।

নইলে হেলবে কেন?

* *The Village Gods of South India*, London, 1916, p. 94.

† *Elements of the Hindu Iconography*.

LORD MORNINGTON'S TREATMENT OF THE NIZAM

WHEN Lord Mornington, on his way out to India, was detained at the Cape of Good Hope, he opened the Secret Despatches addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors. From those secret despatches, as well as from conversations with Major Kirkpatrick, he came to know of the state of affairs which obtained in the different native States of India. In his two letters to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Dundas from the Cape, he clearly indicated the policy which he would pursue in India. He asked Mr. Dundas to "bear in mind the state of the Native Powers in India at this moment; and recollect that the greatest advantage which we now possess is the present deranged condition of those interests." That is to say, Lord Mornington was glad to inform Mr. Dundas that the favourable opportunity for establishing the supremacy of the East India Company in India had arrived on account of the deranged condition of the affairs of the Native Powers in India; this opportunity should not be lost.

There were only two powers in the peninsula of India which had ever crossed blades with the Company for gaining supremacy in India. These two powers were Haidar Ali with his son Tippoo; and the Marathas. The State of Haidarabad, that is of the Nizam, had never had the courage to fight the Company.

When Lord Mornington asked Mr. Dundas "to bear in mind the state of the Native Powers in India" he referred to Tippoo, to the Marathas and the Nizam. Tippoo had been unjustly attacked by Cornwallis and been made to give up half his dominion; as well as a very large amount of money as war indemnity. It speaks well for the good government of his State that he punctually paid up the stipulated sum. When Cornwallis imposed the large indemnity on Tippoo, he was under the impression that that prince would not be able to fulfil his engagements as to money payments owing to his resources being crippled, for he was made to part with half of his dominion. That nobleman must have thought that the East India Company would thus be

furnished with a pretext for absorbing Tippoo's remaining territory for that prince's inability to pay the stipulated sum of war indemnity. However, in this Cornwallis and others were disappointed. Other pretexts were fabricated to which we shall refer further on.

The Marathas also were not objects of such terror and dread to the Company, as they had been in the time of Warren Hastings. Mr. Mostyn at Poona and Captain William Kirkpatrick at Scindia's Court had admirably carried out their instructions as to creating confusion and disorder in the Maratha Empire. Lord Mornington wrote to Mr. Dundas from the Cape of Good Hope:—

"I am aware that some opinions have been thrown out from very respectable quarters, the tendency of which appears to lead towards a sentiment approaching to satisfaction in the dissensions and divisions which have lately taken place among the Mahrattas. Fortunately no one of the co-estates, nor the head of the Empire, has yet acquired the means of wielding the united force of the whole body; but while some of the chiefs have made great and valuable acquisitions of dominion, and considerably increased their military strength, the authority and influence of the Peishwa has rapidly declined; and it could not now be expected that any considerable body of chiefs would be disposed to prosecute, under his direction, any common view or joint operation with any degree of zeal or vigour."

However, the Marathas were still considered formidable, and it was not deemed advisable to cross blades with them. They had but recently inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nizam and this victory showed the capabilities of the Maratha chiefs. Grant Duff writes:—

"This was the last time the chiefs of the Mahratta nation assembled under the authority of their Peishwa."

But the position of the Nizam was altogether a different one. It was also a pitiable one. The Nizams of Haidarabad had never been conspicuous for their valour in the field or statesmanship in the cabinet. These princes always furnished the rung of the ladder by which the British rose to their ultimate supremacy in India. After the death of the first Nizam-ul-mulk, it was the struggle for the succession to the Nizam which for the first time brought the French

and the English into the arena of Indian politics. Again, the Nizam yielded the Circars to Cornwallis without any remonstrance or show of resistance. In the war with Tippoo, the Nizam assisted the British.

Lord Mornington knew the weak position of the Nizam. He knew how he had been defeated by the Marathas. Major Kirkpatrick also made him acquainted while at the Cape of Good Hope with the actual condition of the Nizam's affairs. He wrote to Mr. Dundas :

"I have already observed how much the posture of the Nizam's affairs is altered with relation to the balance of power between him and the Maratha States, and how much it has been weakened and degraded by the Treaty of Khuradlah and by the manner in which it has been carried into execution."

He rightly grasped the situation of the Nizam when he wrote :—

"At present the Court of Hyderabad seems willing to purchase a closer connection with us by great sacrifices, and if that connection should not appear objectionable on other grounds, it may probably take place on much more advantageous terms to us, if we grant it as a matter of favour to the solicitation of the Nizam, than if we commence the negotiation by demanding the dismissal of any part of the Nizam's military establishment."

Knowing the Nizam's position, Lord Mornington decided to bring his territory under the control of the Company. But it was the fear of Tippoo which made the British deprive the Nizam of his independence and reduce him to the position of a feudatory.

Before we proceed to describe the methods which were adopted to reduce the Nizam, it is necessary to refer to the army of the native Powers of India at that time.

The natives of India have been always distinguished since time immemorial for their physical courage and truthfulness. They were no cowards. If they have been subdued by every rising Power of the world, it was not due to their inferiority in physique, or want of bravery, but mostly to their lack of military discipline, their disunion, want of weapons of precision and destruction and numerous other causes among which perhaps their childlike simplicity might be mentioned as one. They were simple to the limit of their own disadvantage, and magnanimous to their enemies. Their possession of these qualities perhaps accounts for the absence of patriotism among them. For, patriotism, after all, implies selfishness and worldliness.

Of all the Christian nations who came out to India for the purpose of commerce,

the French were the first to entertain the idea of the conquest of India. They also discovered the means of the conquest, because they mixed more freely with the natives of India than any other Christian nation. Mr. Mill writes :—

"The two important discoveries for conquering India were—1st, The weakness of the native armies against European discipline : 2nd, The facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service. Both discoveries were made by the French."

To impart this European discipline to their soldiers the principal native Powers of India had employed European military adventurers in their service. Haidar Ali was the first to set the example to others by entertaining French military officers in his employ to discipline troops. His example was followed by Scindia, Holkar and the Nizam. But this entertainment of European mercenaries was the fatal mistake which cost the native Powers their independence.

Although the French made the discoveries for the conquest of India, they never made any serious attempt to found an Empire in India. Mr. Sullivan writes :—

"France was desirous of peace, England would only grant it on condition of Duplex's recall : thus while England ceded a few insignificant cities, France resigned an Empire."

"Never did a country," writes Macaulay, "make so great a sacrifice from a love of peace."

The French being out of the field, the English found no difficulty in subduing the Dutch and taking possession of their settlements in India and the East. Thus they were left the sole Christian nation in India to do just what they liked. They had no anxiety from any European Powers, because none existed in India. So they turned their attention to extending their possessions in India. Cornwallis led the way by unjustly attacking Tippoo.

The entertainment of European military adventurers by the native Powers in India caused great anxiety to the Ministry in England, of which Pitt was the leader. Pitt thought this would stand in the way of his founding an Empire in India. So when Lord Mornington came out to India, he was instructed to particularly watch the armies of the native Powers.

Tippoo, Scindia and the Nizam had European adventurers in their employ. When Lord Mornington decided to go to war with Tippoo, he thought it would be a precaution-

any measure if he could disband the corps of the Nizam, officered by Europeans and especially Frenchmen. He knew that he could not bully Scindia as easily as he could the Nizam. So the Nizam was the first to fall under his scheme of subsidiary alliance. These military adventurers were ready to commit any baseness for a sufficient pecuniary inducement. Had Lord Mornington chosen to corrupt them or buy them over, he would not have found any difficulty in so doing. It was one of the methods suggested to him by Major Kirkpatrick at the Cape. But this method would have cost money which Lord Mornington was not inclined to spend.

The Resident at Haidarabad at this time was Major William Kirkpatrick's younger brother, named Captain James Achills Kirkpatrick. He was known at the Nizam's Court as Hashmat Jung, the Magnificent in Battle. He was remarkably clever for intriguing among the nobles and had so far reconciled himself to the customs and manners of the East that he solemnised a marriage contract with the daughter of one of the Muhamadan nobles of the Court at Haidarabad, in the *nikha* form known to Muhamadan Law.

This Captain J. A. Kirkpatrick was not free from those vices for which the servants of the Company were notorious. The nobles of Haidarabad complained to Lord Mornington, levelling the charges of bribery, corruption and murder against Captain Kirkpatrick. Meer Allum, a former envoy of the Nizam to the Company, openly declared that Kirkpatrick had once vainly endeavoured to influence him with a bribe.* Of course, Lord Mornington

was in duty bound to clear the character of the man who had rendered him valuable political services. But as the so-called 'honorable acquittal' of Warren Hastings by the noble peers who pronounced their verdict on his impeachment, does not prove that the first Governor-General of India was not guilty of the charges brought against him, so the white-washing of Kirkpatrick's character by Lord Mornington is no evidence for any historian to believe that those charges were not genuine. The very fact that some nobles ventured to bring such charges against the Resident, whom they knew to be a great friend of the Governor-General, shows that these charges were not ill-founded.

Such was the character of the man whom Lord Mornington chose as his instrument for depriving the Nizam of his independence.

"..... Although at this time none else in Hyderabad possessed Meer Allum's qualifications, the Nizam was not over-anxious to obtain his services; and his appointment was mainly due to the strong support of the British Residency.

"..... In a country like India, where British Indian subjects and subjects of the Native States are, in every respect but political, the component parts of the same social organisation, it becomes the obvious function of the suzerain power to educate those States into a capacity to accept and follow its own ideal of good government.....

"This community of ideal can be realized in two ways: firstly, through the instrumentality of ministers appointed to administer the government of native States; secondly, by the direct exercise on the part of native Princes, of their power and authority on the lines laid down by the Paramount Power.

"In the commencement of the nineteenth century, when the supremacy of England was recognised by native Princes without an adequate conception of how that supremacy would qualify their rights in the internal administration of their own States, it was the policy of British Statesmanship to have that administration under the control of ministers whose elevation was the result, not of the choice of their own sovereigns, but of the influence of the Supreme Government.

"..... It was therefore necessary at the period of time we have reached in the history of Hyderabad, that its Prime Minister should be a statesman who merited the confidence of the British Residency, even more than he had secured the respect of his own Sovereign. Meer Allum made the nearest approach to that ideal of a Hyderabad Minister, which, in the early years of the nineteenth century, had been cherished by the British Government. To his appointment, the Nizam gave a reluctant consent."

Thus, then, it is evident from the circumstances narrated above regarding Meer Allum's elevation that he enjoyed the confidence of the British. For him therefore it was not possible to have made any complaint against the British Resident without good and strong grounds.

* That Meer Allum should have at all ventured to bring such a charge against the Resident proves to demonstration that the Resident's conduct was not above suspicion. Meer Allum owed his position and very existence to the British; for him, therefore, to have complained against the British Resident shows that the latter's conduct was reprehensible. Meer Allum was the great grandfather of the first Sir Salar Jung. Regarding the appointment of Meer Allum as the Nizam's minister after the death of Azim-ul-Oomrah, a certain Indian gentleman writes:—

"High over all the rival candidates to wear the mantle of Azim-ul-Oomrah towered Meer Allum. Great and varied were his services to his country..... His unsullied character and his vast knowledge of affairs, his intimate familiarity based upon a thorough sympathy with the cardinal aims of the British Indian policy, all combined to afford him an equipment, rare in the circumstances of his age, for the high office of Minister.

The Court of the Nizam was also corrupt. There was not at that time a single courtier at Haidarabad who could be called a statesman. Those who imagine that the sceptre of India passed out of the hands of the Muhammadans to the British, should remember the fact that the State which helped the British to gain the sceptre and, at a critical moment when the sceptre was about to fall from their hands, came to their rescue, was a Muhammadan one. That State was Haidarabad. It has never been distinguished in possessing any far-seeing statesman for its ruler or minister, or any valiant soldier for its general.

This State owed its origin to want of fidelity, and its survival, to the lack of those qualities which distinguish men of a superior order.

Knowing the nature of this State Lord Mornington wrote to the Resident, Captain J. A. Kirkpatrick, to displace the Nizam's corps officered by the French, by the Company's troops officered by the English. The letter is marked "Secret" and dated Fort William, 8th July, 1798. On the very same date, he wrote to the Resident at the Court of the Peishwa at Poona, making proposals similar to those in his letter to the Resident at Haidarabad. At Poona, the Resident did not meet with the success which crowned Kirkpatrick's proceedings at Haidarabad. For, although Nana Fadnavis was a prisoner, the Poona Court was not so corrupt as that at Haidarabad. The reflection of Nana Fadnavis' splendid genius cast a borrowed light upon the Court which he had once warmed with his sunny radiance. Mornington's letter to Captain Kirkpatrick deserves more than ordinary attention. If the first Nizam-ul-mulk brought about the downfall of the Moghul Empire, the reigning Nizam of 1798 made the English the supreme Power in India. But this supremacy of the English was not a little due to the instrumentality of the Governor-General Lord Mornington and the Resident at Haidarabad, named Captain Kirkpatrick.

Mornington's letter to Kirkpatrick shows the manner in which the Governor-General was desirous of accomplishing his object. He was conspiring against Tippoo, and to make the conspiracy a success, he did not stoop to consider the nature of the means he was adopting. We shall refer to his conduct towards Tippoo later on, but it is only proper here to state that there was not sufficient cause to go to war with that prince. In his letter to

Kirkpatrick, Mornington presumes Tippoo entertained hostile designs against the Company and therefore the Nizam's French officers and men should be dismissed. He took it for granted that the Nizam's French officers would join Tippoo in the event of a war with Mysore. This was a preposterous and gratuitous presumption. The Nizam and the Peishwa as well as the East India Company had entered into an agreement in 1792, known as the Triple Alliance by which each of the contracting parties were bound to assist each other against the aggression of Tippoo. In the event of Tippoo's invading the territory of any one of the allies, the other members of the Triple Alliance were to combine against him. No opportunity occurred to test the good faith of any one of the allies regarding this agreement, for Tippoo never troubled any one since his defeat by Cornwallis.

It was against the Law of Nations to deprive any State of its independence in the manner which Lord Mornington proposed. To fight and conquer foreign territory, without any just cause, although reprehensible, is a straightforward procedure compared to the crooked policy of Subsidiary Alliance of which the Irish Governor-General was the author. Again and again, this Governor-General whom his biographer, a minister of the Christian faith, named Revd. W. H. Hutton, considers "the first ruler of India to stand forth decisively as a Christian," wrote in public and state documents that he was "pursuing no schemes of conquest or extension of dominion, and entertaining no projects of ambition or aggrandizement." But was the project of the Subsidiary Alliance in keeping with this public assurance?

This scheme of 'Subsidiary Alliance' was the diplomatic snare invented by the genius of Lord Mornington on the suggestion of Major Kirkpatrick, late Resident at Haidarabad, to deprive Indians of their independence and extend the territories of the British in India. It is not easy to adequately describe the evil results which have befallen the simple and innocent native powers of India, who reposed unbounded confidence and trust in the Company, by "the Subsidiary Alliance" scheme. The author of this scheme meant nothing short of treachery by asking the independent States of India to adopt it.*

* A certain European writing in the pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1887 said:—

"The subsidiary system, however well it may have

If the scheme in itself is so bad, the method by which it was forced on the State of Haidarabad was also dishonorable. The perusal of Lord Mornington's letters to Captain Kirkpatrick confirms this opinion. No one will give the credit to Lord Mornington of being "an honest thief." He enjoined the Resident at Haidarabad not to divulge the secret of the scheme to the Nizam, but should plot with his minister Azim-ul-Omra. "You will also urge to Azim-ul-Omra," wrote Lord Mornington to Captain Kirkpatrick, "the credit and honor which it would reflect on his administration if through his means the Nizam and the Peishwa should be enabled to derive reciprocal advantage and permanent security from a state of confusion which appeared to threaten their common ruin."

What was the object of Lord Mornington in thus withholding from the Nizam himself this scheme of the proposed Subsidiary Alliance? To our mind there is no doubt that Azim-ul-Omra was in the pay of the servants of the Company and had been bribed to betray his master. It was no uncommon thing in the time of this "Christian" Governor-General to bribe ministers of the Native Powers of India. The Duke of Wellington, the brother of this "Christian" Governor-General, wrote to Major Shawe from his Camp at Toka, north of the Godavery, on the 24th August, 1803: "You will have observed from my letters to Colonel Close, *that I have urged him to pay the minister*, in order to have accurate information of what passes." The Duke of Wellington, at that time the Honorable Major-General Arthur Wellesley, would not have ventured to bribe the Peishwa's ministers, had there been no precedents for so

worked, was nothing more than a delusion; it was for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the British public. It arose from the repeated orders of the home government to abstain from aggression.....

"To comply with the wishes of Parliament was impossible, so a milder course was adopted. These countries were not ostensibly conquered; the sovereign was allowed to remain on his throne, with all the trappings of royalty, but substantial power was transferred from him to the person of a political agent. British conscience was therefore soothed by substituting for the name of conquest the milder term of annexation and the Company was satisfied to pocket the gains which accrued to it without inquiring too carefully into the method of acquisition."

The simple-minded Asiatics could hardly understand this policy of subsidiary alliance.

doing. There is no legal evidence to show that Azim-ul-Omra was receiving bribes from the British officials. But remembering the manner in which he helped them in carrying out their scheme of "Subsidiary Alliance," and also the fact that the nobles of Haidarabad had levelled charges against Captain Kirkpatrick, there is every probability, amounting almost to certainty, that Azim-ul-Omra was in the pay of the Resident.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, as minister of the Moghul Emperor, betrayed his master and thus precipitated the downfall of the Moghul Empire. The State which had been founded by usurpation, lost its independence, if not existence, by the treachery of its minister.

But to turn to Lord Mornington's letter. The Governor-General wrote to Captain Kirkpatrick:—

You will urge to Azim-ul-Omra in the strongest terms, the necessity of his taking every precaution to prevent the propositions for the dismission of the French party from transpiring; and you will suggest to him the propriety of dispersing the corps in small parties for the purpose of facilitating its final reduction, and of preventing the officers and privates from passing into the service of Tippoo or of Scindiah.

"Should Azim-ul-Omra consent, in the name of the Nizam, to the proposed conditions, you will then require the march of the troops from Fort St. George."

On the 15th July 1798, Lord Mornington wrote to General Harris, who, in addition to his own duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, was at that time acting as Governor of Madras, as follows:—

"My object is to restore the Nizam to some degree of efficiency and power.* The measure forms part of a much more extensive plan for the establishment of our alliances, previously to the moment when Tippoo may expect to be enabled to attack us. The whole of my arrangements will shortly be communicated to you; at present, I shall only recommend to you, in the most earnest manner, the speedy and effectual execution of the measure directed in the annexed despatch; as I know your honest zeal for the public service, and the activity which accompanies it, I look with confidence to the accomplishment of my anxious wish for the success of that part of my plan, which is now committed to your charge. I imagine, that the best position for assembling the troops destined for Hyderabad, would be in the Guntoor Circar. I need not recommend the most strict attention to secrecy in the whole of this proceeding; the least intimation of my design would instantly set the whole French faction at Hyderabad in motion, and frustrate the whole of my views. It will be necessary to apprise the acting

* This is the language of diplomacy, meaning in plain words that the Nizam should be deprived of his independence.

Resident at Hyderabad, of the intended station of the troops, in order that he may communicate with the commanding officer. I repeat my reliance on you for the expeditious and effectual performance of this service, of which the importance in my estimation is so high, that in addition to my applause on public grounds, I shall consider your cordial co-operation as a great claim on my private gratitude..... You will communicate the whole proceeding to the Resident at Poonah and Hyderabad for *their* information only, and not to be imparted to their respective courts."

From the above it is clear that he did not consider it necessary to discuss the propriety or otherwise of the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance with General Harris. He had no authority even from the Parliament or the Court of Directors to adopt the method which he did in depriving the Nizam of his independence. He wished to do everything by *coup de main*; hence his solicitude in instructing General Harris not to impart the information regarding the dark scheme which he was plotting, to the Courts of Hyderabad and Poona. Knowing as he did, how easily he would succeed at Hyderabad in depriving the Nizam of his independence, Lord Mornington, on the 18th July, 1798, wrote to Colonel William Palmer, the Resident at Hyderabad, in a letter marked "Private":—"that even the total failure of the negotiation at Poona will not prevent me from making an effort to recover the power and authority of the Nizam."

Captain Kirkpatrick at Hyderabad proved a very able lieutenant to Lord Mornington in his conspiracy. How far Azim-ul-Omra himself approved of the scheme, we have no means of knowing. It is from Captain Kirkpatrick's letters only that we learn that the Minister of the Nizam had no objection to the proposed Subsidiary Alliance. Lord Mornington wrote on the 14th August, 1798, to Captain Kirkpatrick:—

"Azim-ul-Omra's reception of my propositions has afforded me the highest satisfaction; nor could it be expected that he should pledge himself to a greater extent on the first communication of a plan embracing so many complicated interests..... The anxiety with which Azim-ul-Omra presses for the arrival of the additional subsidiary force from Fort St. George as an indispensable preliminary to the destruction of the French party, is a sufficient confirmation of the opinions which I had formed of the dangerous strength of that party, and of the absolute necessity of our interference for the purpose of restraining its overbearing influence.

"It could never have been expected by me that the Minister should take any other step towards the dismissal of Perron's army previously to the arrival of our regiments, than that of dispersing the corps

of which it is composed, so as to prevent their forming a junction either with a view of exciting a commotion in his Highness's dominions, or of retiring into the territories of any other power. It is indispensably necessary indeed that the intended dismissal of the French party should be kept secret until the Minister shall possess the means of attempting it with a certainty of success..... The nature of these measures requires great despatch, the ordinary delays of an Asiatic Court would defeat the whole system."

General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army and Governor of the Madras Presidency, although quite in the dark regarding the purpose for which Lord Mornington had ordered him to assemble the troops at Guntoor Circar, obeyed the order without raising any objections. General Harris was a soldier and it would have been unbecoming on his part to question the propriety of Lord Mornington's order. But the members of the Madras Councils were not to let the opportunity pass without a protest. General Harris paid no heed to their opposition. In his minute, dated "Secret Department, 31st July, 1798," he wrote:

"If I believed that the stipulated force was required only for the ordinary service of the Nizam, I would not hesitate to recommend that the execution of the order should be suspended until a reply was received to the representation which has been made to the supreme Government of our difficulties; but, judging from the very pressing private request of the Earl of Mornington, that the detachment may be equipped with the utmost promptitude and caution, that its formation is of great importance to the British interests in India, I should deem myself culpable if I thwarted any general plan which may have been formed by the supreme Government, by delaying, for a moment, to propose to the Board the mode which I deem most proper for the speedy and effectual accomplishment of the part with which we are charged."

For this service, Lord Mornington wrote to him on the 19th August, 1798:—

"I am anxious to avail myself of the earliest opportunity to return you my most cordial thanks for the zeal and resolution with which you have carried my suggestions into effect; my letter of the 16th July will have informed you how essential a plan to the very existence of the British Empire in India would have been defeated if your honorable firmness had not overcome the suggestions of an opposition which would have persuaded you to violate the law under the specious pretence of executing the spirit by disobeying the letter of the orders of the Governor-General in Council.

"This opposition I am resolved to crush; I possess sufficient power to do so; and will exert those powers to the extreme point of their extent, rather than suffer the smallest particle of my plans for the public service to be frustrated by such unworthy means. With this view my earnest request to you is, that you will communicate to me without delay the names of

those who have arrogated to themselves the power of governing the empire committed to my charge.....
The dismissal of the French corps at Hyderabad will take place immediately after the arrival of our increased subsidiary force.....
It is extremely necessary that you should not divulge this information, until I am enabled to transmit you a more exact state of our negotiations, which I will not fail to do by the first favourable opportunity."

The troops from Fort St. George were now on full march for Haidarabad. So a treaty was entered into with the Nizam. The treaty bore the date of 1st September, 1798. By this treaty, the Nizam signed the death-warrant of his independence. The very preamble of this treaty is a falsehood. It runs as follows:—

"Whereas His Highness Nizam-ul-Mulk Asoph Jah Bahadur, has from the greatness of existing friendship, expressed a desire for an increase of the detachment of the Honourable Company's troops at present serving His Highness," &c.

This is not true, since the Nizam never expressed any desire for an increase of the Company's troops in his dominion. The fact is that the Company's troops were forced on His Highness by the Governor-General by means of fraud, combined with force. So the preamble of the treaty is not true.

Before the arrival of the Company's troops at Haidarabad, Captain Malcolm was appointed as Assistant to Captain Kirkpatrick. As he has played many parts, as a soldier diplomatist and administrator with great credit to himself and benefit to his compatriots, a short account of his early career will not be out of place here. He was, as his name indicates, a native of Scotland. His parents were poor and were not above that parsimony which characterises the Scotch people. So they could not afford to give their son any education worth speaking of. Through the interest of Mr. Pasley, a London merchant, brother of Mrs. Malcolm, a cadetship was procured for the boy, who was then not more than twelve years of age. When he was presented before the Court of Directors, to receive their consent to proceed to India, one of the Directors asked him, 'Why, my little man, what would you do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?' 'Do Sir!', said the young aspirant, in prompt reply, 'I would cut with my sword and cut off his head.' 'You will do,' was the rejoinder, 'let him pass.' So the matter ended.

He reached Madras in April, 1783. At that time he was not quite fourteen years old. He was doing duty with his regiment for some years and it was not till 1790 that he got a

taste for soldiering in earnest. In that year Lord Cornwallis went to war with Tipu without a just cause or provocation, and the regiment to which Malcolm belonged took part in the campaign. During this campaign Malcolm was brought into acquaintance with Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Graeme Mercer, and others of the diplomatic corps, then representing British interests at the Court of Haidarabad. This was the turning-point of Malcolm's career. His ambition was fired and he resolved to distinguish himself in the diplomatic line. He commenced the study of Persian and also the complicated questions of the relations of the East India Company with the native powers of India. But it was not till 1798, that his ambition was gratified by his getting the appointment in the Diplomatic Service of India. In that year, Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General of India; on his way to Calcutta, he stayed for a few days at Madras. Here Malcolm had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of the Governor-General and taking the liberty of presenting him with some of the papers he had written dealing with questions of Indian politics, and soliciting his Lordship that "when opportunity offered, he might be employed in the diplomatic line of his profession." Lord Mornington was very favorably impressed with Malcolm. In his 'most private and confidential' letter dated 29th, July 1798, to the newly appointed Governor of Madras (Lord Clive), Lord Mornington wrote as follows regarding Malcolm:—

"Captain Malcolm deserves every degree of countenance and protection. He is an officer of great worth, of extremely good sense, and is acquainted with the country languages; he has turned his attention particularly to the study of the political system of India, and to the relative situations and interests of the several native powers; on this subject he is capable of furnishing your Lordship with useful information; and you will find him remarkably diligent, active, and zealous in the execution of a service with which you may entrust him. He has also the advantage of very pleasing and amiable manners."

On the 20th September, 1798, Lord Mornington wrote to Captain Malcolm:

"The office of Resident at Hyderabad has become vacant by the resignation of Colonel Kirkpatrick, I have this day appointed Captain Kirkpatrick to succeed him; and it afforded me great satisfaction at the same time to have it in my power to nominate you Assistant at that Court, having learnt from my brother (the Duke of Wellington)

then Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley) that, in a letter to you, you had stated that such an appointment would be acceptable to you."

So Captain Malcolm set out with all possible speed for Haidarabad and when he arrived there he was of great use to Captain Kirkpatrick in carrying out the scheme of the Governor-General. "Fortunately," writes Mr. Kaye in his *Life of Malcolm*, "it happened that at the critical moment the troops were mutinying against their officers, because they were in arrears of pay, and had made a prisoner of their French Commandant." Mr. Kaye does not say whether the troops had been instigated by the Resident and his Assistant to mutiny against their French Commandant. For it appears quite probable that the Resident (Captain Kirkpatrick) must have incited the troops against their Commandant in order to facilitate the task which the Governor-General had entrusted him with.

But the Resident and his Assistant triumphed over all the difficulties. When the Company's troops arrived at Haidarabad, the Nizam's Minister was, as it were, taken by surprise. He declined to disband the French corps, for such was the demand made of him by the Resident. It appears clear to me that there was some foul play in the transactions which the Resident carried on in getting the French corps disbanded. Perhaps the nature of the step which was forced on the Nizam's government, was not fully explained by the Resident. For, on no other supposition we can account for Ali Khan wavering at the eleventh hour on being brought face to face with so great a renunciation. Of course this has furnished a theme to some English writers to abuse and vilify Indian Courtiers. Kaye in speaking of the care of Malcolm in assisting Kirkpatrick in disbanded the French corps, writes :

"The lesson, that he (Malcolm) learnt was never forgotten. That little reliance is to be placed on the word of an Indian diplomatist, that no native court is willing to fulfil the conditions of a treaty except under strong compulsion, &c., &c."

But the writer above quoted, does not tell us what means were adopted by his compatriot, the Resident at Haidarabad, in forcing the Company's troops on the Nizam. It is a fact which even Kaye could not have denied that religion and morality with his countrymen in India were then at a low ebb. Respecting the treaty the English

made with Jaffier Khan, Voltaire sarcastically remarked :—

"We do not find that the English officers swore to this treaty on the Bible : perhaps they had none."

Rev. J. Long wrote in the *Calcutta Review* for September, 1860 :

"We need not look for a high-toned morality in Calcutta a century ago, when we find such men as Drake, the Governor, and Clive bargaining with a traitor to sell his country, they themselves sharing in the spoil, while those dealers in treason and rebellion pocketed each some 20 lacs sterling. *Force and fraud were the morality of the day.....* What an example set to natives, when Clive, by counterfeiting or forging Admiral Watson's signature to a treaty, defrauded the merchant Omichand of £250,000. Omichand became insane, Clive was made a peer, though he committed the same crime for which Nuncomar was hanged by English law."

Lord Mornington and his agents at Haidarabad, at whose head was Captain Kirkpatrick, were no exceptions to the morality then prevailing among the Europeans in India. "Force and fraud" were their gospel, and it is more than probable that by "force and fraud" they succeeded in getting the Treaty signed by the Nizam on the 1st September, 1798, and installing the Company's troops at Haidarabad. But English writers are all silent on the point. On the contrary, they blame the duped Ali Khan for wavering at the eleventh hour in disbanding the French corps. The French corps had served the Nizam with great fidelity ; to this even the biographer of Sir John Malcolm has borne testimony.

We fail to understand why the Nizam should have been so ungrateful as to disband the French corps ? Does it not seem clear that Kirkpatrick conspired and plotted against the independence of the Nizam by making him to sign the Treaty of the 1st September, 1798 ?

Mrs. Graham, in writing of the Peishwa in 1808, said that he was a prisoner and he pays for the guards who keep him a prisoner. Her own words are :—

"The present Peishwa is the son of Raghoba, whom the victories and intrigues of the English have placed on the Musnud, and have reduced to a state little more enviable than that of the prisoner Rajah at Satara, who is the grandson of Sivajee. The Peishwa still keeps up the farce of going to Satara to receive the insignia of his office from the hand of the Raja, but is himself so completely under our dominion, that he pays a subsidy to maintain the three thousand troops which surround his capital and keep him a prisoner."*

* Pages 84 and 85, *Journal of a residence in India*, by Maria Graham, 1813.

The above applies with greater force to the Nizam. He was the first Indian Prince who was ensnared by Lord Mornington and made to pay for men who kept him a prisoner. The methods which Lord Mornington employed for depriving the Nizam of his independence very closely resemble those of Cortes and Pizarro in their dealings with Montezuma and the unfortunate Inca, Atahualpa. But Lord Mornington and his agents, Captains Kirkpatrick and Malcolm, met with rewards which were denied to Cortes and Pizarro for their vile deeds.

Lord Mornington's triumph in making the Nizam sign the treaty of 1st September, 1798, by which he was to receive a subsidiary force of six thousand sepoys with artillery officered by British subjects, to be paid out of his treasury, and the whole of the officers of the French force were to be dismissed and no Frenchman was in future to be employed by the Nizam, nor any other European without the Company's permission, was cordially approved by Pitt's ministry.

'Your treaty with the Nizam,' wrote Dundas, 'effectually puts an end to every alarm upon that part of the business; and whether you consider it negatively as removing the French force from our neighbourhood, or positively in respect of the additional strength it affords to us and the aid it gives to our finances, it is a transaction which tells in our favor in a variety of ways..... your lordship has long before this time anticipated the satisfaction I have received from that transaction, which has been completed in so masterly and effectual a manner.'

In the Council Chamber at Calcutta, the portrait of Lord Mornington, painted by the celebrated artist Robert Home, shows the Governor-General resting his hand on a parchment scroll inscribed, "Subsidiary Treaty, Hyderabad, 1798."* The Britishers

* He was also voted an annuity of £5000 for a term of twenty years by the Court of Directors; and the payment was ordered to date from 1st September 1798, the day on which the Nizam was made to

ought to be grateful to Lord Mornington, for his scheme of the 'Subsidiary Alliance' was the thin end of the wedge introduced for destroying the independence of the native powers of India and extending the influence of, and acquiring territories by their compatriots in India.

Captain Kirkpatrick was also amply rewarded for the part he played in this transaction. He was made the Governor-General's Honorary Aide-de-Camp, which was a remarkable distinction, as he was the first person on whom this honor was bestowed. Subsequently when several charges of corruption, bribery and murder were levelled against Captain Kirkpatrick, Lord Mornington turned a deaf ear to these charges and 'honourably' acquitted him.

Captain Malcolm was also not forgotten. He was ordered by the Governor-General to proceed to Calcutta, which he did, bearing with him the colors of the disbanded French regiments. Kaye writes:—

"At the capital he (Malcolm) was warmly welcomed. The Governor-General—no mean judge of character—saw at once that he was a man to be trusted and to be employed. In truth, this meeting with Lord Wellesley was the turning-point of Malcolm's career. From that day his future was made. He found in the Governor-General a statesman after his own heart; and Lord Wellesley listened attentively to all that was said by the political aspirant because he found in John Malcolm's ready words and forcible expression of the opinions which were taking shape in his mind."

So every one was rewarded at the expense of the Nizam.

[See the article on "The Marquess Wellesley's Appointment as Governor-General of India" in the Modern Review for February, 1914.]

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sign the Treaty by which he was robbed of his independence and a large portion of his dominion.

THE IDEALS AND METHODS OF INDIAN CIVICS

BY PROF. RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJEE, M.A., P. R. S., Ph. D.

WITH our growing economic pressure it is natural that questions of housing, rack-renting and overcrowding are insistently demanding the attention of our countrymen. The citizens of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras have

come today to forsake the old callousness and apathy towards such problems; to aggressive exploitation of one class by another and the aridity of congregated life which leaves no room for social co-operation and the development of a civic

science are no longer regarded as inevitable. The science and art of civics arise, which address themselves to the task of rebuilding our great cities and mill-towns with their overcrowding and slums, with their famine and squalor, their intemperance and prostitution. It is not merely the problem also of cleansing the existing "tentacular" cities, for new towns are fast rising and developing in India, with all the evils and abuses that are found in a much larger scale in Bombay and Calcutta. In Delhi and Ahmedabad, Howrah and Raniganj and elsewhere—there are growing up here and there round various centres constituted by coal-pits or factories, the slums of the future. The task is to come to a carefully thought-out plan so that each of our towns shall grow on a system which will not only prevent the town becoming an industrial horror as was the unfortunate accompaniment of the Industrial Revolution in England, which it has taken these long years to undo but partially, but will make it a real living town with proper arrangements for access to the centre, suitable provisions so that the poor shall not be put in one corner and huddled up there, but shall have squares and parks all round them so that there may be almost a village in the town protecting at the same time the near rural districts from being despoiled by careless arrangements.

The task is one for the purpose of dealing with the twin problems of overcrowded city and the depopulated villages ; for the purpose of associating agricultural with industrial pursuits ; for the purpose of creating a sweet, healthy environment combining the advantages of town and village, and this not for the well-to-do only, but for the humble labourer and his toil-worn life.*

Modern civilisation has lost its way amidst the development of railways and factories, of markets and finance. It has essentially been a city civilisation that has sought to destroy by the superior efficiency of its specialisms and mechanical methods all that is natural, vital and

healthy in the civilisation of the village. This in every country, in the east or west, and with evils which have called forth such activities as Garden Cities and Arts and Crafts movements, "inner colonisation," the cry of back to the land and which in cities have given birth to the colossal activities of sanitation and social service and all the rest, though with manifestly incomplete remedial effects. Even in the field of education, the return to Nature and the mother earth as exhibited in modern developments of Kindergarten and of nature studies, excursions and rambles is a return from the mass methods of a mechanical labour education in the era of steam and iron to the vital and vivifying contact with Nature and the freedom from the iron pressure of standards and averages, which is the characteristic of rural life and consciousness. In India synthetic view of life will be represented and renewed by the communal squares, gardens and temples of the city in its religious festivals and holy circumambulations, in each *muhalla* with its essential characteristic expression, this alike in social and civic ideas and ideals as well as in administration and government.

In the East and West modern industrialism has been destroying the village and communal traditions of the population. In the Western city and in its counterpart the industrial city, the distribution of the population has corresponded closely to the demarcation of industrial class, certain district being the rich man's district or the poor man's district, a West End or an East End, Bloomsbury or a Clapham with their cleavages and thus accentuation of class antagonisms. This has emphasised the development of exclusive group interests and ideals instead of encouraging the unity and harmony of the entire civic life and consciousness. Modern town-planning should demand that in the structure and constitution of the city the aim sought should be the promotion of a civic personality and not of a class consciousness. In Indian village and city planning the divisions into detached wards with the main shrine and park in the centre would aim at a segregation and autonomy of each of the differ-

* Vide Town-planning Powers, Page 5 and Page 28.

ent natural divisions while they would all be rescued from their isolation and exclusiveness by means of the necessary intercourse with the larger civic and religious ideals that flow from the central institution—the main temple with the tree and park or the guest-house and council hall which are the active and formative centres of public opinion in India. The council tree of the village elders and the shrine of the tutelary deity of the community are at the meeting of the cross-roads of the village. The Brahmin Street extends usually from the east to the west following the course of the sun, while the eastern, southern and western gates of the village-plan conform to the Brahminical concept of the Three Aspects, based upon the three positions of the sun at dawn, noon and dusk, the times of daily prayer. The principal castes live in each of the three quarters of the village, where are assigned the principal Aryan Gods dedicated to the Three Aspects; while the lower castes or communities are given sites within or without the village boundaries in order of their social precedence and so also are their half-Aryan and half-Dravidian Gods. Lastly, the purely non-Aryan communities as well as their gods are quartered in a sequestered hamlet of their own. The doctrine of the One-in-the-many and the Many-in-the-one accorded a place for an infinite number of popular gods and goddesses in the Hindu Pantheon, and comprehended them in the fundamental unity of the God-head. In the same way the principle of communalism in the social organization developed a social stratification which afforded scope for the segregation of diverse functional needs and interests, working within the limits of a common social and civic life of the community as a whole, this alike in caste-grouping as well as in the grouping of villages and their separate autonomous wards.

Indian villages conform as a rule to a more or less uniform type, consisting of blocks of houses, or wards, *panas* (Panjab), *paras* (Bengal), *cheris* (S. India), or *desains* (Malabar) as they are differently called. The houses are seldom scattered but are usually built in fairly

regular streets. Each of these wards is inhabited by different castes and divided from one another by streets and lanes, which usually run from east to west or north to south. The houses cluster as far as possible near the waterside with every facility at hand for bathing and drinking and for washing clothes. In Southern India the houses of the Brahmins stand in one block called the *agraharam*, arranged as a rule in double rows facing one another across the street. Unlike the Vishnu temple, which should be on the west looking down the street, the temple of Siva should be a little distance away and is usually found in the north-east corner of the village. The cremation ground of which Siva is the lord is close by. The Sudra houses, grouped two or three together in separate compounds, form a compact block. If any particular caste is found in large numbers, it has its own distinctive quarter. The artisans, for instance, the potters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the goldsmiths are very particular about residing together. Brahmins, Mahomedans, and some of the larger Sudra castes usually live in separate streets or quarters. Indeed if any particular caste is found in large numbers, it has its own distinctive quarter. Pariahs and Chucklers live in hamlets of their own (*paracheris*), consisting in the river valley, of a mound of dry land—seldom situated to the west of the *agraharam*—surrounded by the wet fields in which they labour. The residence of the Paraiyans and Chakkilis in outlying hamlets apart from the parent village has many sanitary and other advantages, besides enabling them to live closer to the fields. The general plan of the South Indian villages is uniform. In Bombay the huts of the depressed classes are close to the village gates and often outside them, and near them are the monumental stones, an image of Hanuman or a small Devi and the village grain-yard. Many villages usually retain traces of fortifications. In many South Indian villages the stone-posts, which formerly flanked gateways of the village, may still be seen. In Central India and the Deccan, forts and ramparts are more common than is usually

the case. In South India remains of fortifications are rare and never embrace the whole village site.

The village is always built beside a river, a tank or large embanked pond, shaded by noble trees among which is the temple of the local god. On one side of the tank and in front of the village is an open space where the cattle assemble to be watered in the morning and evening, and here is usually a deep chambered well, with a long flight of stone steps leading to the water. In the South there are usually three wells, one for the Brahmins, one for Sudras and Musalmans and the third for polluting castes. In the open green, usually to be found in the centre of the village where the villagers congregate on festival occasions, and adjoining it are the principal village temples. Near about there is nearly always a building, half club and half courthouse which is kept at the common expense and is used as a place for social gathering or as a court for the hearing of disputes. In the big villages there are often several of them in different wards. However much the village may be disintegrated, its divisions into detached wards with the common guest-house or temple in the middle where at night-fall the village elders assemble to smoke the *hukka* and talk over village topics—these still remain, indelible marks which communalism has stamped upon the structure and constitution of the Indian village.

And so also in cities with their divisions into *muhallas*, *paras*, each nearly always with its particular wells, Dharmasalas and temples both in their prosperity and in their deterioration. In their prosperity, for instance, as we read in the *Kumarapala Charitra* of Jinamandava (A. D. 1436) which thus describes the glories of *Anahilavada-pattana* or Patan in Northern Guzrat as in the middle of the twelfth century :

"Anahilapura was 12 kos (or 18 miles) in circuit within which were many temples and colleges, 84 chawks or squares; 84 bazars or market-places; with mints for gold and silver coinage. Each class has its separate *muhalla* or quarter as had each description of merchandise, i. e., hatti-

dants or elephants' tusks, silk, purples, diamonds, pearls, etc., etc., each had its separate chawk. There was one bazar for Sarrafs or money-changers; one for perfumes and unguents; one for physicians; one for artisans; one for goldsmiths; one for silversmiths; there were distinct *muhallas* for navigators, for bards and for genealogists. The 18 Varna or castes inhabited the city. All were happy together. The palace groaned with a multitude of separate buildings for the armoury, for elephants, horses and chariots, for the public accountants and officers of State. Each kind of goods had its separate *mandav* or mart, where the duties of export, import and sale were collected: as for spices, fruits, drugs, camphor, metals and everything costly of home or foreign growth. It is a place of universal commerce. If you ask for water they give you milk. There are many Jaina temples, and on the banks of a lake is a shrine to Sahasralinga Mahadeva. The population delights to saunter amidst the groves of champaka, punnag, tal (palmyra), jambu (rose apple), chandan (sandal), mango, etc., etc., with variegated *veta* or creepers and fountains whose waters are *amrita*. Here discussions (*vada*) take place on the Vedas, carrying instructions to the listeners. There are plenty of Bohras (traders) and in Virgam there are also many. There is no want of *Birterans* (Yatis or Jaina priests) or of merchants true to their words and skilled in commerce; and many schools for the Vyakarana (grammar). *Anahilawada* is a *nara-samudra*, sea of men. If you can measure the water of the ocean, then may you attempt to count the number of souls. The army is numerous, nor is there any lack of bell-bearing elephants."

In some cities when in their decay, walls had ceased to shelter from robbers and brigands, houses have been grouped together for mutual watch and protection. Ahmedabad for instance has its numerous house groups, *pols*—literally gates. *Pols* are almost entirely inhabited by Hindus, in some cases by a settlement of families belonging to one caste, and in others by families of several of the higher castes, Brah-

mins, Vantias, Suttars and Kandis. Each pol has generally its own watchman and its own sanitary arrangements. The Ahmedabad talent for combining is shown in the management of the pol affairs. The house property in the pol is to some extent held in common. Formerly no man could sell or mortgage a house to an outsider without first offering it to the people of the pol. On wedding and other great family occasions, each householder is expected to feast the whole pol and in some cases all the men of the pol, though not of the same caste, are expected to attend any funeral that may take place. If the pol rules are slighted, the offender is fined, and in former times till he paid it, he was not allowed to light a lamp in his house or to give a feast. The money gathered from gifts, fines and the percentage on house-property sales forms a common fund managed by the leaders, seths of the pol. This is spent on repairs to the pol gate, the pol privies or the pol well. The police or gate keeper is not paid out of the fund. He earns his living by begging from the people of the pol and works as a labourer for them.

The house groups, quarters or muhallas are indeed characteristic of all Indian cities. The city of Agra for instance is divided into so many as 212 muhallas, the names of which are derived either from the caste of the inhabitants or from some well-known building or from a prominent resident of former days. In the cities of Bombay Presidency each of these wards is often a separate village with its own headman, accountant, servants and husbandmen whose lands lie outside of the city walls. There are *bags* or gardens, temples and mosques interspersed in the central wards and the suburbs or *puṛas*. The cloth, the grain and fruit, and the meal markets are separate and are held in open spaces shaded with rows of nim, kadamba and banian trees. The Shahaganj or general market is often in the centre of the city as in Ahmednagar. Gardens are still sometimes the property of a ward and are maintained by voluntary subscriptions of its residents. In many cities the old divisions are now used

either for police or municipal purposes, and thus the new administrative circles or wards correspond with the old ones though the public institutions in each of them tend to cease to be the objects of their charity.

For industrial and business purposes there should be definite geographical location so that the same forms of business or industry may grow up round certain convenient centres or determined by natural advantages of site, traditional occupation of the people, etc. Here segregation is useful and conducive to both economic efficiency and progress. But all this has to be tempered in the interests of social well-being by the provision of a common social and civic life as lived in homes and hamlets. For this each ward or section of a large village or city should form a miniature as it were of the entire community by containing within itself the various elements or ingredients of the various functional classes and interests who go to compose the community as a whole. And this polymorphous structure of the city or village should have central symbols of the communal life, such as the common council hall and guest-house, the temple, the garden or park or the riverside which should give a local habitation and a name to the essential vital functions of the municipal and religious life. Thus the geographical units themselves being similar to their composite structure and functional character have natural affinities to one another, and make intimate union round a common central institution possible in a fuller and a more concrete manner than would otherwise be the case. On the other hand where the units are diverse and heterogenous in character as in the segregation of conflicting classes in the industrial city of the West, or of divided caste in the separate *thērus*, *patis*, *bahams* and *muhallas* of Indian village and city life in its deteriorations the common institution tends to become a centre of discord and class antagonism instead of being a centre of concord and amity. The communalism of the East, carried to its true goal and attaining its full significance implies such a development in

Indian village and town-planning. By the disintegration of functional classes and castes in Indian rural and urban life we are too often witnessing the spectacle of a complete break-up of the old community life, as expressed in a local shrine or temple, in a *chawadi* of common garden or sacred tank, in which the communal instinct expressed itself through punchayat meetings and religious or social gatherings, processions and festivals. While there has been gain to the extent that the rigid geographical separation of functional classes has been mitigated, there is on the other hand the vital loss resulting from a weakening of the social cohesiveness and the gradual disappearance of the communal institutions. In the Indian village and city development in the future, what is wanted is a wise policy of reconstruction which will free communalism from the impediments and abuses that it has suffered so long from a rigid functional segregation and carry it to its true and legitimate development by building communes within communes, groups within groups, so that each structural element should be not mutually exclusive and repellant like diverse atoms but be held together internally and externally by the same bond of union and cohesiveness as the principle of communalism desiderates in the organisation of society. In the structure and constitution of the whole village and city and of its different wards or hamlets what is most essential is the expansion and renewal of the village and city punchayat in which all the different functional classes and castes would be represented irrespective of their form of labour, of the temple festival and procession from the main centre of the village or city demanding the co-operation of the diverse local centres, of the popular plays, amusements and recreations of the masses,—the whole being revived under the impulse of a religion, not particularistic and disruptive but in which the worship of Narayana is realised in service of humanity. And so also in the diverse local centres and groupings, the same connecting links will be maintained by similar institutions and symbols of common life. In Bombay the Mhars and

in Southern India the *panchamas* play an important part in all village religious rites. Attached to every temple is nearly always the shrine of the Mhar Dev who is regularly worshipped by villagers of all classes including Brahmins at the same time as the god of the chief temple. In the South Indian villages the *panchamas* receive presents and courtesies of various kinds at all caste festivals and on occasions of domestic importance, while in their worship of Ayyanar, Kali or Sudalaimadan and the dance in honour of Sastha, the Brahmin does not reluctantly join even as the Panchama priests gradually give up the bloody sacrifices of pigs, buffaloes, sheep, goats and fowls on such occasions. But these signs of amity and concord are unfortunately too few and far between. These have now to be extended in every direction of social life so that the centric tendencies might overcome the centrifugal forces of separatism and segregation that have been so rampant, especially in Southern India on account of the radical ethnic and cultural disparity among the stocks and races of the country. Not merely in the sphere of religion but in every department of social life the connecting links have to be renewed and strengthened to combat the forces of segregation and then alone will communalism rescue the principles of social stratification from becoming the means of social disruption and work it out as a legitimate means of social service. Again it is only under such circumstances that the antagonisms fostered by the identification of a rigid functional group, caste or class or trade union with a local territorial unit will be avoided, though this scheme leaves full room for the association of individuals or traders of the same functional group or class in the form of trade unions, and labour-parliaments of the future for the promotion of functional needs and interests.

In each ward or *muhalla* of the city the grouping should follow natural lines, instead of fostering class, occupational or functional distinctions which tend to crystallise themselves into separate antagonistic interests. Each ward managing its own internal affairs of sanitation arrang-

ing for healthy and adequate housing of the people and all the rest, taking pride in its own municipal institutions, parks and buildings, an autonomous ward showing the continuity of administration and procedure of rural self-government, but with its activities expanded and enlarged in the satisfaction of the needs of a larger civic life and consciousness,—it is only under these conditions that there can be no break between the traditions of rural life and standards and those of urban life.

Ideals of domestic and civic life will preserve a continuity, the lack of which has led to so much deterioration and degradation both of the family and of the city. The family will be protected when it sets itself free from the incubus of morbid passion and insane ambition of an artificial city life, the city will not be a congeries of antagonistic classes or groups but will represent the harmonious co-operation of autonomous sections in promoting the civic welfare, each the epitome of the entire civic life and consciousness. The city will be a congeries of villages, but the villages will have larger and completer ends and ideals in view than those of agricultural and rural standards and ideals, that is true civilisation or "civicsation" which should be promoted by a city in its structure and constitution according to the best modern town-planning methods. Representing in its structure the integration of communal centres, as villages and *muhullus* within the city imply, the city will deliberately and consciously seek the realisation of social ends and ideals, which rural life in its isolation and lack of resources could not set before itself. The aggregation of the population and the heterogeneity of its composition and constitution, the sympathetic resonance in the multitude and the synthetic reorganisation of the means and ends of well-being, scientific, artistic or social, the enormous accumulation of resources material and cultural and the intensification, feeling as well capacity in social initiatives,—it is these which make possible the higher and more complex forms of civic endeavour which are beyond the scope of

rural life. A national museum or a historic memorial, a natural art or a proselytising religion, a popular literature or a political movement, a social revolution or a mechanical invention can originate only in the powerful impulse from the feeling and capacity of the multitude, though perhaps their first germs have been discovered amidst the simplicity, and naturalism of rural life and consciousness. In the evolution of group-mind and group-consciousness, in other words, in the stages of the development of the individual personality, the city in its composition and constitution represents a necessary intermediate grouping between the village and the world at large. To be a citizen of the world one has to become a citizen of no mean city directly taking a part in all civic endeavours. The solution of the vexed question of international antagonism can be materially helped if in a more or less cosmopolitan city the concrete embodiment of international amity is found not merely in the stock exchange, clearing house or other forms of economic exploitation, but in the multiform institutions and activities which will be bound to arise out of the needs of a mutual understanding of the life-values and ideals of different races. The stagnation and exclusiveness of rural life, on the one hand, and the aridity and artificiality, the self-seeking and emptiness of urban life on the other can only be corrected by the city development in the future which combines in its structure and constitution the decentralisation and communalism of village life and organisation as well as the aggregation and concentration of work and of people that a highly specialised urban civilisation involves. Communalism is thus found to be a comprehensive principle, applicable to city reorganisation and development in the fullest and to the rescue of the city from the ills and abuses that have been the result of a mechanical organisation which in a mechanical age of steam and iron, of railways and factories of aggregation and concentration has ignored the needs of vital efficiency and culture in every field of life in industry, in family, in society, in demographic distribu-

tion or urban development. Gradually in the evolution of cities from the crude, tribal, exclusive, and national stages to a more catholic and cosmopolitan type, the civic institutions and activities which have been the outcome of the principle of mechanical association and aggressive exploitation of the surrounding village, the country or the world at large, will give place to new institutions and endeavours giving ample scope to the development of the rural type instead of using it for its own ends and purposes, on the one hand, and on the other, of forms of international, humanitarian service in and through the free distribution of the accumulated experiences and moral acquisitions of each people and zone of culture to other peoples and zones, for which new civic institutions must grow in the interests of international concord. In the end a new commerce of the spirit will grow in the cities

and marts of the future, greater than the commerce of to-day, which is but a war in the guise of peace, a war between the natural and vital standards of the life personal, as it should be, in the home, the field, the workshop and the civic or village council, and the artificial demands of the life mechanical as it is in unnatural aggregations of a hungry, sordid humanity which ignores the nobler impulses of free creation and free distribution,—a war which in the international field is in its instinct of aggressive exploitation but an extension and survival of the primitive tribal cannibalism destined to give place to amity and co-operation of diverse cultures and ethnic values even as in domestic and civic life, the individual personality of the old rural and tribal civilisation is to develop into the corporate communal personality in the cities and social groupings of the future.

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA

FERGUSSON in his "History of India and Ancient Architecture" has stated that "the Trans-Himalayan peoples occupied both the northern and southern slopes of the great Himalayan chain of hills at some very remote pre-historic times. Whoever they were, they were the peoples who were apparently the worshippers of trees and serpents" (p. 14). He attributes the success of the Buddha to the ready acceptance of his doctrines by these "aboriginal or Turanian Dasyus" in Eastern India. He points out (p. 103) that the rails at Bodhi-Gaya and Bharhut, constructed by the Maurya and Sunga emperors respectively, abound in sculptural pictures of tree and serpent worship. "The five or seven or thousand headed Naga is everywhere present in the temples of the Jains."

The prevalence of snake and tree worship among the ancient Indian tribes in the east has led Vincent A. Smith to think that the Licchavis, the Mallas, the Sakyas and the other Allied tribes were "hill men of the Mongolian type akin to the Tibetans" and he refers to the above-quoted remarks of Fergusson by saying, "Similar views were expressed long ago by Beal and Fergusson who used the terms Scythic

or Turanian in the sense in which I use Mongolian." (Oxford History of India, p. 47.)

The students of Indian antiquities are of opinion that the origin of tree and serpent worship is aboriginal and that the Aryans imitated the practice from the non-Aryan peoples of Northern India (cf. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship"). This theory seems to be based on insufficient grounds. On the contrary, it appears that the idea existed in latent form among the ancient Aryans and only gradually developed in subsequent times into an well-established practice. Indeed in the Rigveda there is no mention of serpent worship; but it will be too much to say that the conception of a serpent as a demon or a deity was altogether absent. Vritra (Rv. iii. 33, 6) is there often called Ahi, the Serpent, and Ahibudhnya has been called the presiding deity of the atmospheric Ocean (Rv. i. 32, 5, 8 and 13; 186, 5; ii. 31, 6; iii. 33, 6 and 7; v. 41, 16; vi. 49, 14; 50, 14; vii. 35, 13; 38, 5; ix. 88, 4; X. 64, 4; 66, 11; 92, 12; 93, 5; and 139, 6). The Rigveda also makes mention of terrestrial serpents. In the passage of the Rigveda which enjoins that those who harm the truthful or the righteous should be given over to

the Ahi (Rv. vii, 104, 9). There is a clear reference to the poisonous bite of this animal, while reference to its casting its slough is made in another passage of the same Veda (Rv. ix, 86, 44). A prayer is addressed to the funeral fire to purify the wound that the serpent or any other animal might have inflicted on the body of the person, when alive (Rv. x. 16, 6). The deity of the 189th hymn of the Rigveda (Book X) is *Sarpa-rajñi* which has been translated as serpent queen. The term here refers to the earth and, unlike the Turanian identity of the earth with the serpent-deity, it has no connection with the animal. Its true meaning is borne out by the following passage of the *Aitareya Brahmana* (v. 23)—“The *utgatri* chant the verses (seen) by the Queen of Serpents, because the earth is the Queen of Serpents, for she is the queen of all that moves. She was in the beginning without hair (i.e. without trees, bushes, etc.). She then saw this mantra which commences *ayam gauh prsnirakramit iti* (Rv. X. 189). In consequence of it she obtained a motley appearance, she became variegated (being able to produce) any form she might like (such as) herbs, trees, and all (other) forms.”

In the later Samhitas serpents are mentioned as a class of semi-divine beings like the Gandharvas, Apsarases, etc., inhabiting the regions of the earth, air and heaven (e.g., Vaj. Sam. xiii, 6). In the Samhitas of the Yajus, the names of Snakes, e. g., *Pridaku*, *Vahasa*, *Lohitahi*, *Ajagara*, are found in the list of victims at the *Asvamedha* sacrifice (Taitt. Sam. v. 5, 10, 1; 13, 1; 14, 1; Mait. Sam. iii, 14, 14; Vaja. Sam. xxiv. 33.), while *Atharva Samhita* which is full of references to the serpents, contains prayers addressed to these animals (i. 27; ii. 24; iii. 26, 27; iv. 3, 2; vi. 139, 5; viii. 7, 23; vi. 67, 2; x. 6, 46; x. 4; xi. 9; xii. 1, 44.).

The word ‘naga’ which occurs in the *Brihadaranyaka-upanishad* (i. 3, 24) and in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (viii. 22), has not yet obtained the sense of ‘serpent’ but has been used in the sense of ‘elephant’. The term ‘mahanaga’ in the following passage of the *Satapatha Brahmana* (xi. 2, 7, 12,)—“to him who will thus know the glory of the fore-offerings, people will in days to come be flocking from all sides, as if wishing to see some ‘Mahanaga’ (Egg. Trans.), has been interpreted by the great commentator Sayana, as the ‘great serpent’, but we see it may as well mean the ‘great elephant’. But the term *Sarpa-vidya* (the Science of Snakes) which is mentioned in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (xiii. 4, 3) along with the Sciences of Apsarases, Gandharvas, Devajanās, etc., undoubtedly refers to the mythical serpents and it appears that the Science had been greatly developed as is evident from the 9th verse, which says “thus saying let him go over one section (parvan) of the ‘Sarpa-vidya’ as if reciting it.”

In the *Grihya Sutras* ‘naga’ indicates not only the mythical serpents of air and heaven but also the poisonous snakes of the earth, who are all propitiated along with gods, plants and demons. Here we have a developed form of serpent-worship. The Sutras tell us that on the full-moon day of *Śravana*, the ceremony (of serpent-worship) is performed. The householder makes offerings of wash-water, comb, mirror, paint, flowers, cloth and last of all ‘*balli*’ (food) to the celestial, aerial and terrestrial serpents with appropriate mantras. At the end of the ceremony the householder invokes the aid of the serpent god (the lord of the ‘creeping and hissing serpents’) and entrusts his people and lastly himself to his charge for protection (Asv. Gr. S. ii, 1, 9; iii. 4, 1; iv. 8, 27; Par. Gr. S. ii. 14, 9; San. Gr. S. iv. 9, 3; 15, 4). The existence of mythical nagas in human form resembling serpents in their ferocious nature now began to be believed in by the people. In the Buddhist mythology the ‘nagas’ are described as demi-gods, revengeful in character, who reside in the ‘loka’ under *Trikuta* mount that supports *Meru*. To the Buddha and his followers, however, the nagas are represented as being favourable. In connection with this transformation of animals into human beings in the minds of the people, Macdonell observes: “The primitive conception that man does not differ essentially from beast, has left a few traces in the form of a belief in beings of were-wolf order. These are represented by the man-tigers (of man-lion in connection of Vishnu) and by the ‘nagas,’ human beings in appearance, but in reality serpents (Ved. Myth. p. 153). According to Weber “serpent worship has unquestionably mythological symbolical relations, but on the other hand, it has also a thoroughly realistic background” (Ind. Lit. p. 303).

Thus we see that though serpent worship is not found in the *Rik*, yet serpents have been given a prominent place among the noxious animals under the appellations of ‘Ahi’ and ‘Sarpa’, the serpents of the earth and ‘Ahi-budhniya’, the deity of the ‘atmospheric ocean’. In the Yajus and *Atharva Samhitas*, the serpent came to be worshipped as a semi-divine being along with other beings of that type. Thus serpent-worship had already been in existence among the Aryans as early as the time of the Yajus, but it received further development in the Sutra period when an elaborate system of serpent-worship became a part of the duty of the householder. Now the worship of nagas in the form of human beings began to prevail and by the time when *Kautilya’s Arthashastra* was written, the Nagas came to be regarded by the people with reverential awe and the spirit who rose above the surface of the water, was regarded as gods and goddesses of the naga (p. 393). The *Mahavagga* gives an account of how these nagas, who lived like mermen or mermaids, possessing immense riches, came

reside in the ocean. It says that they were born and nourished in the 'pabbatarajam' (i. e., the Himalayas) and passing through a series of abodes (e. g., a small pool of water, a large pool of water, a rivulet, a river) at last fixed their home in 'Maha Samuddam' (the great ocean) where they attained huge forms—*mahan-tam vepullatam apajjanti kayena* (Mv. xlv. 151). On the bas-reliefs of the Buddhist period they are sometimes represented as men and women "with cobra hood rising from behind their heads or with serpentine forms from their waist downwards" (Budd. Ind., p. 224).

In course of time and with the popularisation of the ancient conceptions of the Aryans, the Vedic 'aerial ocean', the abode of Ahi-budhnya and his host, probably got its duplicate in the terrestrial ocean, the home of Ananta and his nagas. It may be of interest, also, to note that Ahibudhnya has been supposed to represent the 'beneficent side of the serpent Vritra' and Ananta has been said to be the king of the harmless serpents (Bhag. G. x. 29) and that the word 'Samudra' was used by the ancient Aryans, before they came to the confluence of the Panjab rivers, to indicate the atmospheric or celestial ocean. It may be mentioned here that Balarāma is said to be the incarnation of Ananta or Shesha, who sometimes forms the couch of Vishnu and is wellknown in tradition as the great serpent-god who supports the earth on his thousand hoods, the term in the latter sense being familiar with the authors of classical Sanskrit (Raghu, x. 13; xv. 83; Kumar, iii. 13; Mud. Rak. ii. 18, etc.). The dasyus were sometimes called Shishnadevas by the Aryans, in contempt. Believing that the terms 'Shishna' and 'Shesha' have an identical meaning, i. e., the Serpent, many scholars have fallen into the mistake of thinking that the custom of serpent-worship was entirely borrowed from the Turanian dasyus. But the true meaning of 'Shishna-deva' is phal-lus-worshipper and not 'worshipper of serpents', the two words thus having entirely different meanings.

From the very earliest times plants and trees have been regarded by the Aryans as most holy. The 97th hymn in the 10th Book of the Rigveda is an entire piece of praise of *Oshadhi* (medicinal plants), mainly for their efficacy in curing diseases. They have "sprung in time of old; three ages earlier than the gods" (verse 1) and "their king is Soma" (ver. 19). In this period the large trees also were looked upon with a devotional eye. *Aranyani*, the genius of the forest, is adored in the 146th hymn. The 6th verse, which concludes the hymn, runs thus—

"Sweet-scented, redolent of balm,
Replete with food, yet tilling not
Mother of beasts, the Forest-nymph,
Her I have magnified with praise."

Asvattha, which is most frequently mentioned

in the Rigveda, was held in very high esteem and its wood was used for kindling the sacrificial fire (Av. vi. 11, 1; Sat. Br. xi. 5, 1; 13, 1). "In the third heaven above us stands the asvattha tree, the seat of the gods" (Av. v. 4, 3). Khadira, whose *rasa* (juice) came out of the *gayatri*, as well as 'udambara', 'plaksa', 'nyagrodha', were all regarded as sacred trees (Taitt. Sam. iii. 5, 7, 1; 4, 8, 4). Aitareya Brahmana gives the following description of the origin of the 'nyagrodha' tree—"After the performance of their sacrifice on earth, the gods went up to heaven and tilted over the soma cups, whence the nyagrodha trees grew up in Kurukshetra, where they grew first on earth, they are called 'nyubja', i. e., tilted over; from them all the others originated (vii. 30)." The divine origin of the 'asvattha' and other trees is referred to in the following way in the Satapatha Brahmana (xii. 7, 1, 9):—"From Indra's skin his honour flowed and became the 'asvattha' tree, from his flesh his force flowed and became the 'udambara' tree, from his bones his sweet drink flowed and became the 'nyagrodha' tree."

Now we see that from the very beginning of the Vedic age plants and trees have been adored and there are mentions in the later Vedic texts of offerings made to the large trees passed by marriage processions. Each tree came to be regarded as possessing a soul. Manu Samhita enjoins upon the Brahmins to give 'bali' (offerings of food) daily to the tree-spirits (iii. 88), for a Brahmin by worshipping all beings attains 'mukti' (iii. 93). In the main story (atitavatthu) of Bhadda-sala Jataka (no. 493), it is stated that the soul of the tree Bhaddasāla, on hearing that the tree was going to be felled down by the king's builders, appeared before the king at midnight and requested him with tears in his eyes to cut him piece-meal so that the plants growing under him might be spared. All classes, the priests, the nobles, as well as the people annually made 'bali' and other offerings to the trees and sometimes even human sacrifices were offered at their root for the attainment of such blessings as sons and wealth (Jat. i. 423; iii. 23; iv. 474; v. 217, 472, 488). The royal priest in the Hatthipala Jataka (no. 509) addresses the banyan tree thus "raja vo anussam vaccharam sabassam vissajetva bali kammam karoti, tassa putte na desi." The Bhaddasala was thus decorated and worshipped "gandha-pangcangulam datva suttena parikkhipitva pupphakannikam bandhitva, etc., etc." Gradually the worship of the soul of the tree degenerated into the worship of the dragon often called 'naga-raja,' who was supposed to reside in the tree and who could be revengeful if anybody did harm to his abode (Jat. 475, 493). Thus it appears that the Aryans first worshipped trees and plants for their sacrificial and medicinal uses; next, offerings began to be made to the soul or spirit of the tree and the last stage

was that of the conception of a dragon living in the tree who was consequently propitiated. That the Buddhist sculptures depict the veneration of trees and serpents has moreover a special significance. We know that the Buddha attained his 'nirvana' under the 'wisdom tree' said to be the pippala (Cunn. Arch. Sur. i. 5) of Bodh-Gaya and that the snake Muchalinda protected his body, while he was engaged in meditation, from the heavy storms and rains for seven continuous days; and it is no wonder that in the Buddhist sculptural works we meet with many instances of trees and snakes. Let us see what Rhys Davids has observed on this subject (Budd. Ind. p. 228 ff)—"Fergusson's explanations of the old monuments as being devoted to tree-worship requires altogether restating. With all his genius he was attempting the impossible when he tried to interpret the work of Indian artists without a knowledge of Indian literature. His mistake was really very natural. At first sight the bas-reliefs seem most certainly to show men and animals worshipping a tree, that is the spirit residing in a tree. But on looking further we see that the tree has over it an inscription stating that it is 'the Bodhi-tree,

the tree of wisdom, of Kassapa, the Exalted One. Every Buddha is supposed to have attained enlightenment under a tree.....Reverence is paid to the tree, not for its own sake, and not to any soul or spirit supposed to be in it, but to the tree, either as symbol of the Master or because it was under a tree of that kind that his followers believed that a venerated Teacher of old had become a Buddha.....The pippala was a sacred tree at the date of these sculptures."

Tree and serpent worship might have been very widely prevalent among the non-Aryans, but in the light of what I have stated, it can perhaps be presumed that any theory which holds that tree and serpent worship was grafted into the Aryan culture from an entirely foreign or aboriginal source must be rather too bold to say nothing of the absurdity of the hypothesis that the worshippers of trees and serpents must have been the non-Aryans. It is not improbable that its development, in the case of either the Aryans or the non-Aryans, was aided due to the influence of the geographical conditions of Northern India—the land of trees and serpents.

HEMCHANDRA RAY CHOUDHURY

HEAT

The blue has left the sky and on the ground
Colour has fallen prone; in sapphire haze
Hills that were near now swim like dreams afar.

All little flocks of cloud wing to the sea; the sky,
Emptied of variation now remains
A white dome for the splendour of the sun.

His power he uses like a conqueror, pours on earth,
His heat insistent, till the laden air
Shudders with its white burden and gay fields are grave.

Trees crouch beneath the weight and cover close
The cool deep fount of darkness at their heart
Lest the sun drink of it and leave it parched.

Silence stands in the noontime; in the fields
No intermittence of the sun's bright spears
Gives ease of breathing; shadow keepeth close.

No winds arise to break the sanctities
Of fertile heat, but prostrate on the sea
Lie waiting Autumn's shout for winnowers.

The earth draws nigh to labour and all life
Toils that her fruit may fail not, nor the storm
Frustrate her yielding; sweats the labourer.

Seed cast to warmth in winter strives to warmth •
The earth rends groaning, the bright fruitage stands,
And the new year begins at harvest-time again.

GERTRUDE BONE.

THE DIAMOND AND ITS TRAGIC STORY

DIAMOND is a mineral universally recognized as chief among precious stones. It is a natural form of crystallised carbon. It crystallises in the cubic or monometric system, its common forms being the regular octahedron, the rhombic dodecahedron, and the six-faced octahedron. This characteristic of diamond was known in India at a very early period.—

कोट्यः पार्श्वानि चाराश्च षड्भ्यो दादधेति च ।

इतुङ्ग समतीक्ष्णाय वज्रस्याकरजा गुणः ।

—गरुड पुराण ।

Diamond is the hardest, the most imperishable and also the most brilliant of minerals. These virtues of the diamond were also known in ancient India; and consequently वज्र or thunderbolt became a synonym for diamond. That it is crystallised carbon was also known to the ancient Indians, who expressed this knowledge in the form of a mythological story : There was an Asur or demon by name Bala or strength ; god Indra burnt him down by hurling his thunderbolt at him, and from the burnt bones of Bala-asur was formed the diamond. (Garur Puran, Mahapurāṇ, Brihat Samhita, Ityotish Samhita). According to another version it was formed from the remnant bones of Maharshi Dadhichi after the thunderbolt was forged from his bones. Some are of opinion that a peculiar property of the earth is its cause.

रतानि वलात् देह्यात्, दधौचितोऽन्धे वदन्ति जातानि ।

केचिद् भुवः स्वभावात् वैचित्र्यं प्रादुर् उपलानाम् ॥

—वृहत्संहिता ।

Diamond is chemically identical with Charcoal. Numerous attempts, therefore, have been made to manufacture the diamond by artificial means from the remotest time in India up to the present in other countries.

Diamond was mined at a very early period in India, and from India the Greeks and Romans derived their knowledge of this precious mineral. The precious stones—Koustubha worn by Vishnu, and Samantak worn by Krishna—are believed to be two diamonds of great value and antiquity.

Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations are believed to be older than Indian. But from the first Pharaoh to the last, through all the pageantry of thirty-one dynasties, diamonds were unknown in Egypt. From the dawn of History, Babylon remained unfamiliar with them for forty centuries. The pioneering conquest of Alexander across the Indus in 327 B. C.

acquainted Greece vaguely with their existence. The Patricians of Rome in the days of the early empire rarely owned them. Byzantine supremacy, the rise of Venice to maritime power, the Moorish conquest of Spain brought only a trickle of diamonds into Western Europe. A fashionable jewelry store in America today carries more diamonds in stock than were in all Europe when Columbus sailed from Palos.

The first undoubted mention of diamond is found in Manilus (16 A. C.). Pliny (100 A. C.) speaks of the rarity of the stone, 'the most valuable of gems, known only to kings.' Later Roman authors mentioned various rivers in India as yielding *adamas* among their sands.

In a natural condition the majority of minerals are found most commonly in masses, and occur comparatively seldom as distinct crystals ; but the diamond is almost always found in single crystals, which show no signs of previous attachment to any matrix. The stones were, until the discovery of the South African mines, almost entirely derived from sands or gravels, but owing to the hardness of the mineral, it is rarely, if ever, water-worn, and the crystals are often very perfect. In a natural condition the crystals often present a dull lead-grey semi-metallic lustre, somewhat the appearance of drops of gum. Absolutely colourless stones are not common ; the usual tints are grey, brown, yellow or white ; and as rarities red, green, blue and black stones have been found. Yellow diamonds are the cheapest, while blue-white diamonds bring the highest price in the market. But many connoisseurs prefer as more beautiful the snow-white gem often found among river diamonds, whose sharp, cold brilliancy is like that of clear ice gleaming in winter sunshine.

The famous chemist Sir William Crookes proved that the colour of diamonds can be changed at a high temperature, but the colour generally returns on cooling ; he changed a pale yellow diamond to a bluish-green colour by keeping it embedded in radium bromide for eleven weeks.

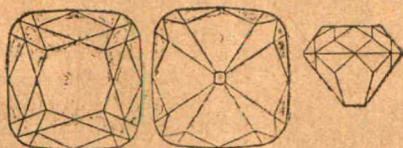
The diamond, especially when coloured, is highly phosphorescent, that is to say, after exposure to brilliant illumination it emits the rays which it has absorbed, and thus becomes self-luminous in the dark. Sir William Crookes showed that under the electric discharge in a highly rarified medium it exhibits beautiful phosphorescent phenomena.

It was shown by the Florentine academicians Averani and Targioni, about 1695, that the diamond could be volatilised at a high tempera-

ture, their experiments having been made at the cost of the Grand-duke Cosmo III. In 1772 Lavoisier demonstrated the combustibility of diamond at a moderate temperature in the presence of air or oxygen, producing carbonic acid gas. In 1797 the English chemist Smithson Tennant satisfactorily showed the identity of diamond with carbon.

As the chemical composition of the diamond is well known, it has often been supposed that carbon might be induced by artificial means to assume the characters of the gem. This attempt was also prevalent in ancient India, and Garur Puran has indicated the means for discriminating between the genuine and spurious gems. The easiest test for knowing a genuine gem has thus been put down in the Baraha Puran—the genuine gem लघ्वन्मसि तरति is light and floats on water, while the faked specimens do not.

The high refractive power gives the diamond its extraordinary brilliancy. This again depends mainly on the art of cutting the stone. This art is said to have been discovered in 1456 by Louis de Bergeum of Bruges. Henry D. Morse of Boston in the last century was the first to discover the balanced proportions that developed a diamond's highest reflective and refractive possibilities. Morse's proportions are the rule of the world today. The art of cutting diamonds into facets and cones was known to the ancient Indians also. At present Amsterdam is the chief home of this industry, and the trade is chiefly in the hands of Jews; but diamond cutting and polishing are also now extensively carried on in London, Antwerp, Boston, etc. Diamond is cut in three patterns, viz., (1) Square-cut brilliant, (2) Round-cut brilliant, and (3) Rose-cut diamond; the last form of diamond is daily becoming less fashionable. The art of cutting and polishing imparts value to a naturally valuable mineral.



Square-cut Diamond.



Round-cut Diamond.



Rose-cut Diamond.

The most important localities for diamonds have been : (1) India, where they were mined from the earliest times till the close of the 19th century ; (2) South America, where they have been mined since the middle of the 18th century ; and (3) South Africa, to which almost the whole of the diamond-mining industry has been transferred since 1870.

India was formerly the only country which yielded diamonds in quantity, and thence were obtained all the great historical stones of antiquity. The principal mines were—

हैम-सातङ्ग-सौराष्ट्रः पौख-कालिङ्ग-कोशलाः ।

वेनातटाः स सौवैराः वज्रसाष्टाविहाकराः ॥

Simla and Kangra Valleys also yielded some diamonds. Even to recent times the following places were famous for producing diamonds : (1) Chennai near Cuddapah on the river Pennar, (2) Kurnool between the rivers Pennar and Kistna, (3) Kollar near Bezvada on the river Kistna, (4) Sambalpur on the river Mahanadi in the Central Provinces, (5) Panna near Allahabad, in Bundel-Khand. Tavernier, a French merchant traveller and dealer in diamonds, paid a prolonged visit to most of the mines between 1638 and 1665. From his descriptions we know that in some of the mines 60000 labourers used to work. At present the diamond production of India is insignificant. The latest find of a notable diamond was in 1881 in the Bellary district, Madras. This stone has won the name of Gor-do-Norr.

The use of the diamond for other purposes than jewelry depends upon its extreme hardness ; it has always been the only material used for cutting or engraving the diamond itself. Diamond is now also used for faceting precious stones, for cutting and drilling glass, porcelain, etc. It is also used for bearings in watches and electric meters. A recent application of the diamond is for wire drawing. But its use as a jewelry and brilliant stands before all.

There are, it is estimated, 46,355,474 carats of cut and polished diamonds in existence. In terms of avoirdupois they would weigh 10½ tons. The total includes possibly the first diamond ever found on earth—who knows?—and the last gem picked from the chimneys of South Africa ; the little twinkler that the shop girl wears on her finger and the Koh-i-Nur that blazes in Great Britain's crown. These diamonds if stacked would form a pile having a base diameter of 8 ft., and the apex of the cone only 5 ft. high. The pile of diamonds, reckoned at Rs. 300 a carat, would have a value of Rs. 13906642440, or about 1400 crores of rupees in round number. If figured at current diamond prices, it would be worth from three to five times as much.

The United States of America in recent years has become the greatest diamond buying nation on the globe. For years it absorbed from 50

to 60 per cent., and during the war 85 per cent. of the output of the South African mines, which supply 98 per cent. of all the diamonds in the world's markets. A recent estimate placed the value of the diamonds in that country today at \$1350000000, or about 405 crores of rupees. Prosperity has no better barometer than the diamond trade. Time was when diamonds adorned only the princes of the earth and sparkled only in palaces. But they have become a democratic gem in the great democracy of the West. The stenographer emits Kimberley sparkles. Faint Dutoitspan gleams show in the ears of the pretty waitress. No cook or housemaid can hold up her head without a diamond among her jewels.

Like all the precious stones, the diamond was credited with many marvellous virtues; among others the power of averting insanity, and of rendering poison harmless: and in the middle ages it was known as the peacemaker between husband and wife. In India it was believed that diamond has the efficacy of imparting longevity, health, strength, valour, complexion, friendship and immunity from all sorts of diseases.

आयुः पुष्टिं वलं वीर्यं वर्णं सखां करोति च ।

सेवितं सर्वरोगघ्नं मृतं वज्रं न संशयः ॥

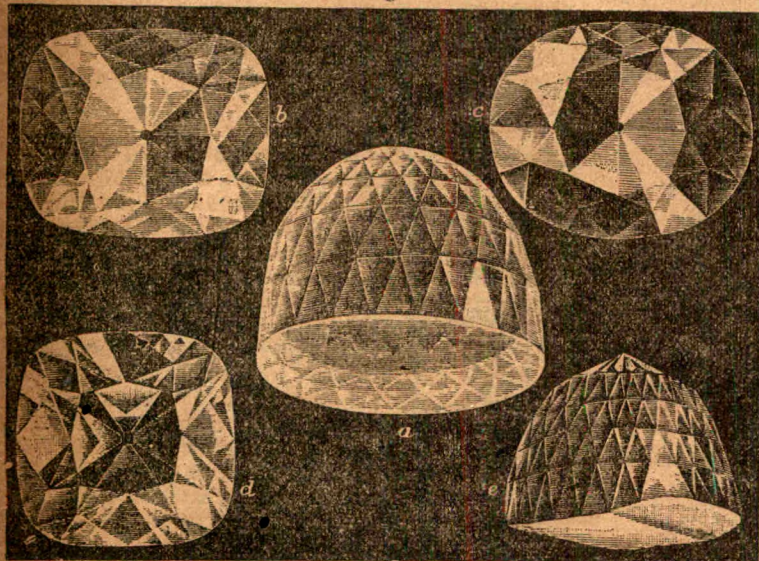
—भावप्रकाश ।

Fiction in its maddest moods never invented romance more bewildering than the stories of the great diamonds of India. For these baubles wars have been waged, nations devastated,

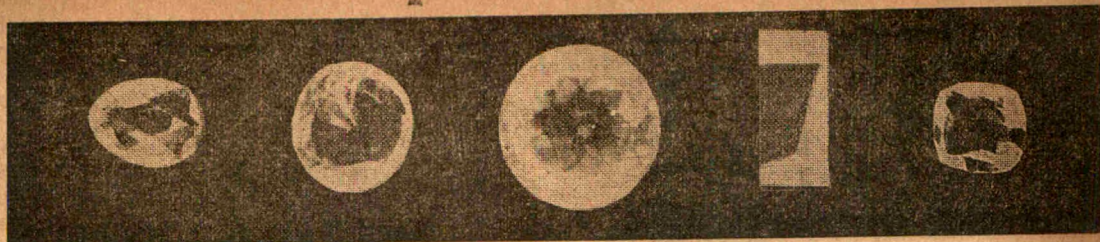
thrones and dynasties overturned, men slaughtered by tens of thousands. For gems men have plotted, intrigued, robbed, murdered, committed every cruelty and treachery, stained their souls with every crime.

All the famous diamonds of antiquity are Indian stones. A few special diamonds, from their exceptional size or from the circumstances of their history, deserve notice. The oldest mention of any gem in Indian literature is perhaps of the Koustubha of Vishnu, and Syamantak of Krishna. Some credulous persons believe that Krishna's Syamantak is no other than the world-famous and the most interesting diamond Koh-i-nur. Leaving aside, however, the legendary tradition, it is known from history that Sultan Ala-ud-din acquired this last-named gem in 1304 on the defeat of the Raja of Malwa, whose family had possessed it for many generations. In 1526 it passed by conquest to Humayun, the son of Sultan Babar. When Aurangzebe subsequently possessed this stone, he used it as one of the eyes of the peacock adorning his famous Peacock Throne. On the conquest of Mohammad Shah, by Nadir Shah in 1737, the great diamond was not found among the Delhi treasures; but learning that Mohammad Shah carried it concealed in his turban, Nadir, on the grand ceremony of reinstating the Mogal Emperor on the throne at the conclusion of peace, offered to change turbans in token of reconciliation. It was when Nadir first saw the diamond on unfolding the turban, that he exclaimed "Koh-i-Nur" or "Mountain of Light", the name by which the gem has ever since been known. At Nadir's death it passed to his unfortunate son,

Shah Rokh, by whom it was ultimately given to Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Durani Afghan Empire. By Ahmed Shah Durani it was bequeathed to his son Taimur Shah; and from his descendants it passed, after a series of romantic incidents, to Ranjit Singh, the King of the Panjab. On the death of King Ranjit Singh, in 1839, the diamond was preserved in the treasures of Lahore, and on the annexation of the Panjab by the British in 1849, when the property of the State was confiscated to the East India Company, it was stipulated that the Koh-i-Nur should be presented to the Queen of England. It was consequently taken in charge by Lord Dalhousie, who sent it to England in 1850. After the Great Exhibition of 1851, where it had been exhibited, it was injudiciously re-cut in



a. Great Mogul. b. Star of the South. c. Koh-i-noor.
d. Regent. e. Orloff. All actual size.



A

B

C

D

E

Swallowed by a faithful serving-man to save it from the robber who slew him, the *Sancy* (A) was sliced from his stomach to adorn the royal person of Henry of France and Navarre. The *Orloff* (B) was stolen by a French soldier from the eye of an idol in a Brahmin Temple, stolen again from him by a ship's captain, bought by Prince Orloff for Rs. 1350,000, and given to the Empress Catherine II. It weighs nearly 105 carats, and was one of the Russian Crown jewels. The *Great Mogul* (C), most magnificent of Indian gems, disappeared from history never definitely to reappear. It has a bloody history going back to the year 1665. Its fame lured Nadir Shah to the sack of Delhi. This is a glass reproduction made from extant descriptions. It probably weighed, after cutting, 280 carats. The *Akbar Shah* (D) was originally a stone of 116 carats, with Arabic inscriptions upon it. After being cut down to 71 carats it was bought by the Gaekwar of Baroda for Rs. 450,000. The *Polar Star* (E), a magnificent stone weighing 40 carats, belongs to the Princess Youssouppoff.



A

B

C

D

E

The *Regent*, or *Pitt* (A), weighed 410 carats, and was bought for about Rs. 360,000 by Pitt, Governor of Madras. The Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, paid Rs. 1200,000 for it. It was cut to nearly 137 carats, and was stolen during the Revolution, but was recovered and is still in France. The *Koh-i-Nur* (B) led one Indian potentate to kill his three brothers and imprison his father. It has been cut and re-cut. It weighs now 125 carats and has been valued rather fancifully at Rs. 3,000,000. The *Pigott* (C) weighed 82 carats. It was last heard of in Egypt. It is valued at Rs. 450,000, rather little for a stone of such size. The *Empress Eugenie* (D) weighs 51 carats, and is the property of the famous Gaekwar of Baroda. Two centuries before it shone on the bosom of the proud Eugenie, it was given by a peasant to a blacksmith for mending a plough. The Duke of Westminster owns the *Kassak* (E), weighing something under 79 carats. Little is known about it.

London. It is believed to bring ill-luck to its possessor. It is said, that once King Ranjit Singh was asked the price of the jewel; in reply he, so the rumour goes, said that its price is five strokes with a shoe; thereby he meant to say that it is to be conquered and possessed by the conqueror alone.

Another famous Indian diamond is the *Great Mogul*, which appears to have been found about 1650, in the Kolar Mine, on the Kistna River. It was seen by the French traveller jeweller Tavernier at the court of Aurungzebe in 1665, and is described as a round white rose-cut stone tall on one side. This stone was given by Meer Jumla to Shah Jahan. It was cut by a Venetian

lapidary. It has somehow or other disappeared from history, never perhaps definitely to reappear, its fate remaining a riddle of the centuries. Perhaps it is at present lying in the treasury of Teheran.

The *Orloff* is also an Indian stone, which was purchased at Amsterdam in 1776 by Prince Orloff for Chatharine II. of Russia to patch up a lovers' quarrel. The stone at one time formed the eye of an idol in a temple in the island of Seringham, in Mysore, whence it is said to have been stolen by a French soldier, stolen again from him by a ship's Captain, from whom Prince Orloff bought it for £90,000. It is of somewhat yellow tinge, and is among the



A

B

C

D

E

The *Florentine Diamond* (A), among the Crown jewels of Austria, weighs 139½ carats and is valued at Rs. 160,000. It is a very pale yellow. It was picked up on a medieval battlefield and sold for two francs. The *Hope* (B), 44¼ carats, is believed to be a portion of a beautiful blue stone of 67 carats cut from a stone weighing over 112 carats, which was discovered in India, brought to Europe by Tavernier, and which was stolen from the French Crown jewels. The *Hope* has the same colour as the missing gem. The *Koh-i-Nur* (C) eventually passed into the hands of the East India Company, and was presented by it to Queen Victoria in 1850. This is a picture of it re-cut to 106 carats. The *Star of the South* (D), perhaps the most famous of Brazilian stones, was found in 1853. It was cut from 254½ carats to 125 carats, and was bought by the Gaekwar of Baroda for Rs. 1200,000. The *Pasha of Egypt* (E) weighs 40 carats and is valued at Rs. 450,000.

Russian Crown jewels; it was mounted in the imperial sceptre of the Czar. There has been much discussion concerning the possibility of the *Koh-i-Nur* and the *Orloff*, being both fragments of the Great Mogul.

The *Regent* is a famous diamond preserved among the national jewels in Paris. It was found in 1701 at a mine on the Kistna by a slave, who escaped with it to the coast, where he sold it to an English skipper, by whom he was afterwards treacherously killed. Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the first Earl of Chatham, at that time governor of Fort St. George of Madras, purchased the stone, and had it re-cut in London. Whence it is often known as the *Pitt*. It is a brilliant of fine water and excellent proportions. Pitt sold it in 1717 to the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France, during the minority of Louis XV. The price paid was £135,000, and its value has since been estimated at £500,000. It was stolen with the other crown jewels during the Revolution, but was recovered and is still in France.

The large *Sancy* is a historical diamond. It appears that it was an Indian stone, purchased about 1570 by M. de Sancy, French ambassador at Constantinople. It passed, temporarily, into the possession successively of Charles the Bold, Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, Henrietta Maria, and Cardinal Mazarin, and was eventually sold by Sancy to Queen Elizabeth of England. By James II. it was disposed of about 1695 to Louis XIV., for 250,000. During the Revolution it was swallowed by a faithful servant of the king to save it from robbers who slew him but could not get the diamond; afterwards the *Sancy* was sliced from his stomach. At the beginning of the 19th century it passed to Russia, and again to the king of Spain, and eventually it was sold in

1865 to Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy of Bombay. In 1889 it was again in the market, the price asked being £200,000.

Other famous Indian diamonds are the following:—the *Great Table*, a rectangular stone seen by Tavernier in 1642 at Golconda; some identify it with the *Darya-i-Nur* now in the possession of the Shah of Persia. Another stone, the *Taj-e-mah*, also belonging to the Shah, is a pale rose pear-shaped stone. The *Nassak*, the property of the Duke of Westminster. The *Empress Eugenie*, the property of the Gaekwar of Baroda. The *Akbar Shah*, bought by the Gaekwar of Baroda for £350,000, is a rectangular stone having Arabic inscriptions engraved on it. The *Nizam*, now in the possession of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The *Pigott*, which cannot now be traced. The *White Saxon*. The *Star of Este*. The *Pasha of Egypt* valued at Rs. 450,000.

Coloured Indian diamonds of large size are rare; diamonds however occur of all tints, and when the colour is well pronounced, they are prized as fancy stones. The most famous coloured Indian diamonds are:—A beautiful blue brilliant brought to Europe by Tavernier. It was stolen from the French Crown jewels with the *Regent* and was never recovered. Two other blue diamonds which may be portions of the missing French diamond. The *Dresden Green*, one of the Saxon Crown jewels, has a fine apple-green colour, and is preserved in the Green Vaults at Dresden. The *Florentine*, one of the Austrian Crown jewels, is a very pale yellow stone.

But one of the most superb coloured diamonds at present known is the sapphire blue brilliant known as the *Hope* diamond. It is famous for its tragic history. From its first appearance in Europe, a superstition has clung to it that it brought disaster to all whoever owned or wore



The *Excelsior Diamond* found in 1893 at Jagersfontein by a native of Africa while loading a truck. It weighed 971 carats in this rough state and was ultimately cut into 10 stones.

it. Certainly it has been associated with a long list of tragedies. Tavernier, who brought it from India, failed in business, and died on his voyage back to the Orient to recoup his fortune. Madame de Montespan, upon whom the grand Monarque Louis XIV bestowed it, was supplanted in the king's affections by her rival, Madame de Maintenon. Nicholas Foquet, a courtier who borrowed it, was executed. Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who inherited it, lost their heads on the guillotine. Princess de Lamballe, of Marie Antoinette's entourage, was killed by a revolutionary mob. It disappeared during the French Revolution and remained lost until 1830. The thieves who stole it were executed or deported to penal colonies. Wilhelm Fals, the gemsmith who cut it down for the thieves, ended his life in poverty. Hendrik Fals his son who stole it from the thieves, committed suicide. Francis Beaulieu, last of its Eastern Hemisphere owners who sold it to Daniel Eliason, a London jeweller, died of starvation in a garret in Soho. Then it became the property of Mr. H. T. Hope, who bought it for £18000 and had to sell it in 1906. From him it got its name. Lord Francis Hope became a bankrupt and was scandalized by the elopement of May Yohe, his American actress wife. At last accounts May Yohe was a scrubwoman in Tacoma. Then it passed to Lorens Ladue, a dancing girl, who was shot and killed by her infatuated admirer as she danced in the glare of the footlights with the diamond on her bosom. Her



The *Cullinan Diamond* as it appeared in the rough. It weighed in this state $1\frac{1}{3}$ pounds and was as white as water. The stone was purchased from the Transvaal Government in 1907 and presented to King Edward VII.

Russian cavalier, who had hung the jewel about her neck, was assassinated. Simon Montherides, who sold it to Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, was killed in an accident. Two of its Turkish custodians were murdered. Salma Subaya, the Sultan's favourite, was shot while in the Yildiz Kiosk. And Abdul Hamid finally lost his throne. This is the only one of the great historic diamonds to go to the United States, it was brought over there being bought by Edward B. McLean for \$300000. As beautiful as when, fresh from the mystic East, it dazzled the court of France, the diamond for years brought only happiness to its new owners. Mrs. Edward Beale McLean wore it on one occasion together with the *Star of Este*, the two stones together being worth \$500000. The occasion was a dinner which, a curious statistician figured, cost about \$166 a minute. Then one day the little son of the McLeans, first born of a happy marriage and heir to vast riches, was killed at play by an automobile. Instantly the tragic tradition recurred to the public mind. It is now valued at £30000.

The most famous of all Brazilian diamonds is the *Star of the South*, which was found in 1853; it was originally sold for £40000; after being cut, it was bought by the Gaekwar of Baroda for £80000 or 400000 dollars or about 120 lacs of rupees.

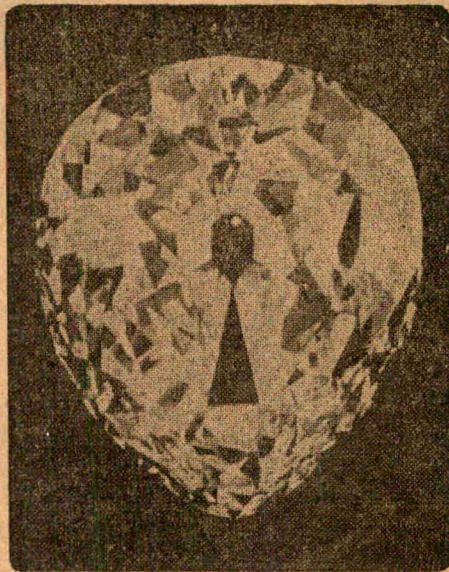
Many large stones have been found in South Africa; some are yellow, but some are as colourless as the best Indian or Brazilian stones. The most famous are the following:—The *Star of South Africa* or *Dudley*. The *Stewart*. Both these were found in the river diggings. The *Porter Rhodes* from Kimberley, of the finest water. The *Victoria*, bought by the Nizam of Hyderabad for £400,000 or more than 40 lacs of rupees. The *Tiffany*, a magnificent orange-yellow stone.



Mrs. Edward Beale McLean whose husband bought the ill-starred *Hope* diamond for \$300,000. She wore it on one occasion together with the *Star of Este*, the two stones together being worth \$500,000. The occasion was a dinner which, a curious statistician figured, cost about \$166 a minute.

Until 1905 the largest known diamond in the world was the *Excelsior*, found in 1893 at Jagersfontein mine from where have come some of the finest and largest stones. The diamond was found by a native of Africa while loading a truck. It was ultimately cut into ten stones. But all previous records were surpassed in 1905 by a magnificent stone, more than three times the size of the *Excelsior*, the biggest stone then known. It was found in the Transvaal, and was clear and water white. It was known as the *Cullinan Diamond*. Is *Cullinan* a Gujarati word, meaning the diamond of the coolies who found it? This stone was purchased from the Transvaal Government in 1907 and presented to King Edward VII. It was sent to Amsterdam to be cut, and in 1908 was divided into nine large stones and a

number of small brilliants. Of these the first and second fragments are the largest brilliants in existence. All the stones are flawless and of the finest quality.



The biggest bit of the *Cullinan Diamond* which was divided into nine large stones and a number of small brilliants. It weighs 516½ carats and is the largest brilliant in the world.

A wonderful piece of jewelry has become historically famous by the name of *The Diamond Necklace*. It is connected with a mysterious incident at the court of Louis XVI. of France, which involved queen Marie Antoinette. The Parisian jeweller Boehmers and Bassenge had spent some years collecting stones for a necklace which they hoped to sell to Madame Du Barry, the favourite of Louis XV. She however was



The Second largest stone cut from the famous *Cullinan*, weighing more than 309 carats.

excluded from court on the death of Louis (1774), before the necklace was finished. Then the jewellers tried to sell this beautiful ornament adorned with 500 diamonds, to Marie Antoinette. In 1778 Louis XVI. proposed to the queen to make her a present of the necklace, which cost 1800000 livres, equal to about £800000 of modern money. But the queen is said to have refused it, saying that the money would be better spent equipping a man-of-war. After having vainly tried to place the necklace outside of France, the jewellers again attempted in 1781 to sell it to Marie Antoinette after the birth of the dauphin. It was again refused, but the queen regretted not being able to acquire it as it was too costly.

At that time there was a personage at the Court whom Marie Antoinette particularly detested. It was the Prince Cardinal Louis de Rohan, a wealthy, vain and profligate man, formerly ambassador at Vienna, whence he had been recalled, having incurred the queen's displeasure by revealing to the empress Maria Theresa the frivolous actions of her daughter, a disclosure which brought a maternal reprimand, and for having spoken lightly of Maria Theresa in a letter of which Marie Antoinette learned the contents. After his return to France the cardinal was anxious to regain the favour of the queen in order to obtain the position of prime minister. In March 1784, he entered into relations with a certain Jeanne de St. Remy de Valois, descendant of a bastard of Henry II., who after many adventures had married a soi-disant Comte de Lamotte, and lived on a small pension which the king granted her. This adventuress soon gained the greatest ascendancy over the cardinal, with whom she had intimate relations. She persuaded him to believe that she was intimate with the queen and he may try to regain the queen's favour through her. Thus began a pretended correspondence between Rohan and the queen. The tone of the queen's letters became soon very warm and the cardinal, convinced that the queen was in love with him, became ardently enamoured of her. One night the poor dupe had the happiness of a moment's interview with the queen in the person of a girl named Marie Lejay, who resembled the queen, in a

grove in the garden at Versailles. The countess borrowed money from the cardinal from time to time ostensibly for the queen's works of charity, but which she herself appropriated and thereby kept an honourable place in society. One day the countess told the cardinal that the queen was desirous of obtaining the famous necklace but could not get it for want of money; she might acquire it if the cardinal stood as security. The cardinal readily consented, and an agreement was signed secretly by the queen's own handwriting. In a few days after the necklace was placed in the hands of the countess, she and her husband disappeared from France, and they were busy in London selling the stones separately by breaking up the beautiful ornament. Then it transpired that the whole transaction had been a trick; the messages from the queen and the signature in the agreement were forged by a soi-disant valet, who was skilled in imitating handwriting. The Cardinal de Rohan was arrested when the whole court was awaiting the king and queen, and was taken to Bastille. Then a sensational trial followed. The cardinal was, however, acquitted. The Comtesses de Lamotte was condemned to be whipped and was branded on each shoulder with the letter V (for *voleuse*, thief), and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Her husband was condemned, in his absence, to the galleys for life. The forger was banished. Public opinion was much excited by this trial. It is generally believed that Marie Antoinette was stainless in the matter, that Rohan was a dupe, and that the Lamottes deceived both for their own ends. People, however, persisted in the belief that the queen had used the countess as an instrument to satisfy her hatred of the Cardinal de Rohan. And the odium resulting from this had accounted for her unpopularity with the people which ended her life on the guillotine.*

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

* Compiled chiefly from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chambers's Encyclopaedia, Popular Science Monthly for March 1920, *Ratna Pariksha* (in Bengali) by Rai Bahadur Professor Joges Chandra Ray, M. A., Vidyanidhi, Vijnanabhushan &c., *Ratna Rahasya* (in Bengali) by Dr. Ramdas Sen, &c.

EVENTIDE

Eventide in the mountains is a dream
That lighteth the shadowy chambers of the soul
With mystic vision. Life and holiness
Are one this quiet hour.
Green waters move in full-toned harmony,
Deepening in the twilight; very still

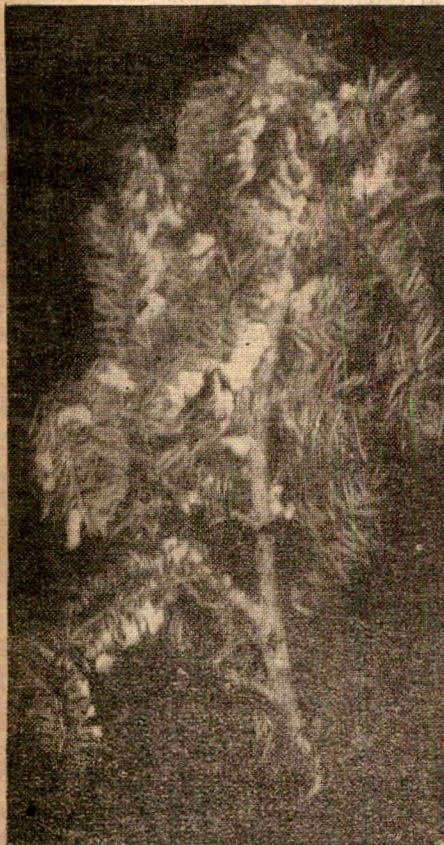
The sombre trees foregather, as at prayer.
The forest is a shrine about whose altars
Riseth the incense of the sleeping earth,
Commingling with a myriad supplications
Whose answer cometh sure, in the new birth
Of all that ever sanctified the world.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

GLEANINGS

The Sugar Tree.

A new and strange source for a rare variety of sugar has recently been discovered in the Douglas fir tree of British Columbia, upon the foliage of which is formed a sugar producing the rare trisoccharide, melezitose, in greater abundance than any other plant known to-day to scientists. This sugar was formerly obtained from a shrub growing in the Turkestan and Persia. Analysis shows the sugar obtained from the foliage of the Douglas fir to be almost fifty per cent of the trisoccharide. Of interest from a chemical and botanical point of view is the fact that analysis shows the sugar to be



Branch of the Douglas fir, showing the formation of sugar.

possessed of a high degree of constancy of composition.

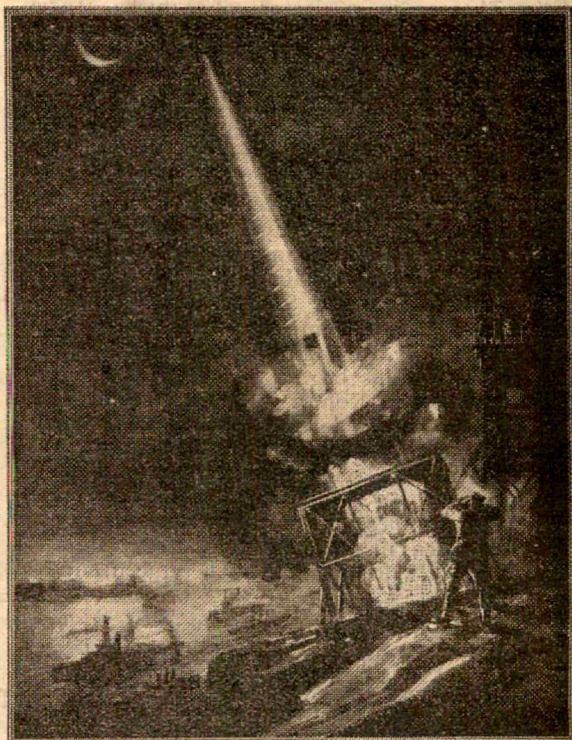
The deposits of sugar on the fir tree are on a quarter of an inch to two inches in

diameter and occur in considerable abundance. This sugar has the exceedingly sweet taste of a high quality sugar. For a moment in the mouth it takes on a pasty consistency, but quickly dissolves entirely when acted upon by the saliva.

The sugar fir is confined to the dry belt of British Columbia, and is chiefly found in the hottest parts of the interior of the province between parallels 50 and 51, and 121-122 longitude.

Hitting the Moon with a Rocket.

The Press notices about shooting a rocket to the moon, or perhaps even to the planet Mars are imaginative flights based on the really remarkable invention, by Prof. Robert H. Goddard of Clark College, Worcester, Massachusetts, of a new type of repeating rocket, capable of an initial speed eight times as great



The moon is being hit.

as any other yet devised, and of renewing the impulse as often as desired by supplementary explosions. The height which the whole machine can reach is found by simply adding the altitudes to which each charge will carry it from the

point of the explosion. There is no guesswork about this computation. Figuring a fixt weight of one pound for the recording instruments carried, it is calculated that an initial weight of only 3.6 pounds, including rocket-shell and charges, will lift the whole equipment to a height of practically 35 miles; 5.1 pounds would carry it up over 70 miles; 6.4 pounds, 115 miles; 9.8 pounds, over 230 miles. We must remember that the atmosphere itself ceases to exist some two hundred miles up. Of course, the ocean of air has no definite surface; it merely becomes more and more attenuated until it disappears altogether in the mystery of space. It is apparent that one of the new rockets, weighing less than ten pounds with its recording equipment, will be able to explore the atmosphere to its extreme limits, while a 12-pound rocket will go far beyond, out into the ether. The 230-mile altitude is reached in less than six and one-half minutes, a speed of over thirty-five miles a minute.

There appears no scientific reason why any definite limit should be set on the possible range of such a mechanism. So far as figures go, it is already computed that a repeating rocket with an initial weight of 1,274 pounds would actually pass beyond the influence of earth's gravitation, whence it would journey on by its own momentum until it came within the influence of some other body. An explosive charge of 602 pounds would carry the rocket past the neutral point where the gravitational fields of earth and moon balance, in which case it would fall toward our satellite.

Hitting the Moon with
a Rocket—How it
would Look.

It will thus be seen that Professor Goddard's improvement in the design of the sky-rocket has, at a single step, transferred the enterprise of hurling a missile to the moon from the class of utterly impracticable dreams to the domain of entirely feasible and even comparatively light tasks. Here a new problem arises. Suppose we

send a rocket to the moon. How shall we know whether our aim has been true and the shaft has gone home? Professor Goddard has not only worked out the problem on paper: he has conducted experiments to furnish the experimental data required.

It would of course be impossible to follow the course of such a small body through the 240,000 miles that separate us from the moon. But the rocket could be made to carry a

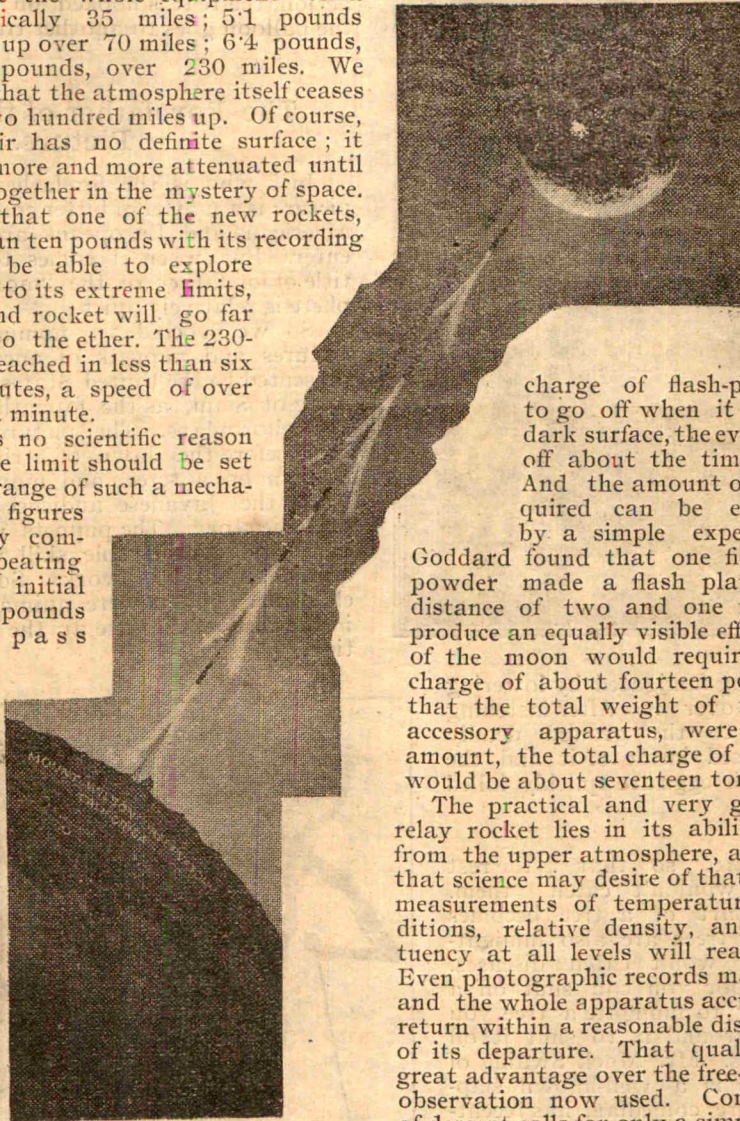
charge of flash-powder, arranged to go off when it hit the moon's dark surface, the event being brought off about the time of new moon. And the amount of flash-powder required can be easily determined by a simple experiment. Professor

Goddard found that one fifth of a grain of powder made a flash plainly visible at a distance of two and one fourth miles. To produce an equally visible effect at the distance of the moon would require, accordingly, a charge of about fourteen pounds. Assuming that the total weight of flash-powder, plus accessory apparatus, were four times this amount, the total charge of explosive required would be about seventeen tons.

The practical and very great value of the relay rocket lies in its ability to bring back, from the upper atmosphere, all the information that science may desire of that region. Accurate measurements of temperature, electrical conditions, relative density, and chemical constituency at all levels will readily be obtained. Even photographic records may easily be made, and the whole apparatus accurately aimed, will return within a reasonable distance of the point of its departure. That quality in itself gives it great advantage over the free-balloon system of observation now used. Control of the speed of descent calls for only a simple arrangement of tiny parachutes, adding practically nothing to the weight carried. As the inventor's plan involves the exploration of space and recovering data of much meteorological value by sending his little messenger aloft, it is difficult to see why he should care to have his data buried on our dead celestial neighbour. He will not shoot at the moon—somebody else will have to do that for him.

Fumigating Sick Trees.

When you emerged from the measles you





A sick tree is being fumigated by lowering a balloon-tent over it. After fastening the tent close to the ground deadly fumes are released inside of it and the insects and their eggs are quickly killed thereby.

room was fumigated so that the rest of your family wouldn't catch them. Just so, when part of a tree becomes diseased, the other trees are also fumigated, so that they won't catch diseases. By closing the door you can shut off a room, but in order to fumigate a tree you must put a tent around it to shut it off from its neighbours. Mr. Mack Swain, of Los Angeles, who is a well-known slapstick moving-picture comedian, has recently painted his idea of fumigating by balloon.

The tent is hooked to the balloon, which is moved, until it is directly over the tree. The balloon is then unhooked and starts back for another tent for another tree, while the tent it left behind is fastened to the ground. Hydrocyanic acid does the fumigating. It is a deadly volatile poison, and as it fumes away it kills all the insects on the tree, and even the insects' eggs. This acid is also known as prussic acid. It has the seductive odour of peach blossoms.

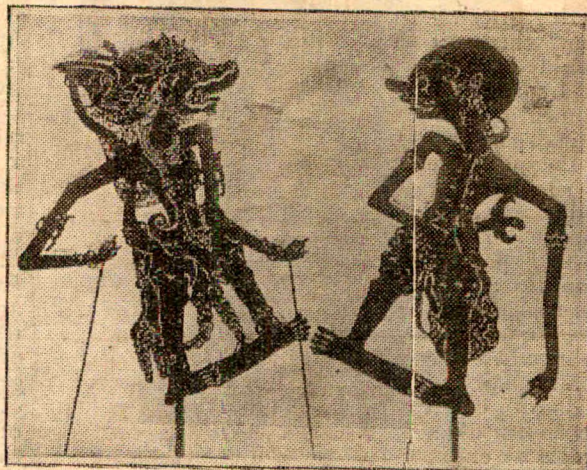
When the tent is securely fastened, the tanks of hydrocyanic acid are shoved underneath it and opened.

After the fumes have done their deadly work the balloon is brought back to the scene of action, the tent is hooked on again, and away the balloon goes to another tree.

The Forefather of the Motion Picture.

Just who is the forefather of the motion picture is a matter of bitter controversy in which Americans and Europeans are equally keen to enter. But when it comes to contesting the title of forefather of the "movies", the atmosphere is relatively quiet.

So we proceed to nominate the shadow pictures and puppets of ancient Java, recently presented to the United States Museum by the King of Siam, as the forefather of our present-day photoplays. The pictures, in those dark days before the dawn of written history, were thrown on a screen and moved back and forth before the Javanese audience as the exhibitor told the story. The puppets were cut from deer hide, and considerable skill was obviously required to do this work. Some of the more elaborate puppets were animated by strings, as in the case of the one at the left in the illustration.

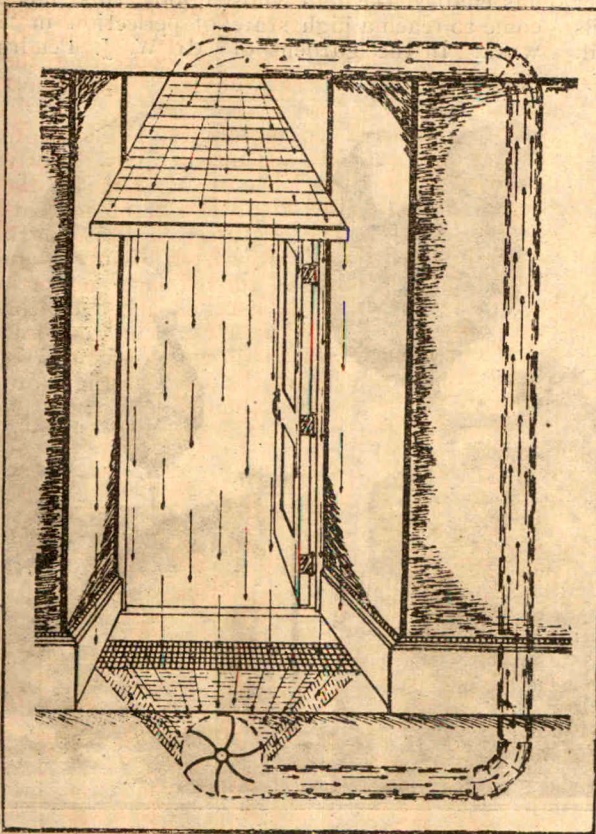


Javanese puppets used for animated shadow-pictures.

The Doorless Door.

As shown in the accompanying diagram, the 'doorless door' consists of a motor-driven fan installed below or behind a grill in the entrance of a store or other building and arranged to draw air downward from the upper portion of

of the doorway, whence it is carried by a duct to a hood at the top of the entrance and then discharged downward, completing the cycle. A quarter-horse-power motor driving and connecting with a nine-to-twelve-inch diameter duct provides a current of air under about three-inch water-pressure, which is unnoticed by persons standing in the doorway, but which is most effective in keeping out insects, rain, snow and cold air. The use of the equipment enables close regulation to be made, with ease, of the interior temperature



The "Doorless Door."

of the room, and the absence of a closed door, winter and summer, in a trial installation actually increased trade by one-third. The cost of operation is about two cents per hour.

They are Going West for a Separation.

The boys in the picture are the sons of Mr. and Mrs. Marco Godino, Filipinos now living in Washington. Since their birth they are joined just below the shoulder and have been that way throughout their thirteen years of life. They now plan to go to a

surgeon in the West to be operated on and thereby to be separated from each other.

Fortunately they are very good friends as well as brothers, and their life together has not been unbearable. Their chief difficulty is encountered in walking. One of them must always go backward. But how do they sleep?

Abnormalities of this kind are due to deviation from the normal development of the embryo. Just why these deviations occur has not been discovered. Usually dwarfs, giants and deformed children are born to normal parents. But should two similar freaks marry, it is believed



The Unseparated Jolly Twins.



Srimati Saudamini Debi, and her remarkably long hair.

that the children would inherit the freakishness.

Long Hair.

It is said by anthropologists that straight hair grows the longest and woolly the shortest, while wavy hair holds an intermediate position.

However that may be, Miss Ethel Payne, an English girl, boasts of having the longest hair of any woman in the British Isles, although her hair is wavy—either by nature or design. Miss Payne is five feet eight inches in height, and when she is standing erect her hair trails on the ground.



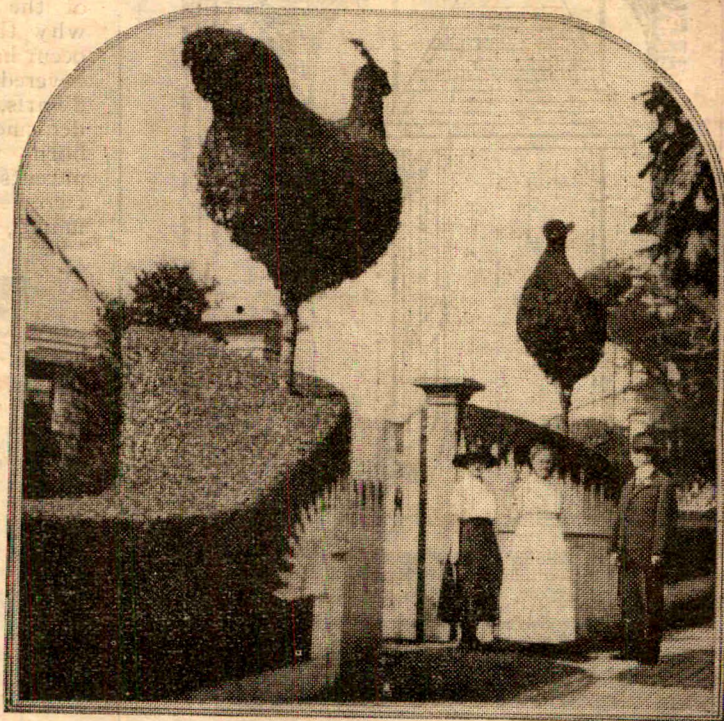
Miss Ethel Payne, who boasts of having the longest hair of any woman in the British Isles.

In Bengal an abundance of hair is considered a very important item of feminine grace, and the Bengalee girl's toilette consists mostly of a careful shampoo and dressing of the hair. The annexed photograph is of a Bengalee lady, Srimati Saudamini Debi, who is the proud possessor of remarkably long hair. It dangles eight inches of the ground, and she is five feet three inches in height. The photograph was taken at a time when on account of illness

her hair was falling off. There was a time before that when it trailed on the ground, much like the hair of Miss Ethel Payne. A German paper reproduced her likeness of that time, we are told.

Tree Sculpture.

Imagine trimming yew, barberry, white thorn, and golden holly trees so that they cleverly assume the shape of fowls and other objects! Thirty years' experience in the art has enabled the man whose hobby this has become to reach a high state of perfection in the work. In the gardens of Mr. W. J. Pendray



Trees Shaped into Fowls.

at Victoria, B. C., the visitor is entertained to a sight of such marvels of tree trimming.

Tree-trimming is not a task for the amateur. It requires years of diligent and studious attention to the particular requirements of the trees. When a definite shape is the aim of the gardener, successive trimmings from time to time must be done with this ultimate form in view, and at last the leaves seem almost to grow to accommodate the trend of the gardener's conception.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

HINDU-ARYAN ASTRONOMY AND ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN RACE. By Pandit Bhagwandas Pathak, Retired Head-clerk, Aligarh Collectorate, Demy 8vo. IV—118 pages; Published by the author. Dehra Dun. U. P. 1920. Price Rs. 2.

The appearance of the book is quite unpretentious, and one might be, on that account, inclined to lay it aside. But the reading of the Preface will at once arrest attention, and convince the reader of the sincerity of the author's efforts. As the reader goes on to the researches, he is sure to be profoundly struck with the amount of patient labour undergone, and discriminating judgment displayed by the author. One may not agree with the author in all the conclusions arrived at, but will have enough suggestions for reflection for many years to come. The pity is, the book is written mostly in the form of notes which require elaboration in many places by the reader himself who is supposed to possess a good knowledge of Hindu astronomy and a library of ancient Sanskrit works. A book which deals with Hindu-Aryan civilisation and tries to fix probable dates, cannot but abound in references, the authoritative texts of which have been unfortunately withheld in the notes. This is a serious drawback. No less annoying is the spelling of Sanskrit names in the way of the Hindi vernacular which very often drops vowels making easy recognition extremely difficult for those who are accustomed to read Sanskrit names in the Sanskrit way. For instance, Rohini is spelt as Rohni, Revati as Revti, Varaha-mihira as Varah-mihir, Parasurama as Parasram, etc. The tendency of the writers of the Deccan is towards the opposite way, adding vowels and sometimes consonants which are puzzling to those who are not Deccanese. If the authors of the north and of the south cannot accept the system in vogue, they might write the Sanskrit names in Devanagari character which is understood by all Sanskrit readers.

One will, however, willingly pardon the author for the inconvenience felt, and will readily sympathise with him when one remembers that the lot of a clerk tied to his office desk from morning till evening is not exactly suitable for leisurely elaboration of details which one might wish to have. Our sympathy is enhanced by the fact, stated in the Preface, that after retirement from service in 1914 the author was incapacitated for work owing to continued ill health, and that the notes were hurriedly drawn up only at the importunities of his son. We gather also that the materials placed before us were the result of a whole life-time which, as the reader will presently see, bears ample testimony of assiduous labour.

Turning to the book itself, we find that the researches for which the author claims credit relate to the following points:—

1. The beginning of Yudhishtira's era in 2448 B.C.
2. The reckoning of the Indian meridian from

Kurukshetra (near Delhi) from Yudhishtira's victory over his cousins.

3. The change of the meridian to Avanti or Ujjain by Vasishtha in 1905 B. C.

4. The antiquity of the Indian constellations which is about 5000 B. C., and their change due to their unequal motion in Right Ascension.

5. The antiquity of the Vedas.

6. The date of the Suryasiddhanta.

7. The antiquity of the Indian Yugas, Calendars, etc.

8. The planets known to the ancient Aryans.

9. The variations in the tropical motion of the Sun and of its perihelion.

10. The variation in the sidereal motion of the moon, its perigee and nodes.

It is impossible to discuss here these and several other topics treated in this book. We shall briefly comment on some, and leave the rest to the reader.

We have been familiar with the Aryan Arctic Home theory from Mr. Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas*. Our author does not appear to have read this book. Some of the arguments are bound to be common, but there are others which we do not remember to have read in Mr. Tilak's work. From the nature of the problem, many of the arguments cannot but be conjectural. There is, however, strong presumption in favour of the theory, which so far explains many stories and some remarkable astronomical events mentioned in Vedic literature. The difficulty in accepting the theory lies not in any inherent improbability, but in explaining the reason of the supposed migration to the south. Mr. Tilak depends, as the reader is aware, on the last glacial age, our author is discreetly silent merely hinting at a great deluge, the memory of which is almost universally preserved in legends.

Assuming the theory, the author has tried to explain the origin and subsequent changes of the Nakshatras and of the constellations handed down to the Europeans by Greek astronomers. None, so far as we know, went into the significance of the so-called presiding deities of the Nakshatras, and the attempt at a rational explanation made by the author in this book is interesting, and in many respects entirely novel. This throws side-lights not only into the dark alleys of Hindu astronomy but also into the much-vexed question of the common origin of the constellations. The antiquity of the Vedic Aryans mainly rests on the interpretation of the ancient Nakshatras. Some of these, we may be sure underwent changes in name and in configuration in the hands of later observers. Nevertheless, an assertion that "the abode of Indo-Aryans was in 33° or 34° latitude north when Alpha Tauri marked the South solstitial point, i. e., more than 11,000 years ago, cannot go unchallenged. Why, may we ask, should this star (Rohini) be supposed to mark the South solstitial point, and not the vernal equinoctial point? It is red, and was therefore called Rohita; and as it

marked the beginning of the northward course of the sun. It was named Rohini.

The author has brought Hindu astrology into requisition in order to shew that the planets were known to the Aryans during the Orion period, 5000 B. C. We are at one with the author in believing that Jupiter and Venus were known; but there is hardly any evidence on record as to the knowledge of the remaining planets except perhaps the vague reference to the "five mills" in the Rig Veda. The author points to the design of foretelling fortune by the assumed periodicity completed in 108 and 120 years—the maximum duration of human life—known as the *Ashtottariya*, *Uttarottariya* and *Yogini Dasās*, which commence with Ardra and Krittikā Nakshatras. The fact of their heading the list is undoubtedly suspicious, and may tempt one to trace their origin in the Orion and Pleiades periods. But the order of the planets and the periods of time during which they are supposed to mark a man's fortune and specially the inclusion of Rahu, the demon, go against any assumption of a natural event. The order of the planets after which the week-days are named is mystical in origin, probably foreign. We are led by analogy to believe that the connection between the Sun period and Ardra or Krittikā lies beyond the region of profitable speculation. It is certain that the reckoning of weeks and weekdays was not known to the Mahābhārata and Chanakya (4th cent. B. C.) and probably also to the Amara-Kosha. The periods of *Yugas*, based as they are on the Nakshatras, are of Indian origin and certainly appear to be old, older indeed than the introduction of horoscopy with the twelve signs of the zodiac. It is to be further remembered that the Krittikā period continued centuries after it had ceased to be true, just as we are supposed to be in the Asvini period for the last two thousand years.

The discussion about the Yugas is instructive. The word Yuga actually means a couple, and a day and a night in the Arctic region was called a Yuga, in the Rig Veda (X. 72. 9). That Jupiter played the chief part in the later elaboration of the Yugas is admitted by all. Latterly the Yugas meant long astronomical cycles designed to do away with variations in expressing the periods of planetary revolutions.

There is hardly any doubt regarding the era of Yudhishtira, which commenced in 2448 B. C., and the writer of this review collected all the available evidence for a paper on the date of the Mahābhārata, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of India, Calcutta. But the hundred years cycle of the Saptarshi or Great Bear in which the date is expressed in some astronomical works and Puranas is a stumbling block in the way of complete acceptance. Our author maintains that the principal stars of the Nakshatras have been arranged according to their places in Right Ascension. The suggestion is new and we wish the author had established its validity. The fact that the longitudes of the stars were measured with reference to the declination circles instead of the latitudinal, and the fact that the tropical year was in use in early times instead of the sidereal as at present, however, points in favour of the suggestion.

The reader should not, however, imagine that the author is exceptionally prone to speculation and is perhaps influenced by racial bias in estimating the

antiquity of his civilisation. The most valuable part of his researches consists in the determination of the epochs of the ancient astronomers and in testing the accuracy of the constants used by them. He has shown how wonderfully accurate the constants of the sun and the moon were, except the length of the sidereal year for which no explanation is offered. Indeed he writes in the Preface:—"During the course of my researches, I was astonished to find the degree of accuracy with which the ancient Indian astronomers made their observations, and I believe that if the Western scientists had made use of the ancient Brahmanical works for determining some of the astronomical constants instead of the old Greek works, they would have received much valuable help. Unfortunately the general tendency of the majority of the European scholars has been and still is to ignore the ancient Indian civilisation and to attribute to foreign influence every mark thereof, which is brought to light either by study of the ancient Indian works or by archæological researches."

But this was not the attitude of the author at the beginning of his researches. He writes in connection with the *Pitāmaha Siddhanta* of Varāha:—"The rules are very rough and show a primitive knowledge of astronomy. I therefore long continued under the impression that the Hindu Aryans' progress in the science was due to their contact with the ancient Greeks, as is generally supposed by Western scholars. I had, however, to change my opinion, and I am going to explain how this happened." We shall not trouble the reader with the discussion of the verses left unexplained by Dr. Thibaut and M. M. Sudhakar Divedi, the learned editors of *Pancha-siddhantikā*, which led our author to change his opinion. He writes:—"This startling discovery about Vasishtha Siddhanta's epoch proves beyond doubt that the Indo-Aryans were comparatively far advanced in their astronomical science at so remote a period as 1905 B. C., considering the fact that rules are given in the work for calculating the moon's and the planet's (?) positions. The periods of the moon's anomalistic and sidereal revolutions as given in the work are so nearly accurate as to tend to a strong presumption that they were based on some records of the moon's movements of many past centuries. This Siddhanta is the oldest of the available works which gives rules for the determination of the planets' positions." The Siddhanta, however, appears to have been recast. For it measures longitude from Aries, counts Nakshatras from Asvini, and uses the term *rāsi* (sign). But these do not make the original modern. And if this be true we have to reshape our mental glasses, hitherto supplied by Western scholars, at least to view the long vista of Indo-Aryan civilisation as seen through its astronomy.

The author has shown by calculation, making use of the latest European constants and some of the Indian standard works, that though the Indian astronomers depended on naked eye observation with crude instruments, the results obtained by them were by no means as wrong as one might imagine. The positions of the sun and the moon as determined by observation at the moment of their epochs are strikingly correct. Those of us who had the good fortune of witnessing the performance of M. M. Chandrasekhar Sinha will readily admit that even rude instruments are capable of furnishing marvellously accurate results in the hands of experts almost inconceivable

to those who are accustomed to the use of instruments of precision of today. Yet there were errors, rather large in some cases, which shew that even very long intervals of time are not sufficient for determining with accuracy the sidereal motion, of the slow-moving planets or of perihelions. It has been a puzzle with us that the ancient astronomers were apparently satisfied with a sidereal year which was a little too long.

The determination of the epochs of the five works collected in the Pancha-siddhantika and a few others, is extremely interesting. "It is remarkable that Pitamaha Siddhanta was composed in the country of Afghanistan, at some place about $1\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ north and 57 minutes west of Kabul." Varaha's Surya Siddhanta is assigned a date either 129 or 138 A. D. By an examination of the positions of the few stars given in the work the writer of this review inferred the date to have been somewhere about 166 A. D. So we may take it that Varaha's Surya Siddhanta was composed in the 2nd cent. A.D. As to the date of composition of the Pancha-siddhantika there has been much uncertain discussion. Our author is probably right in supposing that the epoch of 505 A. D. (427 Saka) was not his own, but that of Lata-Deva who revised Romaka and Paulisa Siddhantas and that Varaha wrote his work in 570 A. D. This date reconciles his probable death in 587 A. D., and makes it possible for him to criticise Arya Bhāṭṭa's opinion about the rotation of the earth (498 A. D.). For Paulisa Siddhanta our author finds 51 B. C. to suit its elapsed days. It is, however, remarkable that the author of this Siddhanta took his epoch from the birthday anniversary of Sri Ramachandra as mentioned in the Ramayana. It is clear that he was one of his followers. Thus the existing edition of the Ramayana was earlier than the first century B. C. Yet "strange to say, there is not the slightest trace of Rama, nor his brothers nor his devoted wife, Sita, in Amarakosha"!

As we finish reading the book, an impression is left behind that how very little is known of the Indo-Aryan civilisation, and that if it is to be known it must be known through the researches of its inheritors. We are therefore thankful to the author for his valuable contributions in this direction, and wish that he may yet be able to publish a supplementary volume containing the Sanskrit Texts on which he has based his opinions.

J. C. RAY.

Three Books on the Panjab Disorders.

(1). *Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Panjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress. Two Volumes, Rs. 6. Published by Mr. K. Santanam, Barrister-at-Law, Lahore, Secretary to the Commission of Enquiry.*

The first volume, containing 160 pages of print and many illustrations, consists of the Report proper. The second volume contains 946 pages of evidence. These volumes give an account of the cruelties and indignities to which the people of the Panjab were subjected last year. The Commissioners deeply regret and condemn the excesses of the mob. Foreign dominance is in itself a great disgrace, probably the greatest for a people. If further humiliations are necessary to rouse a subject people to a consciousness of the reality of their position, these volumes contain more than enough of most harrowing evidence to awaken all but

the dead. The remedy lies in self-rule, nothing short of it. And in order that our efforts to win self-rule may be unremitting, and in order that one may not fall back into the mood of servile self-complacency and slothful ease, it may be necessary every now and then to read any page of these books at random.

(2) *An Imaginary Rebellion and How it was Suppressed. An Account of the Panjab Disorders and the Working of Martial Law. By Pandit Purnan Mohan, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Lahore. With a Foreword by Lala Lajpat Rai. Price Rs. 6 Cloth, Rs. 7. Pp. 184+691+xxiii+46. Illustrated.*

This is a useful publication. The body of the book consists of three chapters and the conclusion. The first chapter shows how the Panjab, from being considered the most loyal province in India, came to be considered and treated as openly rebellious. The second chapter treats of the so-called rebellion. The third describes the reign of terror before and under martial law. There are six appendices, giving the texts of Martial Law ordinances and other notifications &c., Judgments of Martial Law Commissions, Proceedings in Privy Council, Martial Law and its Applicability, the Indemnity Act and views of some noted Indians thereupon, Panjab Disturbances and the Imperial Legislative Council, and various miscellaneous papers and utterances. There is also a supplement containing a statement showing the sentences passed by the Commissions, together with the orders of Government. The appendices and the supplement bring together materials which are not easily accessible or procurable. These are, as Lala Lajpat Rai says in his foreword, a very valuable part of the book which enhance its value as a book of ready reference.

The Lala writes :—"We were brought up in an atmosphere of 'benevolent despotism' and fed on the idea of British Imperialism being something quite different from other isms of the same character. Our disillusionment began some twenty years ago; but it required an O'Dwyer and a Dyer and a Jallianwala Bagh to complete the process." Not to speak of all Indians, we doubt if even all 'educated' Indians have yet been thoroughly disillusioned, and it is for that reason that we commend all the three books noticed here to the attention of all English-reading Indians. The Lala is right in saying that "Modern Indians had been so well inoculated with the serum of 'benevolent despotism' as to make them forget that it is easier for a leopard to change its spots than for Imperialism to alter its true nature.....The atrocities perpetrated at Amritsar have proved that Imperialism run mad is more dangerous, more destructive, more vindictive, more inhuman, than a frenzied uncontrollable mob. When a mob gets out of hand, it does things pretty bad and cruel; but its destructiveness is born of passion and is not deliberately planned and thought out. Imperialism, on the other hand, represented by the O'Dwyers, Dyers, O'Brien, Bosworth Smiths, Johnsons, Dovetons and others, takes revenge with a deliberate aim. It plans out with a fixed purpose, and carries out those plans in a spirit of military vindictiveness."

Lala Lajpat Rai is right in holding that the very fact that the Panjab has profusely shed its blood in the expansion and protection of British dominions all the world over and has given its best in developing

British colonies and British possessions, is the reason why it has received most cruel and bitter treatment. Its usefulness to the British Empire "has been the reason why the Imperial bureaucracy has considered it necessary to deny to this province the benefits of education and industrial development to the extent to which they have been fostered in other provinces. The Panjab peasantry has been deliberately kept in ignorance; because of its being the chief recruiting source of the Indian army and the military police." British Imperialism has taken advantage of "the manly spirit" (to borrow an expression used by the Marquess of Hastings in his *Private Journal*, p. 199) of the Panjab peasantry and, having thought it lucky that "it is a spirit unsustained by scope of mind" (*Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, p. 199), has hitherto tried not to allow the mind of the peasantry to have any scope.

(3) *Amritsar and our Duty to India*. By B. G. Horniman. With Four Illustrations. T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London. Adelphi Terrace. Pp. 196.

This book is written in Mr. Horniman's usually vigorous and clear style, and gives an idea of the enormity of the crimes committed in the Panjab. The author does not indulge in merely destructive criticism. He says how such things can be made impossible in the future. In it he treats of India's sacrifices and sufferings in the war, the war loan and recruiting methods, political repression, the gloom of 1919, the origin of the Rowlatt legislation, the "Black Bills" and the peaceful agitation due to it. He next describes Amritsar, the Amritsar massacre and the atrocities perpetrated at Lahore, Gujranwala and Kasur. He then proceeds to discuss whether martial law was justified. This is followed by the story of the "Dyerarchy" in Amritsar, the savagery and calculated brutality of Frank Johnson, of the bombing and machine-gunning of unarmed and harmless crowds, and the devilry of O'Brien, Doveton and Bosworth Smith. He concludes by pointing out the responsibility of the Panjab Government and its officials, of Lord Chelmsford and the Government of India and of the Secretary of State, and finally the responsibility of the British people and their duty in this matter to the people of India. Mr. Horniman makes it quite plain that the only assurance of Britain's connection with India "lies in the full recognition of India's right to responsible government now, and without equivocation; for nothing is more certain than that the road to infinite trouble in India and ultimate separation lies along the tedious way of half-hearted reforms and the claim to determine for India from time to time what she is entitled to determine for herself—the sort of government under which she is to live. Let those who can be moved by the knowledge of what India has been made to suffer, at the hands of persons wielding power in their name, ponder whether in the light of that knowledge, they can still acquiesce in the denial to her people of that full freedom which they have fought, not only to win for the oppressed peoples of Europe, but to preserve for England herself."

R. C.

1. *INDIAN FINANCE AND BANKING*, by G. Findlay Shirras, Director of Statistics with the Government of India. MacMillan & Co. Price 18s. net.

Since the publication in England of Mr. Keynes's

standard work on Indian Finance, Currency and Banking early in 1913, quite a host of publications bearing on the subject, all more or less on the lines of Mr. Keynes's book, have appeared in India. These publications have been useful in making the Indian public familiar with the knotty problems of Indian Finance and Currency. The book under review, however, stands out head and shoulders above them as a work of sterling merit, not simply because it is written by a close student of the subject and one whose official duties bring him almost into daily contact with the problems discussed, but because the outlook of the writer is often original and the discussions are neither rapid nor confined to beaten tracks. There are a number of especially valuable and interesting chapters on the working of the Indian Financial machine in time of war, and this complicated subject has been handled with a masterly skill and simplicity that reminds one of the author's great countryman, Adam Smith. The book bristles with statistical tables, but they seem nowhere to be out of place and the author's experiences as a trained statistician enables him to illuminate ordinarily dry as dust figures with a light which brings them within the comprehension of even the most casual reader.

There are two dominant currency schools in India to-day, one advocating the gold exchange standard and the other the gold standard proper. The former, to which the author belongs, regards a gold standard without a gold currency as the best practicable form of currency, not only for India but for other countries as well. Silver and notes (and cheques) in internal circulation and gold in reserve to meet foreign obligations—that is in brief the view of this school. Though of comparatively recent growth, it can claim the great authority of the great Ricardo in support of its views. The latter school, consisting mainly of Indians, regards a gold currency as the *sine qua non* of a gold standard and the other form of currency as suitable only to a dependent country. It points to the practice of the civilised world and to the opinions of the majority of economists as justification for its belief. Both these schools have the welfare of India at heart, but their outlook is so different that there is no likelihood of their appreciating each other's point of view. The non-comprehension of this simple fact has resulted in much arid controversy about the relative merits of the two forms of currency. Gold exchange standard may be "cheap, automatic and stable," but there can be no doubt that in times of emergency, as the war has shown, it requires a good deal of *ad hoc* legislation to prop it up; and, in the words of a government despatch, it makes the position of the government of India "resemble that of an army exposed to sudden attack on either flanks," as "provision must be made for a drain upon the silver no less than on the gold reserves." The necessity for maintaining two distinct reserves—one a gold reserve, mainly in London, and the other a silver reserve, mainly in India—and the innumerable difficulties connected with their manipulation would largely vanish if India had a gold currency like other countries. A single central gold reserve in India would, in that case, meet all requirements of the country—the demands for the encashment of the Secretary of States' Council Drafts in years of favourable balance of trade and the Home Charges as well as Indian importers' demand for gold in years of adverse balance.

Like many of his countrymen, the author looks with deep apprehension upon the large absorption of precious metals by India year after year. We do not believe that precious metals as such increase a country's wealth, but it is difficult to understand Europe's jealousy of India in this matter—even when there is no dearth of precious metals and European countries have accumulated reserves far beyond their immediate requirements. From time immemorial the balance of trade has been in India's favour and foreigners have generally found it convenient to redeem their trade indebtedness to India by exporting precious metals. Thus it has ever been the fate of India to be contemptuously but *unfairly* described as the 'sink' of precious metals. The Babington Smith Currency Committee has, however, just shown that, considering her vast population, normally the absorption of precious metals by India is not larger than that by the more enlightened countries of the west. This jealousy of foreign financial interests, together with the fear of stringency in the world's central money market, lies at the bottom of the measures adopted by the Secretary of State from time to time to prevent gold from freely flowing into India. The restrictive legislation of the Government of India during the war had the same end in view. But all such measures have the very undesirable effect of flooding the country with token rupees, raising prices all round. It is much more to the interest of India that she should be allowed to import freely precious metals—only a small portion of which passes into active circulation and cannot therefore raise prices to the same extent as rupees paid out with a liberal hand from the reserves. The author admits that there has been inflation of currency in recent years.

The book is courteously dedicated to the Calcutta University, with which the author is indirectly connected. But evidently he does not believe in doing things by halves. So Sir Asutosh Mookerjee comes in for a share of the honour too. In spite of numerous references in foot-notes, a bibliography at the end would have been a useful addition to the book.

II. IS INDIA LIKELY TO BE HAPPY BY THE PRESENT RATE OF EXCHANGE? By *Surajmal Lallubhai, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.*

Unlike the great majority of the businessmen of Bombay, the author believes that India will be greatly benefited by a high rate of exchange and the fixing of the rupee at two shillings, as it will check the export of raw materials and food-stuffs which now impoverishes the country; and he thinks that the present agitation of the merchants against it is the outcome of selfish and interested motives. "The people of India will be greatly benefited by this rate, and will grow steadily in vitality, longevity, and thus ultimately in general happiness. Plague, influenza and such other havoc-making diseases will be a talk of the past, and not only so much but the fiend of famine will no longer molest this country." If a change in the rate of exchange can bring us in sight of this millennium, it is certainly well worth a trial. We are prepared to believe that the two shillings rate will, in the long run, do more good than harm to the country at large, though it may cause a temporary set-back to the export trade.

• III. ECONOMIC SITUATION AND ITS RELATION TO LABOUR PROBLEM—*A few suggestions; by G. N. Bullappa, M. I. C. (London), Merchant, Bangalore City, S. India.*

In this small pamphlet the writer—himself a businessman of long standing and large employer of labour—gives out as his considered opinion, with which many will be found to concur, that the present great rise in prices of commodities, by which the poor and middle class people have been so adversely affected, is the direct result of profiteering and cornering by manufacturers and businessmen, and that the Government should step in, as in England and elsewhere, to regulate prices and profits in the interest of the masses. He would have Government control all along the line—from the regulation of profits made by the small village shop-keeper or retail trader, to those earned by the big manufacturer or trading or banking corporation. But such drastic control, even if practicable, would be hardly desirable, as it would most probably discourage the investment of capital in business—human nature being what it is—and diminish the national dividend. But a certain amount of control over the pernicious activities of profiteers is clearly a desideratum. The measures hitherto adopted to attain this object have been so superficial and haphazard that they have left the root of the evil untouched. The writer also proposes a system of graduated taxation which will give relief to the poorer classes and lighten the burden of their existence. The experience of other countries leads us to believe that the best way to release the agricultural classes from the clutches of middlemen and mohajans is to start agricultural associations and co-operative societies among them. But their success cannot be ensured without a certain medium of education, which is at present lacking. For the benefit of the wage earners, especially factory hands, the welfare measures which characterise the business enterprises of the best class of employers in Europe and America today, such as the construction of sanitary dwellings for the employees, payment of a living wage or bonus on the annual profits, fewer hours of work, the opening of co-operative stores and of night-schools, libraries, clubs, etc., for the instruction as well as amusement of the workers, might be tried with advantage if local conditions were suitable. **ECONOMICUS.**

The Philosophy of Plotinus.*

The above is the heading of a series of lectures delivered (1917-1918) by William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's at St. Andrews in connection with the Gifford endowments. These are the latest lectures of the series that we know of. It is not a little surprising that a dean has undertaken to write on Plotinus as the Philosopher of neoplatonism is not a *persona grata* with Christian theologians. It is rather unpleasant for them to acknowledge debts from a pagan source for a religion which they take to be of divine origin. Therefore the study of Plotinus has all along been neglected. But willingly or unwillingly it must be admitted that Christian philosophy freely borrowed from neoplatonism, and neoplatonic ecstasies and emanations form a part of the vital structure of Christianity which cannot be torn away without violence to the whole edifice. However, it has been a difficult performance for scholars too to give any lucid exposition of the author of *Enneads*. None has ever attempted without being challenged the hapless task of elucidating a system of philosophy—the culmination of 700 years' free speculation which according to Dean Inge, is "the longest period of unimpeded thinking the human race has yet been permitted to enjoy." Of course, darkness

has here been his light as he has ignored the whole history and development of Hindu thought and culture. But how does Plotinus himself describe his Absolute One, the central point of his system? "It is in truth," says he, "unspeakable, for if you say anything of it you make it a particular thing. Now that which is beyond everything, even beyond the most venerable of all things, the Intelligence, and which is the only truth in all things, cannot be regarded as one of them: nor can we give it a name or predicate. Thus that which is absolutely simple and self-sufficient needs nothing whatever." From this and similar other sayings we, in the words of Prof. Caird, can, as a rough estimate of the Plotinian Philosophy, conclude that the Absolute One decisively repels the many and cannot in any way admit difference or multiplicity into itself. Its unity, therefore, must be conceived not as immanent but as transcendent. And if it be still connected with the determinate and manifold, it must be only as its external cause or source, and not as a principle which manifests itself therein. So, in the Plotinian scheme of existence, we have got at the one extreme the bare unity and at the other bare difference. How to connect the two? That is the question of questions—the problem of all philosophy even today. Plotinus has his threefold mediation to bridge over the void created by his abstractions. In order to avoid the contamination the Absolute One is not placed just by the side of the world. As in our Vaishnavic scheme from Vasudeva comes Sankarshan, from Sankarshan Pradyumna, from Pradyumna Aniruddha, so from the Plotinian One emanates Intelligence. Inge calls this the Great Spirit. Eckhart calls this simply Thought. From Intelligence comes out the world soul, and this world soul (the *Giranyagarbha* of the Hindu Cosmogony) imposes forms on the matter and we get the sensuous world. This is just how we explain or explain away the differences of individual lives by the doctrine of a previous birth, and the difference of the latter by still more previous ones, thereby throwing ourselves into the stream of eternal regress. But does this remove the difficulty, the fallacy being inherent in any such system of abstract thinking, that dogmatically begins by separating the inseparable aspects of existence? At a moment when the Christian gains at the expense of the logician and metaphysician, Dean Inge, a Christian theologian in every fibre of his being, naively suggests that the difficulty can be avoided by the Christian doctrine of incarnation. Is not the Christian doctrine itself vitiated by the same fallacy? This is what in ordinary parlance we call putting the car before the horse. Instead of untying the knot, Dean Inge has cut it. He begs the whole question when he says, "the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation puts the keystone in the arch. It is not derogatory to the Divine Principle, nor injurious to it, to mingle in the affairs of a sinful and suffering world." For Dean Inge, the Greek scholar, I have every respect, but to Dean Inge, the Christian Theologian, I have a question to put. What is the Christian doctrine of incarnation? Man by some wilful act has thoroughly alienated himself from God. How can God mingle in the affairs of the world without being contaminated according to the doctrine of Original Sin? How "God reveals himself as a suffering Redeemer" as Dean Inge urges us to believe, unless the breach is somehow healed? If God has actually revealed Himself to man, then there is no real separation between them. So

the Christian scheme of salvation is needless. If there is real separation, neither man nor God can bring about the reconciliation. A mediator, the God-man or Man God, would be required for the purpose. But the problem is how to effect the reconciliation of God and man in the mediator himself without on the one hand committing the fallacy of eternal regress or without on the other falling back upon a Superior Principle that goes both beyond God and Man. If the latter alternative is accepted with its necessary corollary,—the principle of the unity of the divine and the human—the need of a mediator is wholly dispensed with. We need not burn incense at the altar of this lower deity, we should worship this highest Principle, and Christian mystics are not wanting in courage to declare the needlessness of a Christ. If this is true, a Christianity with its doctrine of trinity will be relegated to the status of mythology—more mythical than our Puranas. The power that reconciles God and Man in the mediator can do so in you or me as well. Christianity cannot avoid the dilemma. Moreover, to invoke the aid of the doctrine of Incarnation for the solution of Plotinian problem is a travesty of history. It is the incorporation of the Plotinian doctrines into the body of Christianity, a curious amalgam of Egyptian symbolism, Hebraic mysteries, Gnostic faiths, Neoplatonic emanators and Roman jurisprudence that has made the latter a worse form of dualism. Now to introduce it as the solution of the difficulty of the philosophy of Plotinus, to say the least of it, is to argue in a circle. And you cannot avoid the circle unless the original dualism, I am almost tempted to say, the original sin, is given up altogether. Instead of thinking the Man and the World as aliens to God, they should be taken as essential factors in the being of the Absolute. The One should be conceived not only as the fountain from which all being springs but also the reality into which all other existence is taken up and absorbed. Or to speak more positively, the Man and the World are factors in which the Absolute One realises itself. But we find no such indications in Dean Inge's discourses which we expected from a Gifford Lecturer. Instead of systematising the rich and varied materials he labouriously collected into an organic whole with its merits and demerits pointed out which is philosophy properly so called, he has given us an exposition of Plotinian doctrines with comments sometimes illuminating in the line of Maxmüller's Hibbert lectures on the Vedic religion. Our disappointment is all the more bitter as Dean Inge's scholarship in Greek literature is above the ordinary. I take courage in both hands to observe that the lecturer has failed to clearly set forth the problem of Plotinian philosophy. What a poor show by the side of Cano's masterly treatment, in a previous course of Gifford Lectures, of the subject, in his *Evolution of Theology in Greek Philosophies*.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOUDHURI.

I. THE NEW INDIA : A SIMPLE EXPLANATION OF THE REFORMS. By Sir Narayan Chandra-varkar, Kt. Oxford University Press. Price twelve annas. 1920.

In this little book of 58 pages the author explains the leading features of the reforms in simple style, in order to make them easily intelligible to the ordinary reader. He lays stress on the necessity of gradual stages in the

progress towards complete self-government and urges upon the electors to exercise their right to vote and vote only for men of character. There is some suppression of plain and obtruding facts which are not pleasant to hear, the obvious attempt being to place the reforms in the best possible light, but there is something in the distinguished author's plea that no one can really govern who cannot afford to be unpopular. In the field of pure politics, where the foreign bureaucracy is still all-powerful, it still requires greater strength of character to espouse the popular cause than to oppose it. But in regard to that side of politics which is intimately associated with social and moral questions, popularity can only be won by our public men, at the present stage of India's progress, by sacrificing their conscience in many cases, and the future Indian legislators and Ministers would do well to remember that it is not their duty only to follow but to lead public opinion as well, otherwise the national character will never be built up. Even in politics, it is necessary to know the other side of a question in order to attain a complete mastery over it.

II. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN ON BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. *Price 10 cents.*

Within the brief compass of a single newspaper article, the former Secretary of State of the United States has laid his finger on the darkest spots of British rule in India. To him the men and women of India appeared to be like 'walking shadows', so poor and emaciated were they, and the following lines from the concluding portion of the article will show how deeply he feels for India :

"Let no one cite India as an argument in defence of colonialism. On the Ganges and the Indus the Briton, in spite of his many noble qualities and his large contributions to the world's advancement, has demonstrated, as many have before, man's inability to exercise with wisdom and justice, irresponsible power over helpless people. He has conferred some benefits upon India, but he has extorted a tremendous price for them."

III. THE FAILURE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA : by Joseph I. France.

Mr. France is the U. S. Senator from Maryland. In education, culture and social and political influence the senators of the United States are said to be far superior, as a class, to members of the lower House of Representatives. The various extracts and quotations in this leaflet go to prove the wide extent of Mr. France's political information. The speech from which this leaflet has been compiled and published by the 'Friends of Freedom for India' (7 East 15th Street, New York) was delivered in the Senate on October 14, 1919. Here is an extract :

"Bourbonism never yields. It must be broken, crushed beneath the tires of time and progress. And so, at the conclusion of this war, when the millions of India, whose sons had fought for England and for us on the strength of our promises of self-determination and freedom for all peoples, demanded that right of self-determination, the infamous Rowlatt Act was passed. Unarmed, they undertook a passive resistance. Thus did England answer their plea for self-determination, which she and we had promised would be the fruit of this war...England has failed in India, failed in Egypt, failed in all of Africa."

IV. THE FRIENDS OF INDIA, by F. R. Scatterd. *Reprinted from the Asiatic Review (More Truths about India Series). East India Association, London. Price sixpence net.*

In this paper Miss Scatterd criticises some of the political pronouncements of Mr. Hyndman, Mrs. Annie Besant and others, and writes as only violent partisans of British rule can write. From the way in which Mrs. Basant has been handled we are reminded of the psychological truth that a woman's bitterest enemies belong to her own sex. Though Miss Scatterd seeks to strengthen her position by copious extracts from Dr. T. M. Nair, a mere man would shrink from the attempt to tear Mrs. Besant's reputation to pieces in the way the writer has done. On the cover are printed the names of numerous Higenesses and Indian Knights with a mere sprinkling of commoners. They constitute the office bearers of the East India Association. It is only in this unfortunate land that it is possible for funds raised from the people to be appropriated to clubs, parks and other places of recreation from which Indians are all but excluded and for Indian Princes to patronise institutions maintained to systematically cry down Indian aspirations. But we forget that it is the high privilege of the 'loyal' dog to lick the hand that whips it, and India is famous for loyalty of that sort.

V. REPORT OF THE NON-OFFICIAL COMMISSION ON THE CALCUTTA DISTURBANCES, 1919. *Published by the authority of the Council of the Bangiya Jana Sabha, 19, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta. 1919.*

In this well printed pamphlet of nearly 100 pages the report of the people's commission has been published. The commission was representative of all sects and religions, Mr. L. P. Pugh representing the European community. The Report was an object-lesson in self-help and the Government ought to be thankful for a profit by the numerous excellent suggestions it contains.

VI. THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF V. K. MADHAVA RAO, ESQ. C.I.E., *At the first Karmataka Conference, Dharwar (12th May, 1920).*

VII. THE PANJAB TRAGEDY : *Being a collection of...*

tion of letters contributed to the Press, by Ruchi Ram Sahni, M. A., formerly Professor of Chemistry, Government College, Lahore. The "Tribune" Press, Lahore. Two annas.

VIII. SEARCHING QUESTIONS UPON MARTIAL LAW IN THE PANJAB.—By the Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya.

This is a reprint of 92 questions put by the Hon'ble Pandit in the Imperial Council. The United India has done well to reprint them in book form. We do not know if all of them have been answered. The answers should have been printed with the questions. The questions, however, are a revelation in themselves.

X.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Izzat" on Hindu Lecturers in America.

In your issue of April last Izzat has made a rather dubious statement regarding Indians in America—specially those who lecture on Indian topics. He attacks a Columbia graduate who lectured to the Modern Club by quoting a

badly garbled press-notice. Any one slightly kinder than he would not have used such an atrociously inaccurate press-report. Please print this so that Izzat can give us more accurate data about people he attacks.

New York, U. S. A.
May 31, 1920.

EXILE.

THE POET OF MY DREAMS

Things I have wished have come as if by magic,
Dreams I have cherished, hopes I dared not
name,
Out of dispensing time's unfathomed treasure
Stirred forth and fluttered to my beckoning;
Birdlike they settled on my tree of wishing,
Finding their nest in my supreme content.

I dreamed of friends, and those more dear
than sunlight,
As tender and as faithful as the moon,
Rose on my path and circled it with gladness;
And foreign lands of visioned light and romance
Unfolded to my wandering where the shadows
Held purple memories of days gone by.

Wistful I searched the endless files of masters
Thronging the ages for the poet of my dreams,
And as I studied, diviner singer
Came out of time and took his place beside me,
Voicing in my ear my heart's deepest yearning,
Freeing my soul with wings of fearlessness.

The ancients sought the precious stone of
magic;
Vain was their seeking, but to-day I have it.
Earth, you are that bright gem of alchemy;
For here with you my cherished dreams come
true;
Things I have wished, my head upon your bosom,
Throng to my side like the summoning of a
king.

What shall I wish for agian? O Liberty,
Vainly shall I desire a crown for you?
Let future ages witness I invoke it,
Let future ages place it on your brow!
I am content to wish it and record it
With my desires won, my dreams fulfilled.

MAYCE SEYMOUR.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

"The Sense of the Gita's Yoga."

Of the sense of the Gita's Yoga, *Sri Aurobindo Ghose* writes in the *May Arya* :—

To break out of ego and personal mind and see in the wideness of the self and spirit, to know in all his aspects and adore the whole Divine, to surrender all oneself to the transcendent Soul of nature and existence, to possess and to be possessed by the divine consciousness, to be one with the One in love and delight and universality, one in him with all beings, to do works as an adoration and a sacrifice on the divine foundation of a world in which all is God and in the divine status of a liberated spirit, is the sense of the Gita's Yoga. It is a transition to the supreme and real truth of our being and one enters into it by putting off the many limitations of the separative consciousness and the mind's attachment to the passion and unrest and ignorance, the lesser light and knowledge, the sin and virtue, the dual law and standard of the lower nature. Therefore, says the Teacher, "Devoting all thyself to me, giving up in thy conscious mind all thy actions into Me, resorting to Yoga of the will and intelligence be always one in heart and consciousness with Me. If thou art that at all times, then by my grace thou shalt pass safe through all difficult and perilous passages; but if from egoism thou hear not, thou shalt fall into perdition."

The Form and the Spirit of Narrative and Epic Poetry.

In the same issue of *Arya*, *Sri Aurobindo Ghose* observes that

A change in the spirit of poetry must necessarily bring with it a change of its forms, and this departure may be less or greater to the eye, more inward or more outward, but always there must be at least some subtle and profound alteration which, whatever the apparent fidelity to old moulds, is certain to amount in fact to a transmutation, since even the outward character and effect become other than they were and the soul of substance and movement a new thing. The opening of the creative mind into an intuitive and revelatory poetry need not of itself compel a revolution and total breaking up of the old forms and a creation of altogether new moulds: it may, especially where a preparatory labour in that sense has been doing a work of modification and adapta-

tion, be effected for the most part by an opening up of new potentialities in old instruments and a subtle inner change of their character.

Along with other kinds of poetry, the narrative and epic forms of poetry must undergo a transmuting change in their spirit and intention.

Hitherto the poetical narrative has been a simple relation or a vivid picturing or transcript of life and action varied by description of surrounding circumstance and indication of mood and feeling and character or else that with the development of an idea or a mental and moral significance at the basis with the story as its occasion or from of its presentation. The change to a profounder motive will substitute a soul significance as the real substance, the action will not be there for its external surface interest but as a vital indication of the significance, the surrounding circumstance will be only such as helps to point and frame it and bring out its accessory suggestions and mood and feeling and character its internal powers and phases. An intensive narrative, intensive in simplicity or in richness of significant shades, tones and colours, will be the more profound and subtle art of this kind in the future and its appropriate structures determined by the needs of this inner art motive.

As regards the epic the writer says :

The epic is only the narrative presentation on its largest canvas and at its highest elevation, greatness and amplitude of spirit and speech and movement. It is sometimes asserted that the epic is solely proper to primitive ages when the freshness of life made a story of large and simple action of supreme interest to the youthful mind of humanity, the literary epic an artificial prolongation by an intellectual age and a genuine epic poetry no longer possible now or in the future. This is to mistake form and circumstance for the central reality. The epic, a great poetic story of man or world or the gods, need not necessarily be a vigorous presentation of external action; the divinely appointed creation of Rome, the struggle of the principles of good and evil as presented in the great Indian poems, the pageant of the centuries or the journey of the seer through the three worlds beyond us are as fit themes as primitive war and adventure for the imagination of the epic creator. The epics of the soul most inwardly seen as they will be by an intuitive poetry, are his greatest possible subject, and it is this

supreme kind that we shall expect from some profound and mighty voice of the future. His indeed may be the song of greatest flight that will reveal from the highest pinnacle and with the largest field of vision the destiny of the human spirit and the presence and ways and purpose of the Divinity in man and the universe.

Indian Culture.

In the same number of "Arya," Sri Aurobindo Ghose continuing the "Defence of Indian Culture," says, writing of Indian literature and certain hostile criticisms brought against it,

The people and the Civilisation that count among their great works and their great names the Veda and the Upanishads, the mighty structures of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, and Bhartrihari and Jayadeva and the other rich creations of classical Indian drama and poetry and romance, the Dhammapada and the Jatakas, the Panchatantra, Tulsidas, Bidyapati and Chandidas and Ramprasad, Ramdas and Tukaram, Tiruvalluvar and Kamban and the songs of Nanak and Kabir and Mirabai and the southern Shaiva saints and the Alwars,—to name only the best-known. Writers and most characteristic productions, though there is a very large body of other work in the different tongues of both the first and the second excellence,—must surely be counted among the greatest civilisations and the world's most developed and creative peoples. Mental activity so great and of so fine a quality, commencing more than three thousand years ago and still not exhausted, is unique and the best and most undeniable witness to something extraordinarily sound and vital in the culture.

A criticism that ignores or belittles the significance of this unsurpassed record and this splendour of the self-expressing spirit and the creative intelligence, stands convicted at once of a blind malignity or an invincible prejudice and does not merit refutation. It would be a sheer waste of time and energy to review the objections raised by our devil's advocate: for nothing vital to the greatness of a literature is really in dispute and there is only to the credit of the attack a general distortion and denunciation and a laborious and exaggerated cavilling at details and idiosyncracies which at most show a difference between the idealising mind and abundant imagination of India and the more realistically observant mind and less rich and exuberant imagination of Europe. The fit parallel to this motive and style of criticism would be if an Indian critic who had read European literature only in bad or ineffective Indian translations, were to pass it under a hostile and disparaging review,

dismiss the Iliad as a crude and empty semi-savage and primitive epos, Dante's great work as the nightmare of a cruel and superstitious religious fantasy, Shakespeare as a drunken barbarian of considerable genius with an epileptic imagination, the whole drama of Greece and Spain and England as a mass of bad ethics and violent horrors, French poetry as a succession of bald or tawdry rhetorical exercises and French fiction as a tainted and immoral thing, a long sacrifice on the altar of the goddess Lubricity, admit here and there a minor merit, but make no attempt at all to understand the central spirit or aesthetic quality or principle of structure and conclude on the strength of his own absurd method that the ideals of both Pagan and Christian Europe were altogether false and bad and its imagination afflicted with a "habitual and ancestral" earthiness, morbidity, poverty and disorder. No criticism would be worth making on such a mass of absurdities, and in this equally ridiculous philippic only a stray observation or two, less inconsequent and opaque than the others, perhaps demands a passing notice. But although these futilities do not at all represent the genuine view of the general European mind on the subject of Indian poetry and literature, still one finds a frequent inability to appreciate the spirit or the form or the aesthetic value of Indian writing and especially its perfection and power as an expression of the cultural mind of the people.

Utilising the Power of the Tides.

According to the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*, utilising the power of the tides is another of the engineer's dreams of the past that appears likely to come true in the near future.

At the present time there are two distinct schemes before the public, one of which at least is in a fair way of realisation.

One scheme that has been outlined by a private inventor, who has, we understand, shown its feasibility up to a certain point, provides for barges, or rafts, or something similar, being moored in the tide way, with water turbines held on, in or under the vessel in such a manner that the in-flowing and out-flowing tide can pass through the turbines, and furnish power to be used in driving electric generators.

In the other method, which is to have practical application, we understand, in the Bay of Fundy, advantage is to be taken of two rivers running into the same estuary. Dams will close in both rivers, at their mouths, and a dam is to be provided connecting the reservoirs formed by the main dams in each river. The flow of water through sluice gates in the dams will be made to drive turbines coupled to

generators, that will transmit the current to accumulators, or to be directly used for power or lighting. The changes are to be run upon the use of the two river reservoirs. One of them is to form a high level basin, the water flowing into it, and out of it, furnishing the major portion of the power; the other river is to form the low level basin, and is to receive a certain quantity of water from the high level basin, the flow of water from one basin to the other furnishing power; and water is to flow from the low level basin into the main estuary, again furnishing power. In this particular scheme, the power station is to be fixed on an auxiliary dam, and the top of the dam is to be used as a roadway, electric trams being run over it, but provision being made by locks, in the usual way for ships going up into the river forming the high level basin, and coming out of it again.

India is sea-girt on three sides, and has many tidal rivers; but how many Indians are there who think of utilising the power of the tides?

Japanese Trade in India.

The *Mysore Economic Journal* reproduces the appendix to the Report of the Committee on Imperial Preference, in which we read,

The most remarkable and significant feature of India's import trade during the war has been the prodigious expansion in imports from Japan. The imports have almost doubled in value each year since 1914-15, and the total value during the year 1918-19 was almost eight times that of 1914-15.

Japan now occupies the second place in India's import and export trade. Her shipments to India in 1918-19 amounted to over 22,000,000%, as compared with 51,000,000%, from the United Kingdom during the same period. In 1913-14 the corresponding values were 3,000,000%, and 78,000,000%.

How were such results achieved? The principal Japanese overseas banks opened branches in Calcutta and Bombay. Direct lines of steamers were inaugurated between Japan, India and all parts of the world. Prominent Japanese export and import houses opened branches in Calcutta and Bombay and were followed by a number of smaller firms. Numerous commercial missions were despatched to India. Commercial travellers and inquiry agents came over in large numbers, and are still active throughout India studying

bazaar requirements and the productions of competitors, and arranging to match well-known United Kingdom qualities.

Meanwhile, every importing merchant in India is flooded with price lists, catalogues, market reports, and offers from exporters in Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama and Tokio. Japanese retail stores are now noticeable in every fair-sized town in India, and individual Japanese are to be found in the most remote parts of India. The extension of Japanese activity may be measured to some extent by the fact that the last Census returns show that in 1911 there were only 32 male Japanese in the country. Their number to-day must considerably exceed 2,000.

This is not all.

Not only are Japanese goods entering the country in large quantities, but Japanese merchant houses are taking up a prominent position as general distributors of imports from all over the world, and as shippers of Indian produce. For instance, during the past two years, two Japanese firms have headed the list of importers of cotton piecegoods into Calcutta; and, although the bulk of these goods were made in Japan, the imports from Manchester of one of the firms have been on a considerable scale. In exports, also, Japanese merchants are invading the trade in each article and are shipping Indian produce all over the world. In fact, during recent months, one firm has been among the first five leading shippers, and four others are shipping large quantities of hessian cloth and gunny bags, Calcutta's staple trade. In the industrial sphere, Japan has been active. Ginning and pressing plants have been acquired in the cotton districts. Efforts have been made to secure jute mills on the Hooghly, but, so far without success. There is ample evidence to show that Japan is very much alive to the prospects of industrial expansion in the country.

The British lion has been bearded in his own foreign den.

It is in Great Britain's staple trade with India, viz., cotton yarns and piecegoods, that the most serious inroads have been made, and that Japanese competition in the future is likely to be most permanent and insistent. In the last year, ending 31st March, 1919, the relative proportions of the quantitative imports from the two main sources of supply were as follows:—

Imports.	From the United Kingdom. Percentage.	From Japan. Percentage.
Cotton yarns	25.2	71.6
Cotton piecegoods—		
Unbleached	64.3	35.5
Bleached	95.9	3.7
Coloured, printed or dyed	88.5	9.2

Japanese yarn imports into India during that year were valued at 3,553,000*l.* and piecegoods at 7,097,000*l.*, as compared with 82,000*l.* and 192,000*l.* in 1914-15, showing an increase of no less than 4,200 and 3,600 per cent respectively.

It is not only the increased quantities, but the wider range of articles shipped, which is important. The entry of Japanese bleached, dyed, printed and coloured woven goods into the market on a fair scale is an earnest of the competition which may be felt in later years when the extensions to the machinery and plant in Japan, now either planned or in execution, become operative.

We shall make one other extract from the Appendix the whole of which should be carefully read by all Indian merchants and industrialists.

The leading Japanese merchant firms in India are large houses, with ample financial resources and good connections throughout the world. There is not a British merchant house in India with the financial backing, Political influence, or elaborate organization possessed by the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, which has a paid-up capital of 8,000,000*l.*, branches all over the world, and such close connections with Government, banking, shipping and industrial institutions in Japan that it may almost be said to be a quasi-official organization. Other Japanese houses in India, though smaller, are still extremely powerful firms, well known throughout the Far East, but apparently not appreciated in this country, because they are only recently established here.

If it were India's destiny to be forever exploited by foreigners, which we do not believe it is, it would not matter whether Britain or Japan or some other country exploited her. But as our country is not devoid of any kind of resource, material or immaterial, we should not simply look on and see others enriched and ourselves impoverished.

Animal Sacrifices.

The "festive" periodical or daily animal sacrifices in India are to us an abomination. We agree in holding with the *Indian Humanitarian* that

Dreadful orgies such as these, referring to the annual festival of Mahalakshmi at Ellore when about 10000 animals are killed in a day, can cease to be practised only when the conscience of the whole community is roused, through the permeation of humane ideas and true education,

to the full sense of the utter degradation involved in these horribly cruel customs.

Bamboo Paper Pulp.

Owing to the very high prices and scarcity of paper, paper manufacturers have been busy finding out new sources of pulp. Of these bamboo seems to be the most promising. *Commerce* quotes from a letter in the *Times* written by

Mr. William Schlich who says that about the year 1883 when he was Inspector-General of Forests, the Government of India sent a quantity of bamboos home, of which Messrs. Routledge and Company prepared excellent paper; a sample of which Mr. Schlich used for letters. At that time, however, the cost of production was so high that the manufacture did not pay. Now the process has been so much improved that two British firms are erecting machinery in Burma for the manufacture of paper from bamboo. The raw material, according to Mr. Schlich, is so plentiful that the whole world could be supplied with bamboo paper. He writes: "When I examined the ironwood forests of Arakan in 1869, I passed through a bamboo forest covering 18,000 square miles, the shoots standing so close together that it was impossible to pass through without cutting a passage. And the beauty of it is that new shoots spring up and reach their full height in one season as fast as the previous shoots are cut. The Government of India would, I feel sure, welcome as many firms as are willing to start factories."

But will these be Indian firms? *Commerce* also tells us:

Mr. William Raitt, the Cellulose Expert to the Government of India, who has had many years' experience of paper-making in India, has for several years been surveying, on behalf of the Government, areas from which suitable raw material could be obtained and examining the practical difficulties in the way of manufacturing pulp. Mr. Raitt is now in England in connection with the manufacture of a plant for the production of pulp and paper. This plant will be installed at the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, the Forest Economist of which has for some time past been engaged on the sylvicultural aspect of the problem. The economist recently visited North America with a view to find out the most modern machinery. The plant will be utilised in obtaining the most reliable data as to the most suitable materials for and the methods of manufacturing pulp. Bamboo and other raw materials will be exhaustively experimented with.

The Ancient Tamil Dame.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar writes :—

It is interesting to note that in those ancient days, the martial spirit animated not only the men, but also the women of the land. At a time of war, the women-folk urged their male relations to march to battle, resolved to win or die like heroes. The wife rejoiced to see her husband display his valour, and the mother to see her son show his bravery, in war; and neither was troubled by the thought of any possible danger to the life of her hero. They regarded a dastard in war with contempt, and death on the field of battle was regarded as glorious. Some of the lyrics of *Pura-Nanuru* vividly depict this significant trait in the character of the ancient Tamil dame; and of one of those lyrics, sung by *Kakkai Padiniyar*, a well-known poet of the Third Sangam, I have attempted to give below an English echo :—

The dame of ancient age, with shrunken veins,
And loosely hanging tissues, heard her son
Had from the battle turned in fear and fled.
In towering rage she vowed, if that be so,
She would for very shame cut off her breasts
That gave the despicable coward suck.
She snatched a sword, swept with impetuous

speed

Into the gory battle-field, and searched
The heaps of warriors slain; when lo! she found
Stretched on the field of glory, cut in twain,
Her valiant son. Then swelled, indeed, with pride
The mother's heart, which was with gladness

filled,

Intenser far than when she gave him birth.

India in American Journalism.

In the "World of Culture" section of the *Collegian* we read :

The economic, social, educational and Political events of India as well as the movements amongst Indian women and working classes are occupying much space in the columns not only of the newspapers of big cities like New York, Chicago and San Francisco; but the dailies, weeklies, and monthlies of second grade towns in the *mofussil*, for instance, the *Knoxville Sentinel* of Tennessee, the *Butte Daily Bulletin* of Montana, the *Organized Farmer* of Minnesota, the *Industrial Union News* of Michigan, the *Milwaukee Leader* of Wisconsin, the *New Mexican* of New Mexico, and dozens of other papers in the north, south, east and west of the American continent have also been making use of the information furnished every week by the "India News Service" of New York City. In addition, about twenty-five journals are served by the Federated Press Association with "news stories" from the same source.

Indian Contributions to Recent Physics.

The same periodical informs its readers that—

The vibrations of elastic shells partly filled with liquid form the subject of a paper in the *Physical Review* of American Physical Society (March 1919) by Sudhansu Kumar Banerji, whose study of aerial waves generated by impact appeared in *Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science* (London) for July 1916 and January 1918. T. K. Chinmayanandam's investigation on the diffraction of light by an obliquely held cylinder carried out in the laboratory of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta, was printed in the *Physical Review* for October 1918, which in its issue of January 1919 contained an article on the theory of superposed diffraction fringes by Chandi Prasad of Benares.

Besides publishing the contributions of Ganesh Prasad, D. N. Mallick and C. V. Raman, the *Philosophical Magazine* has "The Scattering of Particles by Gases" by R. R. Sahni of Lahore (June 1915 and March 1917), Meghnad Saha's "Maxwell's Stresses" (March 1917), N. R. Sen's "Potentials of Uniform and Heterogeneous Elliptic Cylinders at an external point" (October 1919), and a note on the equivalent shell of a circular current by Satyendra Ray of Lucknow (January 1920). Meghnad Saha's contributions on the limit of interference in the Fabry-Perot Interferometer and on the mechanical and electrodynamic properties of the electron, have been published in the *Physical Review* (December 1917, and January and March 1919).

The Success of Hindus in America in Business, Industries and the Professions.

A writer in the *Collegian* gives brief accounts of the achievements of more than a dozen Hindus who have made good in business, industries, and the professions in America. America's technical experts have found Indian youths competent enough to apply their scientific knowledge in the field of production. Indian capitalists at home should not be over-cautious in giving a chance to Indian young men who have received practical training and experience in Great Britain, America, France, Germany, etc.

Among the persons named are Ram Kumar Khemka (of Bikaner) in practical trade, Sarangadhar Das and V. P. Iyer in sugar

manufacture ; S. R. Bakshi (chief assistant draftsman in a railway corporation at Chicago) ; Makund Lal Pathak (a tool designer in electrical engineering line in a factory at Detroit) ; P. N. Mathur (chief metallurgist in a Detroit factory) ; S. G. Gandhekar, water analyst at Detroit ; Anant Mahadeo Gurjar, agricultural chemist in a factory at Niagara Falls ; Rajani Kanta Das, chemist in a manufacturing house in the Middle West ; Surendra Nath Bose, Nripendra Kumar Nag and Brahma Bihari Sarkar, employed as electrical engineers in New York, Chicago and Massachusetts ; Kumudini Kanta Bose, Krishna Mohan Maitra and Akhil Chandra Chakrabarty (who has designed at least twenty new—original—machines for the company which employed him) in mechanical engineering ; Banerwar Dass as a chemical engineer, and specialist in synthetic phenol, phenol derivatives, carbolic acid, coal tar products, &c. ; Nabin Chandra Das in independent trade ; V. R. Kokatnur ; in charge of the organic research laboratory in an alkali firm at Niagara Falls ; and Dharendra Kumar Sarkar, specialist in coal tar, dyes, recovery of cocoanut oil from copra, &c.

Non-Christian & Non-white Charity.

White christians, particularly of Australia, Canada and other "white man's lands" by usurpation and extermination, will not appreciate the following, which appears in the *Kalpaka* :—

The celebrated anecdote of the three Alvars of the Tamil country who were overtaken by a terrible storm is retold by Swami Ramakrishnananda, in the *Vedanta Kesari*. One found a little hut where there was just room to lie down. The second came that way and, tired of his long journey on foot, inquired whether there was room for him also. The first replied : 'Where one can stretch oneself to rest, two can sit,' and he forthwith sat up with the stranger. Soon the third appeared and asked the same question. The first two rose immediately answering, 'Where two can sit three can stand'. So the three stood close together in the narrow shelter, indifferent to the 'self' and happy in the thought of one another.

Women and our Final Emancipation.

Keshab Chandra Nag thus dwells on

the importance of woman's education, in an article on "Present Evils and their Remedy" in the *Prabuddha Bharata* :—

To bring about our final emancipation our women should be properly taught and trained and should not remain steeped in ignorance and superstition. We must change our angle of vision towards them. It is indeed a great sin to look on them only as instruments for the satisfaction of our comforts, and to repress the genial current of their soul. In our advance towards spiritual attainment we should take them along with us ; we require their holy inspiration and cannot do without them, because they are the incarnations of "Shakti" and all virtues are lavishly conferred on them as well. If we neglect this resource, we lose a great deal in our endeavour after regeneration. So education, in its true sense, should be imparted to them also.

Cow-dung and Urine as Manure.

In the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Mr. N. V. Joshi says in his paper on "Studies in Biochemical Decomposition of cow-dung and urine in soil" :—

Urine gives the greatest amount of nitrates, whether in fresh condition or when fermented under aerobic or anaerobic conditions and so it can be used immediately or after keeping. Urine, if kept exposed to air, loses some of its nitrogen. It is therefore advisable to store it in such a way as not to be accessible to air.

Cow-dung does not nitrify in fresh condition. It, however, improves by storage and becomes nitrifiable after storage under both aerobic and anaerobic conditions. The relative losses under each of these conditions require to be more accurately determined before finally deciding which of these conditions is better so far as nitrifiability is concerned.

Results with sheep-dung indicate that mixture of dung and urine in the manure pit is not desirable from the point of view of nitrate formation, and also on account of the possibility of greater losses of nitrogen from such a mixture under partly anaerobic conditions which are likely to prevail in the pit or even in a compact heap.

The Exhaustion of Indian Soils.

In the same journal an article by Dr. R. V. Norris on the exhaustion of Indian soils is reproduced, in which the situation is summed up briefly as follows :

1. A large proportion of the soils of the country are already suffering from starvation or are approaching that state.

2. The supply of indigenous manurial products is being sent out of the country at an increasing rate with the result that the price is now prohibitive to the small cultivator.

3. Such a deficiency must be met by (a) limitation of export of such materials; (b) increased production of synthetic nitrogenous manures, in which methods based on the cyanamide process would appear to be most likely of success in this country; (c) development of processes for the utilization of the phosphatic deposits of the country.

4. In order to utilize the increased supply of manurial substances, attention must be directed to (a) education of the ryot to realize their value; (b) development of co-operative buying and transport; (c) revision of land tenures where these do not give the tenant a sufficient margin of protection.

School Play.

The importance of school play is emphasised in *Health and Happiness*.

If the health of the school children is a determining factor in their future mental development, then their play at school must be thought as very important. For many students, the play at the school ground is the only form of exercise. Taking exercise at home is still confined to the few. The utility of exercise is not yet much appreciated by our youngmen and it is no wonder that our brilliant boys of the University are often conspicuous by their sunken eyes, pale face, furrowed forehead and thin emaciated body. Their uphill labour to get the academic distinction cannot bestow commensurate benefit upon the society; for, when they embrace the worldly life, they generally become incapable of resourcefulness. Again, without physical exercise a sound brain is often impossible. For, in order that the brain should do its work healthily and well, it is above all things necessary that it should be supplied with pure and abundant blood, and such good blood supply comes not only from wholesome and well-digested food, but from thorough aeration by vigorously active lungs; and efficient distribution implies that the heart and the machinery of circulation are also in efficient discharge of their duties. Exercise expands the lungs, increases their vital capacity, and by making the respiratory movements deeper and more complete, removes stagnating air, and sends oxygen deep down into the residual cells.

Warning against excess has been rightly given.

Excess in everything must be deprecated. Games also, if carried beyond the proper limit, prove harmful. Play after one is fatigued is positively disastrous. Take for instance football. Forty minutes' attentive play a day is

sufficient for a man. An adult does not require more than twentyfive minutes' dumb-bell exercise. The school authorities in consultation with the health teacher should determine the nature and period of physical exercise for each student. The nature of exercise is determined by the constitution and other physical condition of the students. For example, a pigeon-chested man should give particular stress on those exercises which expand the lungs, such as deep breathing.

On danger from games it is observed :—

In conclusion we wish to make some remarks on the wild gossip of danger from games. In most of the cases these dangers are more exaggerated than they really are. If the games are played methodically very little risks are involved in them. Even foot-ball, which seems to the inexperienced observer to be nearly as full of peril as a cavalry charge, is really responsible for very little beyond an occasional bruised shin or sprained ankle. From time to time some severe, perhaps fatal, casualty is reported, and the tide of public opinion begins to set in against the game, the alarm being duly fed by the solemn warnings of the press or the dogmatic utterances of sentimental philanthropists. But it is clearly impossible for any sport to be indulged in without some trifling modicum of risk. A scrap of orange-peel or a passing handsome cab may make a simple walk as perilous as the battlefield. It should also be remembered that worst foot-ball accidents occur away from our public schools, and among youngmen who play with more unrestrained energy than boys.

Social Service the Unifier.

In the opinion of the editor of the *Social Service Record*, social service, besides being beneficent in other ways, is a bond of union.

In Social Service are hidden the secrets of love, health and happiness which are sought after every day by every caste, creed or colour and which irrespective of the faiths of people and without prejudice to their occupation unite all, equalise and spiritualise the life of one and all, who understands it, preaches it and himself follows it practically.

Prohibition Wanted in India.

The Rev. Herbert Anderson contributes a very useful, timely and informing article on the Temperance Movement in India to the *Young Men of India*. After describing the excise policy of the Government and how it is worked, he gives an account of the auction system of licensing and its

defects and the fixed-fee system of licence. He contends that the fixed-fee should supplant the auction system of licence. On the question of principle, he is for prohibition. He believes that the early adoption of prohibition may be claimed as a policy and attitude shared by many of India's most of thoughtful men, and that this Indian view is supported by missionary experience and conviction. "What lies behind this attitude?" he asks and answers :

Many considerations lie behind this attitude. If India is to take her place in the world, religiously, socially and commercially, she must stop the drink habit getting hold of her like it has of England. In the modern world prohibition has come and is inevitable because it spells efficiency. It has made America the most formidable industrial competitor among the nations of the world. It is true that it took prohibitionists half a century of educational effort to have the Eighteenth Amendment placed in the constitution of the United States. It need not take India so long to learn what bitter experience has proved in the West. Those who represent this attitude say, Let us have prohibition, and let us have it soon. British views are prejudiced, and, as control passes, let Indian liberty be used to inaugurate at once what is best for India.

Mr. Anderson enumerates the possible policies as three.

These then are the possible policies: (1) Leave things as they are, (2) Adopt prohibition immediately, and (3) Introduce gradual restriction of consumption with ultimate prohibition. Whichever policy is adopted, Provincial Governments will be faced by the financial issue. In view of the large expenditure incurred by nations during the war, the total net revenue secured from drink and drugs in India does not appear great. In the official year 1917-1918 the net receipts were fourteen crores of rupees, or to be exact Rs. 14,43,52,530, of which Rs. 2,27,66,790 was from opium consumed in India.

He concludes by stating the provincial financial problem and suggesting solutions.

The Provincial Financial problem is, if prohibition be the ideal, to find Excise revenue from other taxable commodities. Can it be done? If the Government means business and the majority of the people are behind the movement, it can—and with comparative ease. Under war conditions consider two facts: Taxation in Great Britain has increased *per caput* from 31 shillings to over 300 shillings; and again, the excess profit tax in Bengal has resulted in ad-

ding to the Provincial Revenue a sum three times as great as the net revenue from excise. In drink-loving provinces like Madras the problem will be greater because the proportion of revenue derived from drink and drugs is out of all proper proportion to other sources of revenue. But the limits of taxation have not been reached and in many provinces, with sympathetic control, bent on restriction of the liquor and drug traffic, the financial issue is capable of solution. Is it too much to ask, taking a world view of the drink and drug problem, that India, through her Provincial Governments, should wipe out the trade within the next decade?

The Ideal of Dharma.

In the *Vedic Magazine* Principal Vaswani briefly enunciates the ideal of *dharma* in the following sentences :—

The ideal of Dharma is a recognition of the truth that progress is a *series of sacrifices*. The Darwinian formula of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest is not the final word of life. Social expansion is through self-sacrifice; *for the ultimate purposes of life are immaterial*. Wealth is but a means, and poverty is neither a crime nor sin. India's great men were men of wisdom rather than of wealth; and Kalidasa sat on the left side of the great King Vikrama. The standard of outer life was low but that of the inner life was very high; and great was the honor done to those who lived the inner life.

M. G. Ranade on the Vital Need of Social Reconstruction.

In the same magazine, in giving his recollections of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale Swami Shraddhananda Sanyasi incidentally writes of the late Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade :—

While the thinking portion of the Indian community was engaged in trying to give a lead to the political aspirations of the people, Mr. Ranade, with an unerring eye saw that without a social reconstruction of the society political progress was not only impossible but probably a source of danger to the future well-being of the great Indian nation. How many times have I not had the occasion to admire the consummate skill which he displayed in drafting proper resolutions on very intricate and complex subjects so as to reconcile jarring elements. It is an open secret now that the resolutions which used to be put before the session of the Indian National Congress were mostly drafted by him. Among an anglicized educated community he kept a sane head on his shoulders and tried to imbue his immediate associates with the spirit of nationalism in their everyday life.

Federation of Ceylon with India.

In the *Indian Review* Mr. Saint Nihal Singh shows that geographic propinquity, ethnic and cultural affinity and similitude of interests alike urge the desirability of Ceylon becoming an *autonomous* province of India. Among the advantage of such a federation are the following :—

The federation of the two lands would result in the removal of all artificial restrictions upon the importation of food and labour from India. The effect of such union would no doubt stimulate the growth of Colombo, already one of the finest and most prosperous Eastern ports.

Then let us consider the question of federation from the point of view of defence. Ceylon as an integral part of India would get the benefit of a large and efficient system of defence. One day soon India is certain to have her own navy. The Indian sense of manhood and Indian interests alike demand a navy owned and controlled by Indians, so long as nations all over the world have not reduced their fighting organisations to a purely police basis.

And if India has a navy, and Ceylon becomes federated with her, the Island can provide the Indian navy with one of the finest naval stations in the world. Trincomalee, on the Western coast of Ceylon, is, I have been told by an eminent naval correspondent of a well known London newspaper, 'has great possibilities—possibilities far in excess, he says, of any Indian harbour.

The objections to federation are also briefly set forth and examined.

To begin with, there may be objection inspired by sentiment. Any people who have had an independent existence and have fought for that independent existence cannot view the surrender of their separate existence with equanimity.

Then there may be a genuine fear that a union between a large and a small land may be to the disadvantage of the latter. Industrial and commercial interests are always nervous, and may raise opposition on that basis.

There can be no legitimate ground for such fears, however, if Ceylon becomes an autonomous province of a federated India. She will have full power over her purely domestic affairs, while in all matters of common interest she will share the advantages and also the responsibilities arising out of her federation with India.

It may, however, be objected that there is no federated India. Even under the new Act, the Government of India will not be a responsible government, nor will it be a federal institution.

Whether we Indians like it or not, we must realise that in many respects the Ceylonese are better off than we are. Their treaty with the British gives them equal rights with the

British, and such equality, while a fiction in India, is a reality in Ceylon. The Ceylonese, for instance, are not debarred from sitting upon juries that are to try Europeans and other non-Ceylonese. They are, moreover, not kept out of the Volunteers, nor are they subjected to an Arms Act. There is no Press Act, Seditious Meetings Act, or Rowlatt Act in Ceylon. The Ceylonese have, for many years, had a general system of compulsory education, while we have only recently begun to pass provincial acts, permitted municipalities to introduce compulsion.

The situation, therefore, resolves itself into this: We must set our house in order before we ask Ceylon to join us. We must organise agitation—constitutional but irresistible agitation—to get rid of Acts that unduly abridge freedom in India. We must also develop our political institutions so that the provinces will become really autonomous, the overriding powers of the central government will disappear, and the central government will become not only responsible, but truly a federal government.

The Present Condition and Future of Ceylon.

The Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World gives a depressing account of present day Ceylon. It writes :—

The Sinhala nation was never conquered; they fought with the Tamils, Javans, Portuguese, Dutch and British, and kept their individuality for 2,358 years, and this individualized race, noted for the nobility of their character, is now on the decline morally, industrially, aesthetically, religiously. Fifty years ago the Missionary publications said that "the Sinhalese are polite kind to their children and fond of learning. The majority of the present day Bhikkhus of themselves becoming materialistic, their duty is to study the *kavya* and *alamkara* of Sanskrit grammarians and the poetry of Kalidasa. They neglect the Noble Dhamma of the Tathagata and violate the laws of the Vinaya. They allow the people to grow in darkness, do not preach the Dhamma to them, their time that should be spent in educating the people and living the holy life of the Bhikkhu, the life of enunciation and love, and altruistic service, is spent in slothfulness. Their ambition is to compose Sanskrit slokas and translate Sanskrit *kavya* into Sinhalese. The growing materialism among the Bhikkhus is an evil sign. When the Bhikkhus forget their duty to the people, the people forget their religion, and they lose faith in the Buddha, become sceptical and indifferent and will cease to be Buddhists. The only remedy is to teach the morality of the Buddha to the parents, and to teach the

ments of religion of the Tathagata to the children in school, and at home the parents should daily show by example that they are Buddhists, which they can do by taking pancha sila together with the children.

The abominations of western sensualism in all their naked majesty are glaringly visible in the island. Bioscope shows, saloons, brothels in private places, gin shops, opium shops, arrack and toddy taverns, stores full of European goods, oilman stores where tinned salmon, sausages, ox-tongues, cheese, butter, jam, Pears soap, Huntley Palmer biscuits, King George IV whisky, are sold. Ceylon in another ten-years will not be the fragrant island that was known to the historian of the past. The ancient Sinhala race that kept up Buddhism for 2,200 years, that continued to remain independent for 2,348 years will disappear, and instead there will come into existence a race of degenerates given to low morals, drink and opium, wearing European clothes like the coloured people of the United States. For all this degradation we have to thank the Bhikkhus and the Buddhist parents of the first decade of the 20th century of the European era.

The forecast of the future is very gloomy.

A hybrid form of Christianity will come into existence in Ceylon with native superstitions, half of the people following the Roman Pope and the other half will be subdivided into Wesleyans, Baptists, Church of England, Church Missionary Society, Seventh Day Adventists and Salvation Army. Anglicised Ceylon will be a duplicate of Jamaica or Barbadoes full of darkies speaking English, drinking whiskies, and wearing the clearance sale remnants of British drapery.

"Our Existing System of Marriage."

In the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* Mr. Subodh Kumar Basu's indictment of "our existing system of marriage" is grave. One of the items is that

Our existing system of marriage has ruthlessly smothered love—love which only justifies marriage. Love is the greatest thing in the world. Pure love between man and woman engenders the finest development and fullest expansion of life and blesses both of them with supreme happiness. Marriages not founded on mutual love or admiration or respect or even some liking for each other, should therefore be a thing of the past in this country. It behoves the parents and guardians of girls to consider the latter's feelings and sentiments towards their would-be husbands.

Dr. Frank N. Serley, M. D., writes—"Eliminate sex and you have lost love, abuse sex and you

have changed love to lust, use sex properly and you produce love in its finest qualities. This will fit one, for the family, for love is the foundation of the home." Are we not abusing sex, are we not changing love, the finest quality in a man, to lust.

He is also of opinion that the existing system of marriage is not based on and does not promote mutual respect.

Maud Churton Braby writes in her "Modern Marriage":—"I must repeat that the most essential thing in marriage is respect. It is above love, above compatibility, above even the priceless sense of honour. Respect will hold the tottering edifice of matrimony together when passion is dead and even love has faded. Bride and Bridegroom, cultivate respect between you at all cost, and men and women, never never marry anyone you do not really respect, however passionately you may love."

Does our marriage system introduce even a particle of this respect from the young man to the young woman whom he is going to make a life-long partner? How can you respect a girl who is a total stranger to you? Another writer says:—"Mutual love and respect make marriage ideal." I am not blaming my young friends for marrying or who must marry, but I am blaming the system.

Mexico and U. S. A.

The editor of the *New Review* has a note on the revolution in Mexico which, from what we have read in foreign papers, appears to be based on correct information. He writes:—

The Carranza Government in Mexico has fallen. There are financial interests in the United States which never wanted that Government and competent observers think that the revolution is the work of these money-mongers. The relations of the United States with Mexico do not reflect any credit upon the former country. After all the Carranza Government was able to do much good in Mexico; but its doing good for Mexico meant the undoing of the American exploiters. That is the long and short of the whole affair. The repetition of Mexican revolutions is not due to politics; it is due to finance. The relations with Mexico are not determined by Congress; they are determined by Wall Street. Mexico has got oilfields and metals; and these are needed by some United States capitalists.

He is also right in observing:—

Now-a-days political history is the result of financial necessities. If the Allied statesmen are now comparatively soft towards Russian Soviet Government, it is not because they are converted to the doctrine of Bolshe-

vism; it is because there is shortage of wheat in the world; and the Russian wheat can relieve the situation. Economic siege is the real siege in modern battles. Economic domination

is the real domination. Nothing illustrates this better than the history of Mexico. That country has the misfortune of being a neighbour to the powerful United States.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

S. Ramanujan, F. R. S

Professor G. H. Hardy, the distinguished Cambridge mathematician, has contributed the following obituary notice of the late Mr. S. Ramanujan, F. R. S., to *Nature* :—

Srinivasa Ramanujan whose death was announced in *Nature* of June 3, was born in 1888 in the neighbourhood of Madras, the son of poor parents, and a Brahmin by caste. I know very little of his early history or education, but he became a student in Madras University, and passed certain examinations, though he did not complete the course for a degree. Later, he was employed by the Madras Port Trust as a clerk at a salary equivalent to £ 25 a year. By this time, however, reports of his unusual abilities had begun to spread, and, I believe, owing to the intervention of Dr. G. T. Walker, he obtained a small scholarship, which relieved him from the necessity of office work, and set him free for research.

I first heard of Ramanujan in 1913. The first letter which he sent me was certainly the most remarkable that I have ever received. There was a sort of personal introduction written, as he told me later, by a friend. The body of the letter consisted of the enunciations of a hundred or more mathematical theorems. Some of the formulæ were familiar, and others seemed scarcely possible to believe. There were no proofs, and the explanations were often inadequate. In many cases, too, some curious specialisation of a constant or a parameter, made the real meaning of a formula difficult to grasp. It was natural enough, that Ramanujan should feel a little hesitation in giving away his secrets to a mathematician of an alien race. Whatever reservations had to be made, one thing was obvious, that the writer was a mathematician of the highest quality, a man of altogether exceptional originality and power.

It seemed plain too, that Ramanujan ought to come to England. There was no difficulty in securing the necessary funds, his own University and the Trinity College, Cambridge, meet-

ing an unusual situation with admirable generosity and imagination. The difficulties of caste and religion were more serious, but owing to the enterprise of Prof. E. H. Neville, who happened fortunately to be lecturing in Madras in the winter of 1913-14, these difficulties were ultimately overcome, and Ramanujan arrived in England in April 1914.

The experiment has ended in a disaster, for after three years in England, Ramanujan contracted the illness from which he never recovered. But for these three years, it was a triumphant success. In a really comfortable position, for the first time in his life, and in contact with the mathematicians of the Modern School, Ramanujan developed rapidly.

He published some twenty papers, which even in war time, attracted wide attention. In the spring of 1918, he became the first Indian fellow of the Royal Society, and in the autumn the first Indian fellow of Trinity. Madras University endowed him with a research studentship in addition, and early in 1919, still unwell, he returned to India. It was difficult to get news from him, but I heard at intervals. He appeared to be working actively again, and I was quite unprepared for the news of his death.

Ramanujan's activities lay primarily in fields known only to a small minority even among pure mathematicians—the application of elliptic functions to the theory of numbers, the theory of continued fractions, and perhaps above all, the theory of partitions. His insight into formulæ was quite amazing, and altogether beyond anything I have met with in any European mathematician. It is perhaps useless to speculate as to his history, had he been introduced to modern ideas and methods at sixteen instead of at twenty-six. It is not extravagant to suppose that he might have become the greatest mathematician of his time. What he did actually is wonderful enough. Twenty years hence, when the researches his work has suggested have been completed, it will probably seem a good deal more wonderful, than it does to-day.

Britain Not Preparing for the Future.

In the opinion of the *Statist*, a staid and sober-minded London paper, Britain has no idea of how she ought to prepare for the future.

Is it not perfectly plain that we in this country are acting without even an idea of how we ought to prepare for a future which, what-

ever it may be, will, at all events, introduce great changes? We have, as already said, not only added to the greatest Empire the world has ever seen, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine, but we seem to be convinced that we can practically rule all these without trouble to ourselves; that we can at the same time show to all the world that we are the most reactionary and most tyrannical government upon earth; (not only) that we can rob the natives of Ireland of their land and give it to Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen, but that we are determined to keep the memory of the fact in the mind of the Irish people, and so to proclaim to all the earth that while we are adding and grabbing in the most voracious way lands all over the earth, we are at the same time showing that even in a little country only sixty miles from our shore we are not able to govern with ordinary decency.

A Possible Future Tragic Act in the World-Drama.

Mr. Basil Mathews promulgates in the *London Review of Reviews* the view that the stage is now being set for a fresh tragic scene in the world's drama.

On the hidden stage of the theater of history the men are even now taking their places for a play so stupendous that all humanity will be involved. There will be no audience, for we shall all be actors. And in the play the destinies—not only of our individual lives but of world-civilization—will be decided.

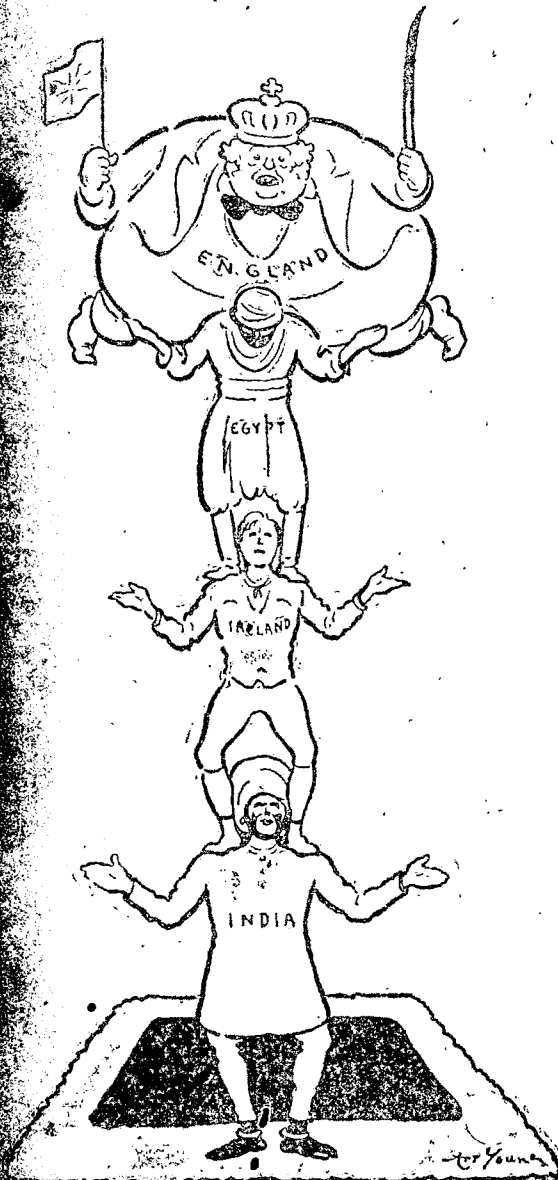
What are the facts?

A great Japanese statesman declared quite early in the war that that stupendous conflict was the beginning of the end of European civilization. The next scene in the world's history would witness the decay of the West and the rise of a new and dominant civilization in the East.

What are the considerations that back up this momentous assertion?

It would clearly be true, at the outset, to say that the plan and desire of the nations to see a placid pastoral scene of peace follow the tragic turmoil of war will certainly be frustrated. Already we are involved in the vastest and most violent upheaval of human spirit that has ever been staged in the theater of history. The earth shakes with the crash of historic dynasties. The dust is whirling still above prostrate civilization.

When war broke out in 1914 five empires of the despotic military type remained on the earth's surface. They were the German, the Austrian, the Turkish, the Russian, and the Japanese. To-day four out of the five are smashed in irretrievable ruin. Japan alone remains. The old European order has gone—the one



In the British Empire Circus.

—From an American paper.

Asiatic power, rich now beyond the dream of avarice, with its man-power unimpaired and its ambitions vaster than those of Alexander, leaps upon the stage fully equipped. On the face of it, then, the first and dominant facts of the world situation are in favor of the Oriental statesman-prophet whom I have quoted.

From Atlantic to Pacific.

Mr. Mathews thinks that strategic interests are being transferred from the Atlantic and European to the Pacific and Asiatic.

A third of the human race has lost its old rule. From the Rhine to the Pacific Ocean, from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf, the Teutonic, the Slavonic, the Turanian, and the Semitic peoples stumble bewildered and maddened amid the crashing *debris* of their broken civilizations. Hundreds of millions of people are without a settled state—sheep without a shepherd, men without a master word to guide their confused and disordered lives through the chaos and darkness.

But the fifth empire, as we see, remains as protagonist in the great dramatic contest for the mastery of the Pacific. And the mastery of the Pacific will mean the hegemony of the world—the leadership of the human race. For the centre of gravity of the world's politics is shifting with staggering swiftness from the Atlantic to the Pacific. That is the clue to the play's next scene. It is the key to a multitude of issues that perplex and bewilder the British mind.

According to him the facts of the Pacific scene are these :

First the rise of the power of Japan which we have already visualized.

Secondly we see China as the vastest reservoir of soldiering and of labor on the surface of the earth. We see there a race of some five hundred millions of people, hardy, industrious, careless of death ; with high capacity for organization, and with the most tremendous resources of coal, iron, and all other mineral products that remain in the world. China has enough good coal to supply the whole human race at its present consumption of a billion tons a year for a thousand years ; and alongside the coal, great iron deposits. Already she can make pig iron and transport it to America at rates that enable the American steel manufacturers who purchase it to compete with the Bethlehem and Pittsburgh steel kings. China, for long an Empire protected by exclusive traditions in an age-long conservatism, is now a republic open to the flow of world tides.

If, in a war, an enemy started killing Chinese

soldiers at a million men a year, and if China were using ten per cent of her population in that war, it would take fifty years to destroy her first armies, and in that period two further Chinese forces of fifty million each would grow up to confront their enemy.

The third factor is Russia.

Russia abutting on the North Pacific is, and inevitably always will be, one of the dominating factors in the Pacific situation.

Opposite to these stand, fourthly and fifthly, America and Britain, which cannot conceivably hold back from immediate active interest in the developments of the nationalities around the Pacific.

Asiatic Immigration.

While white men can go and exploit and settle anywhere, Asiatics are denied any such right. This creates a bitterness and resentment which may be the cause of a future world war. This seems to be the underlying reason why Mr. Basil Mathews next treats of the problem of Asiatic immigration.

The thing that presses on the brain of America and must increasingly press also on the brain of Britain is the fact that the bowl of Asia is full of humanity, and spilling over the brim in all directions. Not only is India spilling over into Mesopotamia, South Africa, Madagascar, Fiji, and all the Malay Peninsula, but the Chinese and Japanese are all the time pressing against the barriers that would keep them out of the United States, Canada, and Australia.

The problem which presents itself to the American mind—and it will have to present itself to the British—is, how far can the flood of emigration of the Asiatic come into our territories without submerging the type of civilization for which we stand ?

Here we are on horns of a most desperate dilemma. The Asiatic fought with us through the war, and died for us on all the fronts. A million Indians enlisted freely, without conscription, during the period of the war, and fought and died in France and Flanders, in Salonika and on Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia, on the hills of Palestine, and in every quarter of Africa.

Scores of thousands of Chinese came across the world. They hewed wood, drew water, broke stones, drained marshes, laid roads, and built railways, for the Allied forces on the Western front. Japan with her navy, and to some small degree with her land forces, took part from the beginning in the great contest.

'You can use us when you want us to lay down our lives to defend you,' say the Asiatics. 'We can enter your territories then. You ever draw us in, as in South Africa, when you want

cheap labor. But you try to exclude us from free life in your territory, in your cities, and on your farms. We cannot be content to be your tool forever. "Self-determination" is our motto as it was yours. The valve cannot be allowed to work only one way. You penetrate our shore; why should we not penetrate yours? If you exclude us from yours, we will exclude you from ours. You say Australia for the Australian, and Canada for the Canadian. Then we say Asia for the Asiatic. You say yours is the higher civilization; has that been demonstrated?

Here we have 'expressing' itself in vast ambitions a great development of a racial consciousness, which is of more moment for the future world history than any other fact in the world to-day. The tremendous challenge which the dilemma presents, lies in the fact that while on the one hand we cannot permanently resist the will of five hundred to six hundred millions of people, yet, on the other hand, there is a real peril, if we surrendered to their desire for unrestricted immigration into our lands, that our civilization, which after all has some very precious things in it, would be submerged and lost under Asiatic civilization. To accept is impossible; to resist is world suicide. Such is the dilemma. What is the solution, if there be a solution?

This problem also receives consideration in an article on "The New Situation in Asia" by Mr. Edwyn Bevan in the July *International Review of Missions*, in which he says in part:

There seem to be three, and only three, possible courses for a white community to take in regard to Asiatic immigration: to prohibit it altogether; to admit it without restriction, or with only the same restrictions which apply to European immigration; or to admit it with special restrictions. Each of the three courses seems open to grave objection. If Asiatic immigration is altogether prohibited, the resentment of the Asiatic peoples against the white races is likely to be inflamed to a degree which may prevent any peaceable state of the world and the Christian doctrine of human brotherhood may seem a mockery. If it is admitted without restriction, the danger of white communities being swamped by Asiatic elements is a very real one. If it is admitted with special restrictions applying to Asiatics, then, whatever line is drawn, hard cases will be continually recurring, there will be perpetual friction between the limited number of Asiatics admitted and the white population, and the special disabilities may constitute a grievance almost as exasperating as total exclusion.

Mr. Bevan continues:—

The injustice seems most flagrant in regard

to East Africa. In South Africa the white men have made the country their home and Asiatic immigrants enter upon the facilities of a civilization already there, developed by the labours of others; but in East Africa there is no domiciled white society which needs to protect its tradition, and Indian traders were active in the country before white men came there.

But if in such a case it is difficult to see any kind of justification for disabilities imposed upon immigrants from India, even in those cases where Asiatics are excluded from white men's countries, it is impossible to regard such a state of things as corresponding with the Christian ideal. 'In Christ' race barriers are done away, and if Christianity ceases to stand for universal human brotherhood it may as well give up any claim to be taken seriously. This is not to say that, while men are what they are, it may not be the preferable course for different sections of the human family to live apart, just as it may be better for brothers who cannot get on together to live apart rather than to live under the same roof in perpetual friction. But even if a Christian might consistently advise brothers in such a state of things to live apart, he could only regard the state of things as itself an unhappy one, not as one corresponding with his ideal of family life. In the same way, whilst desiring a state of the world in which men of all races would be one in Christ, he may consider it the preferable course in the present unsatisfactory state of the world for the communities with different traditions and physical characteristics to keep to separate areas on the surface of the globe.

What is called "the preferable course" above, would be preferable if white men would keep to *their* areas on the surface of the globe. If they would depart from Asia, for instance, the Asiatics would agree not to emigrate to Europe, America and Australia.

The Japanese Imperial Family the Parent of All Mankind!

In India we are accustomed, in spite of our present miserable condition, to the belief of multitudes of Indians that they are an unapproachably superior specimen of humanity. But in Japan there are people who maintain still higher pretensions for their imperial and the Japanese nation. In an article on "Emperor Worship in Japan" contributed to the *International Review of Missions* by Mr. Albertus Pieters, it is said:

The following extract appeared in the *Niroku*,

and was translated in the *Japan Advertiser* of May 9, 1919: 'The Imperial Family of Japan is the parent, not only of her sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. In the eyes of the Imperial Family all races are one and the same. It is above all racial considerations. All human disputes, therefore, may be settled in accordance with its immaculate justice. The League of Nations which proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war can only attain its real object by placing the Imperial Family of Japan at its head; for to attain its object the League must have a strong punitive force of a super-national and super-racial character, and this can be found only in the Imperial Family of Japan.'

The paragraphs which follow set forth the claims of the Japanese nation with the writer's observations thereupon:

In the *Ten-ri-kyo* magazine, the *Michi no Tomo*, of September 1914, we find the following: 'Japan is the parent nation of the world. It is the source whence the salvation of all nations proceeds. He who is hostile to this nation opposes the will of God. For this reason we, the believers in *Ten-ri-kyo*, are resolved to serve the divine and imperial will.'

Such a devoted, not to say fanatical belief in Emperor Worship and in Japan's place as the divine country is not felt by Japanese Buddhists to be at all inconsistent with their faith. The most ardent Buddhist sect of the present time is the sect of Nichiren. In their magazine, the *Koku-ju Shimbun*, in 1912, the editor claims that Gautama Buddha was an incarnation of Amaterasu O Mi Kami, the Sun Goddess, the original Ancestress of the imperial line, and thus supports his assertion that Buddhism originated in Japan, not in India as is mistakenly supposed. He then goes on to say: 'This is true not only of Buddhism. We have nothing to do with the Christian ideas propagated by the Christians, but Christ Himself was a holy man whose mission was to make known in the Occident the Japanese Koku-tai,' i. e. Emperor Worship.

Such extravagant statements are of interest mainly as they show how general and extreme are the Shinto ideas which have hitherto lain, as one might say, dormant in the consciousness of the Japanese people, but which are now, under the stimuli of education, awakening to self-consciousness, and which have found an able expounder and defender in Dr. Genchi Kato. It is only fair to state that there are not a few Japanese who reject and ridicule these extremes of Emperor Worship.

Possible Rapprochement Between China and Japan.

In his Review of Reviews article Mr.

Basil Mathews considers a rapprochement between China and Japan a probability.

Throughout the 'peace settlement Japan stood ever against China in the dispute over the Shantung problem. But the failure on the part of the European allies and America to recognize the equality of Asiatics with the white races threw up into stark relief against the sky the tremendous racial issue. The quarrel as between China and Japan tended to be submerged in the more radical issue as between East and West, though the Shantung quarrel is still exercising a great influence in developing racial self-consciousness and unity in the Chinese people. Japan, it would appear, however, may play a greater part as the spearhead of Asia than in any more sectional and smaller role.

In both countries we discover two sets of leaders—the militarist bureaucratic despotic type, who want to see a militarized Asia dominating the world; and the humaner progressive democratic type, who stand, as to foreign policy, for an international idea of comity and co-operation—and who in home policy are out for a progressive, democratic, educational development of the proletariats of Asia.

I suggest that on the question 'Which of those types of leadership in Asia will triumph?' swings the whole issue of human life in the world.

Literally, if the militarists of Asia triumph, we are on the eve of world-suicide. Certainly Europe and all that we have laboriously built up in the centuries since Rome fell will go down in ruin. Probably America will be submerged too by the terrific floods of Asia, before which all landmarks will be swept away and submerged.

The alternative view is that, with the triumph of the democratic leaders of Asia, we should be on the eve of a world-order of international and interracial co-operation full of unmeasured and unmeasurable good.

Poets and Artists and Historical Fact.

A water colour by the late Mr. Surendranath Ganguli depicting the Flight of Lakshman Sen is to be found reproduced in Mr. Havell's "Indian Painting." Some Bengali historians have called in question the historical authenticity of the story of the flight of Lakshman Sen. Similarly, some of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's historical novels have been criticised for their departure from the truth of history. An article in the *Saturday Review* on "Some Remarkable Lies" raises the questions,

Is an artist, whether poet, painter, historian or dramatist, justified in departing from the truth of fact for the sake of effect? Does the ascertained falsity of a play, a picture, or a poem, interfere with our enjoyment? There are a great many lies in literature about well-known persons and events, some harmful and some beneficial, all devised for the sake of effect: and the question is whether we should let them lie where they are; or whether for the sake of truth we should expel or expose them. Is there a literary as distinct from a literal truth?

Two of the most famous lies relate to the last hours of Nelson. Everyone knows that the real signal at Trafalgar which he ordered was, 'Nelson expects every man to do his duty.' The other lie is about the coat he wore on his quarter-deck. He is reported to have silenced the affectionate importunity of his officers, entreating him to conceal the stars on his breast by saying, 'In honor I gained them, and in honor I will die with them.' This is the Great Style, but it is untrue. Dr. Arnold heard the facts from Sir Thomas Hardy. Nelson wore on the day of battle the same coat which he had worn for weeks, having the Order of the Bath embroidered upon it; and when his friend expressed some apprehension of the badge, he answered that he was aware of the danger, but that it was 'too late then to shift his coat.' The fabricated saying is magnificent: why destroy it?

Among historians whose veracity has been called in question are Macaulay, Carlyle and Froude.

Macaulay, Carlyle, and Froude are classed as picturesque historians, and meticulous critics assert that they never hesitated to slur or twist a detail for the sake of effect. Horace Walpole whitewashed Richard III, and declared that Shakespeare had caricatured him. Mr. H. B. Irving tried hard to whitewash Judge Jeffreys, and to prove that Macaulay's portrait was unfair. But when the revolution came, Jeffreys was obliged to hide himself disguised as a sailor in a Wapping public house, and when recognized had to be rescued from the mob, who wanted to kill him. This scene we have on the authority of the Norths, and it confirms Macaulay's judgment, for English mobs are not angry with severe judges, if they are just. And what are we to say to Froude's picture of Elizabeth? Froude tells us that Elizabeth was a liar, a murderess, a miser, only wanting courage to be a harlot, who left the sailors of her fleet, when the Armada was in the channel, without clothes and without pay, and gave them colic by forcing them to drink the sour beer of a Dartford brewery in which she was a shareholder! The historian selects his own material from the heap, and who can check him, or give him the lie?

The sum of the matter seems to be this:

The poet, the dramatist, and the painter are chartered libertines. They have their license to suppress, or distort, or invent details, within limits, for the sake of effect; within limits because, if the falsehood is too glaring, the effect is spoiled. From the historian, who professes to recite facts, we expect much greater accuracy of detail: though remembering the worthlessness of most human testimony, verbal or written, we must not forbid him to use his own judgment, if only he will give us the opportunity of using ours.

An Appeal from Russian Intellectuals.

The London *Nation* has published an appeal signed by members of the Russian Group of Intellectual Workers. Its object will be understood from its three concluding paragraphs quoted below.

'The salient point of the Russian question is, that it is impossible to isolate this gigantic country from the rest of the world till it has settled its domestic problems. The interests of Russia, and of other countries, do not permit this. The situation requires:

- '1. That all armed intervention in the internal affairs of Russia should cease.
- '2. That business and intellectual relations with Russia should be resumed, irrespective of the existing regime.
- '3. That a process of free co-operation should be set up with the Russian people for the restoration of their economic, material, and intellectual forces.

'Profoundly convinced that Russia will survive all her difficulties and will establish a new civilized life, we are persuaded that the leaders of public opinion in Europe will look with sympathy on our hopes, will respond to our appeal, and will assist the Russian people in their efforts to return, to the path of peaceful labor.

Order and Anarchy in Ireland.

Those who depend for their view of what is happening in Ireland, on British newspapers and Reuter's telegrams, are not likely to draw from them a true impression of what is happening there. They suggest anarchy and little more. Murders of policemen figure prominently in the bill; they are varied by reprisals in which the police, now armed with bombs as well as rifles, retaliate occasionally on more or less aggressive crowds. This picture is only partially true. The London *Nation* corrects and supplements it by adding

This picture is only partially true. It is true to say that English law carries no further than the constable can throw his bomb. It is true that the will of the Castle has been over-ridden again and again, notably by the strike against them for permits and for the release of the Mountjoy prisoners. It is true that the Conquest is challenged daily and hourly in every Irish village. It is not true that society is in dissolution. The aim of the rebels is not mere sabotage. They strike accurately enough at English rule, but at the same time they are building up a polity of their own. What one does not realize from the daily press is that a strong national organization, orderly and imperious is creating a rival Irish authority. Though it can only meet furtively, the Irish Parliament, Dail Eireann, composed of the elected Sinn Fein members, does, in fact keep a controlling hand on the whole national movement, and passes resolutions or 'laws', dealing with details of economic or agrarian policy, often of a constructive nature, which are respected and executed. It can give a new turn to the development of land purchase and provide for the landless rural worker, for example, more quickly than the Parliament in Westminster could do, and as effectively. Again, the Sinn Fein courts in the rural countries, though they also must sit in secret, are in fact taking their work from the King's judges, and cases are now openly withdrawn from the King's Courts to be tried in those of the republic.

Lastly, by the refusal of the transport workers to handle food exported from Ireland, the republic is applying its own measures of fiscal and economic control. It hopes to reduce prices to the Irish consumer by checking excessive exportation, and its method, though cumbersome, may turn out to be effective. Within certain limits Ireland is beginning to govern herself. The mass will obey direction, and when it acts with the unbroken unanimity of the recent strikes and embargoes, it acts with complete success. Not only is this government, it is democratic government, as no other country in the world enjoys it. Where else, without police or magistrates, does the people itself enforce and execute the decisions of the representatives it has chosen? Sinn Fein started its tactics in imitation of the Hungarian patriots who, without armed action, by the disciplined passive resistance of a people, defeated Hapsburg centralism between 1860 and 1867, and won full recognition for the legal independence of the Hungarian kingdom. No parallel in history is ever exact, but in some ways (for it lacks aristocratic leading and has for its base a much smaller fraction of the realm) we find this Irish policy a self-help even more impressive than the Hungarian precedent.

A World Revival of Handicrafts.

Those who in India support by speech writing and example the use of coarse cotton cloth made out of home-spun yarn will find encouragement in what H. B. B. (we do not know what name the initials stand for) writes in the *Living Age* of America regarding a world revival of handicrafts. Says he:

We buy a manufactured article because a machine makes the article for us more cheaply and conveniently than we can make it ourselves; thus the cloth woven in factory towns replaces the honest and laboriously-made homespun; let the machine process, however, become over-costly, more costly even than the clumsy efforts of home manufacture, and the situation will be reversed; the home-spun industries will thrive, and every house will once more become a workshop. This is exactly what is taking place today all over the civilized world. To use a homely illustration, Mr. X, who used to buy his shirts ready-made at the haberdasher's, is now content to buy good cloth and let Mrs. X and her needles provide the manufactured article. The economic law, for the most part unperceived, is fulfilling itself in a thousand different ways. In fact, the world over, there is a genuine revival of the old handicrafts.

Though born of economic tribulation and not of spirit, the revival is a pleasant thing to chronicle. We have too long suffered the mastery of the machine; we have too casually watched it robbing the articles of daily use of beauty, individuality, and humanity. For instance, compare a wooden spoon made by a Russian peasant with a wooden spoon turned out by some abominable mill. The one is a genuine creation of personal art; it has enabled a human spirit to express itself imaginatively and with beauty; its very imperfections are likable; the other is a lifeless affair whose manufacture has necessitated the selling of a human being into slavery—no, not the slavery of capitalism or the worse slavery of Socialism, but the soul-destroying slavery of the machine. Those who had worked in factories and understand the nature of the machine have no socialistic illusions. They know that strikes are no longer battles for better wages and hours but the cry of the distressed human soul and body in bondage to an unnatural kind of labor. The revival of handicrafts can lessen the spiritual curse of the industrial system, it will mean a renaissance of our machinery-ridden civilization. It is an engine at hand by which the chicanery of the profiteers and the arrogance of the industrial laborer can be brought under control.

The writer expresses the opinion that now, if ever, the time for reviving handicrafts is at hand;—and this is true of India too. Because,

To be successful, revival of handicrafts must

be something more than an artist's gospel of perfection, it must be an economic possibility. Today's revival is more than possible, it is a true product of the working of an economic law. In England the movement is widespread. Ruskin as a prophet has at last come into his own; in Germany societies have been founded to encourage and develop household arts, and there have been exhibitions of handicrafts at Leipzig and Berlin.

America has inherited from her colonial artisans a handicraft tradition of exceptional dignity and beauty. May these roots, which have never died, thrust out new branches.

Should they grow and bear fruit, it will mean much for human happiness.

The Russian Women and Bolshevism.

Among the dozens of letters which Maxim Gorky receives daily from different parts of Russia, the most interesting are those which are written by the women. Gorky says in *Novaya Zhizn* that each letter from a woman is a cry of a living soul tortured by the manifold pains of the Russians' dreadful day.

After reading these letters, I feel within my heart that they are all written, as it were, by one woman, the mother of life, from whom all tribes and all nations have come into the world—by her who had helped man to transform the crude zoological desire of an animal into the gentle and lofty ecstasy of love. These letters are a cry of anger from the being who had called into life all poetry, who had served and is still serving as the inspirer of all art, and who ever suffers with the eternal and unquenchable thirst for beauty, love, and joy.

This woman, in my understanding, is first of all a mother, even if physically she is still a virgin. She is a mother, not only in her feeling toward her children, but also toward her husband, her lover, and toward man in general, toward him who had come to this world from her and through her. As the being who constantly replaces the loss of life inflicted by death and destruction, woman must feel more deeply and more acutely than I, a man, hatred and disgust for all which increases death and destruction. Such is my view of the psycho-physiological nature of woman.

He adds :

The letters about which I speak are full of sobbing of the mother for the death of man. They are filled with lamentations because cruelty is increasing among men, because men are becoming more savage, dishonorable, and more ignoble in their social practices. These letters are full of curses against the Bolsheviks, against the peasants, against the work-

men. The women who write these letters call for tortures and horrors to fall on the heads of all.

'Let them all be hanged, shot, destroyed'—this is what the woman in these letters demands, she, the mother and the nurse of heroes and saints, of geniuses and criminals, of rascals and honest men; the mother of Jesus and of Judas; of gentle and saintly Francis of Assisi, and of the sombre enemy of joy, Savonarola; the mother of King Philip II, who laughed joyfully only once in his life, when he had received the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew—that greatest of the crimes of Catherine de Medici, who was herself born of a woman and a mother, and in her way sincere in her care for other people.

Rejecting cruelty, organically hating death and destruction, woman, the mother, the inspirer of the best feeling of man, the object of his adoration, the source of life and poetry, cries to-day :

'Let them all be hanged, shot, destroyed.'

There is some appalling and sombre inconsistency here, capable of destroying the very oreole with which history has surrounded woman. Possibly the basis of it lies in the fact that the woman does not realize her great role in the civilization of the world; that she does not feel her creative powers and succumbs to the despair brought forth in the soul of the mother by the chaos of these revolutionary days.

Maxim Gorky says that he does not defend the Bolsheviks; on the contrary, as far as he is able he fights against them. Nevertheless he tells the women of Russia that

Something good can be said even about the Bolsheviks.

The people has found its spirit. New powers are maturing in it, for which no madness of political innovators can be of danger, no matter how fantastic these innovations are, nor the greed of foreign robbers who are too sure of their invincibility.

Russia will not perish if you, mothers, will, as a deed of sacrifice, pour into the bloody and filthy chaos of our days all that is beautiful and all that is gentle in your souls. You, mothers, should remember how much your love brings into our life. This thought alone will save you from the painful oppression of hatred, which kills in you the greatest of feelings, the feelings of a mother.

Have you attempted to soften the cruelty of the bitter struggle? Have you attempted to reform human habits, to make more noble the relations which now cause your just indignation? You are swept away by fruitless hatred of the adult generation; but would it not be more worthy to preserve the youth and the children from the corrupting influences of our days? You spend all your feeling and all your attention in gathering facts which condemn man and create disgust for him. But would it not be better to try by the power of your inspiration to arouse emotions and ideals which would elevate man in his own opinion as well as yours?

Physically the mothers of mankind, you can also be its spiritual mothers, for if you condemn, it means that you stand on a height from which you can see more than other can. Lift others to the same height as yourselves!

Russia is living now through the agony of birth-

throes. Do you wish to hasten the time when something new, beautiful, kind, and human will be born? Then let me assure you mothers, that hatred and wrath are not the most successful midwives.

Poetry in the Simple and the Primitive.

In a beautiful little essay, pregnant with thought, published in the *Century Magazine*, Max Beerbohm points out that it is really the simple and primitive instincts and attitude in humanity that touch the heart of man and the soul of the artist. Says he :

Primitive and essential things have great power to touch the heart of the beholder. I mean such things as a man ploughing a field, or sowing or reaping ; a girl filling a pitcher from a spring ; a young mother with her child ; a fisherman mending his nets ; a light from a lonely hut on a dark night.

Things such as these are the best themes for poets and painters, and appeal to aught that there may be of painter or poet in any one of us. Strictly, they are not so old as the hills, but they are more significant and eloquent than hills. Hills will outlast them ; but hills glacially surviving the life of man on this planet are of as little account as hills tremulous and hot in ages before the life of man had its beginning. Nature is interesting only because of us. And the best symbols of us are such sights as I have just mentioned—sights unalterable by fashion of time or place, sights that in all countries always were and never will not be.

It is true that in many districts nowadays there are elaborate new kinds of machinery for ploughing the fields and reaping the corn. In the most progressive districts of all, I daresay, the very sowing of the grain is done by means of some engine, with better result than could be got by hand. For aught I know, there is a patented invention for catching fish by electricity. It is natural that we should, in some degree, pride ourselves on such triumphs. It is well that we should have pictures about them and poems about them. But such poems and pictures cannot touch our hearts very deeply. They cannot stir in us the sense of our kinship with the whole dim past and the whole dim future.

In Mr. Beerbohm's opinion whatever may happen with the 'wonders of our civilization', the primitive and essential things will, happily, never, anywhere, wholly cease.

We smile already at the people of the early nineteenth century who thought that the vistas opened by applied science were very heavenly. We have travelled far along those vistas. Light is *not* abundant it them, is it? We are proud of having gone such a long way, but . . . peradventure, those who come after us will turn back, sooner or later, of their own accord. This is a humbling thought. If the wonders of our civilization are doomed, we should prefer them to cease through lack of the minerals and mineral

products that keep them going. Possibly they are not doomed at all. But this chance counts for little as against the certainty that, whatever happens, the primitive and essential things will never, anywhere, wholly cease, while mankind lasts.

Medical Statesmanship.

In the *Century Magazine* Glen Frank elaborates the view that the statesmanship of politics and of industry may learn much from the statesmanship of science. He exhorts politicians to carefully read Dr. Simon Flexner's address before the Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons on methods of meeting the menace of the recurrent influenza epidemic and then observes :

Strike out the word "influenza" wherever it occurs in the address and substitute any one of a number of problems,—industrial unrest, the high cost of living or war,—and the address becomes a manual of methods for statesmen and captains of industry and labor leaders. Here are a few deductions that lie within easy reach upon a first reading of the address. These deductions are as fundamental as they are obvious.

First, Dr. Flexner recognizes that *disease must be dealt with at its source.*

In this principle of dealing with causes rather than effects lies the first law and the final test of statesmanship. The political and industrial life of this country has been cursed by the strange reluctance of leadership to deal with root causes.

Second, Dr. Flexner recognizes that *the cause of disease may lie far from its breaking-out point.* In the modern world Boston may have Bombay to thank for an epidemic.

There is hardly a single national problem, political or economic, that does not have its international implications. Just now we are in great danger of ignoring this cardinal principle of modern politics and present-day economics.

Third, Dr. Flexner recognizes that *any adequate attack upon disease must be carried on continuously in the long period before the acute or epidemic stage is reached.*

The time to break a strike is twentyfive years before it is called. The time to stop a war is a century before it is declared. We must think less about the arbitration of conflicting interests and more about the administration of common interests. We must learn to anticipate and to discount crises. Whether in industrial or international relations, all the machinery in the world for the settlement of disputes is not worth a penny unless there is adequate organization for the prevention of disputes. The administrator, not the judge, is the key man of the future.

Fourth, Dr. Flexner recognizes that *the masses must have the mood and the mind to cooperate with the scientist before disease can be defeated.*

Here, certainly, is a vital suggestion to politicians and business men. Perfect policy may go on the rocks because the popular mind fails to realize its significance.

Fifth, Dr. Flexner recognizes that *as the world moves faster, so disease moves faster*. This is the argument for promptness in preventive measures.

We must learn that we have n't an eternity at our disposal in which to meet the major issues that have arisen in international and industrial life. A stage-coach statesmanship may prove the undoing of an express-train world. Influenza is not the only thing that spreads with epidemic swiftness. Social unrest, international hatreds, military and naval rivalries, and war are similarly contagious, and travel with all the speed of modern life. We simply have n't the time to waste in dabbling with specifics and quack nostrums. The times require prompt and preventive statesmanship.

It is not a mere trick of analogy to find in disease prevention the best methods of political and industrial statesmanship. As some one has phrased it, while disease is the misery of the world, the misery of the world is its disease. The miseries of poverty, of inefficiency, of injustice, and of war are, after all, pathologic problems, and must be met with the same scientific methods Dr. Flexner proposes in the world fight against the world plague of influenza. Paltering opportunism is suicidal.

A Negro Monthly.

The Negroes in America number about ten millions, or less than one fourth the number of Bengalis in India. Their leading organ is *The Crisis*, a monthly magazine, edited by Dr. W. E. Burgherdt Du-Bois, one of the foremost of Negro spokesmen. In the opinion of the *Literary Digest*,

The story of the rise of this journal is a significant chapter in negro history. For many years after slavery the American negro was an inarticulate and unorganized race, with no national vehicle of public expression. Then in November, 1910, *The Crisis* was founded, first as the official organ of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. "We realized," said Dr. DuBois, "that a disfranchised person gets no rights which he does not fight for. We needed a magazine which could present aggressively the case of the colored people. We started with little money. The association at first paid the salary of the editor, and provided office room, and agreed to make itself responsible for any deficit up to \$50 a month. We never had to call on the association for that \$50. Of our first issue we printed one thousand copies, and we disposed of them.

Between 1914 and 1918 our circulation doubled. In 1919 our average monthly circulation was 94,908. Usually a magazine counts five readers to each copy of a magazine sold, but with *The Crisis* we count more, for the magazine is passed around from hand to hand, often until the copy is literally worn out. Our subscribers are all over the world—in France, England, Australia, New Zealand, India, in all parts of

Africa and in the West Indies. Most of our readers are negroes, but we have, I should judge, from five thousand to ten thousand white readers. Over 90 per cent. of our writers are negro."

Is there any monthly magazine in English or in any of the vernaculars of India whose circulation approximates that of *The Crisis*?

Salaries for College Students.

We read in the *Literary Digest*:

Harvard students of engineering will hereafter be able to earn salaries at the same time that they are taking part of their college course. During the junior year a plan, already successful at the University of Cincinnati and to some extent at the University of Pittsburg, will be adopted, whereby students will be given an opportunity to combine classroom work with six months of active engineering practise and industrial training, for which they will receive pay. The new plan will be inaugurated in June and will apply to mechanical, electrical, civil, sanitary, and municipal engineering. Every student who wishes to take the industrial training work will spend half his time during his junior year working in industrial or engineering plants within easy reach of Cambridge.

Australia and the Crescograph.

The *Adelaide Advertiser* of Australia quotes the following from an article on the crescograph which originally appeared in a London paper:

This invention may affect every one of us, and it may be that our breakfast-table will bear witness to it within a year or two. For now the agriculturist has a certain means of finding out the best methods of food-production.

To try the effect of a certain manure on corn, for instance, he will not need to wait a whole season, but can put the corn in this magnifying apparatus, add the manure, and the spot of light on the screen will tell him exactly the effect the manure is having on the plant. Sir Jagadis has found out already, by means of his apparatus, that what were considered deadly poisons for plants are, if given in tiny doses, excellent tonics. Is it not possible that, as a result of experiments with his wonderful apparatus, we may have three harvests a year instead of one and be able to grow food on what has hitherto been barren land? Never did a wizard produce such wonders from his caldron as Dr. Bose from his laboratory. He has been for years among the greatest men of India.

When will the imperial and provincial agricultural departments of India awaken to the practical value of the crescograph?

Tell-tale House Fronts in Japan.

Passing along a street in our cities, one will not, in the vast majority of cases, be able to obtain the slightest information about the men or the women who reside in the houses. With the exception of traders' sign-boards and professional brass plates here and there, a number on the door is all. But in Japan, as described by H. J. Black in *Chambers's Journal*, they do things differently.

According to police regulations, the entrance to every residence must have a small wooden tablet affixed to it, bearing thereon the name of the street and the number of the house, and another tablet, called *shosatsu*, on which is written the name of the responsible householder.

The *shosatsu* is generally a board two and a half or three inches broad by six to seven inches in length. At better-class houses it is often of white china, the writing being burnt into the glaze.

Another form which is considered very *chic* is a tablet made of some valuable wood carved so as to leave the characters in relief.

On moving into a new house the first thing to do is to see that the law is complied with and that the *shosatsu* is fixed on the gate (if the house boasts one) or over the front-door. The name on the *shosatsu* is not always that of the actual head of the household. It is the name of the person in whose name the house is registered and who is responsible to the police or other authorities; it is often that of an infant child, a younger brother, or other relative.

The writer adds :—

Many houses bear women's names on the *shosatsu*.

Sometimes, though rarely, the names of other inmates are placed over the door, but there is no police regulation about this, except that boarding houses have to place their boarders' names outside for all to see.

A person fortunate enough to possess a telephone always has the number proudly displayed over his entrance—generally a small blacklacquered metal tablet with the figures in white. Near this will often be observed a quaint, usually round-shaped, enamelled or painted tin disc, about three inches in diameter. This is the fire insurance mark. Every fire insurance company has its own special metal plate, which is at once nailed to the lintel when a house is insured.

There are always several small pieces of paper pasted over the door; these are placed there by the police. One is to certify that the periodical *Oshoji*, or 'Great Cleaning,' has taken place; and perhaps another tells us that the sanitary conditions are satisfactory. What, however, others stand for is known only

to the police themselves. That they give secret information about the inmates is certain.

The description of the sacred papers and the charms is very interesting.

Noticeable over the entrance of many houses are sacred papers bearing the name or the form of some deity. Among those most frequently seen is that of the wolf. These come from a temple situated on the summit of Mount Kumana in Joshu, and are supposed to be a protection against burglars. Another bears a rough picture of two *Nio* (kings), guardians of the gates of many a Buddhist temple. These are to prevent evil spirits from 'entering' the house. A paper with the name of the fire-god, Akiha-sama, protects against fire. These and many other charms are to be procured for a small sum at this or that celebrated temple, but there are also home-made charms. A piece of red paper bearing the name of the ancient warrior Tametome will keep smallpox from the house. The story goes that when Tametome was exiled to an island he prevented the evil spirit Hosokami—smallpox god—from landing, and on that occasion so frightened him that the name alone of the doughty soldier is enough to make him keep his distance.

A *shamiji*—a flat wooden spoon used for serving rice—nailed to the door is a preventive of colds. During the late influenza epidemic a paper inscribed with the words 'Hisamatsu is out,' or 'Hisamatsu does not reside here,' was often to be seen pasted over the door. Hisamatsu and O Some were lovers who lived many years ago. They were parted by cruel destiny, and ever since their spirits have been seeking for each other. It is believed that O Some brings a cold wherever she enters in her search for the loved and lost one—hence the announcement that he is not within.

The impression of a child's hand, made by blacking the palm with Indian ink and pressing it upon white or red paper, will preserve the child from various kinds of sickness. A sprig of holly nailed to the lintel at the *Setsubun*—a movable festival falling generally in February, when every Japanese adds a year to his or her age, keeps away demons and all evil influences. Belief in charms differs greatly in different places, but the few mentioned will give some idea of their nature. Smile not at the superstition! Remember, even in the British Isles a horse-shoe is supposed to 'bring good luck.'

Some of the marks serve a very useful purpose. For instance,

Formerly it was the rule that if there was a well upon the premises, the fact had to be proclaimed by a square board marked with the character for well—*ido*. This was to show where water could be obtained in the event of fire in the neighbourhood. This regulation may yet be in force in country places, but, owing to water now being laid on in pipes, it has fallen into desuetude in the cities.

This by no means exhausts the subject.

Facts about Einstein.

According to the *Scientific American* professor Albert Einstein, of relativity fame,

who is now little more than 40, conceived the outlines of his theory of relativity at the age of eighteen, and he was only twenty-seven when he presented it to the world. But these facts must not mislead us into thinking that he was recognised as a boy prodigy. On the contrary, as *Current Opinion* notes, he showed no brightness at all in boyhood and youth. We read in the same monthly :

The unpromising youth of Cavendish, one of the greatest chemists of all time, is well known—unpromising, that is, from an intellectual point of view. Liebig, perhaps the supreme scientist of the nineteenth century in his field, was a failure so complete in early manhood that he was once publicly reprimanded and asked by his instructors what would become of him if he would not learn anything. The latest instance of this tendency of original minds to reveal a stumbling propensity in the beginning is afforded, we read in the *Journal de Geneve*, by Albert Einstein, the immortal author of the theory of relativity. Einstein acquired in the country where his fame was achieved—Germany—an additional discredit by his attitude to the war. He did not hesitate to denounce the militarism of the war-lords at a time when such a step involved him in personal peril. When the German scientists issued their manifesto he had to flee because he was so strong in his dissent. He protested that the war was a blunder and a crime on the part of the Imperial German government, and that action afforded the press of Berlin an opportunity to recall the failures and chagrins of his youth.

Albert Einstein was born at Ulm in March, 1879, of Jewish parents. He made his preliminary studies at Munich. He showed no brightness at all, neither versatility, nor readiness in the use of words, nor even the verbal memory of some "bright" children. When he was sixteen he went to Zurich in the hope of entering the Federal polytechnic school, but he did not do well in his examinations. Moreover, his slowness in study had left him too old even at eighteen to be eligible for admission. He was what would be called "thick."

Einstein, for all that, was an instance of the well-known statement that mathematicians of genius are always precocious. He was in truth a precocious youth, having made privately and unknown to his teachers long and profound researches into the science of numbers. His work in this domain was outside the course of study and there were few among his instructors who were observing enough or competent enough to realize that a little known field was being explored in solitude by this uncouth and timid boy. He seemed inarticulate as well as torpid. Had it not been for the discernment of one of the professors, who, after a talk with the boy, decided that he ought to be tolerated, he would have been sent home in something very like disgrace. He succeeded in getting permission to pass the examination if he could, but to the consternation of his family he failed miserably.

After a great deal of trouble Einstein managed to get leave to go to Aarau, where he pursued his studies for

the next four years. His educators had faith in the future of Einstein, but even at this time he was not what would be called a brilliant pupil. His mind seemed to lack the shining traits, the versatility and the strength in expression that attract the attention of the observer. He was rather of the type that occupies itself with subjects different from those pursued in the classroom. He never shone in the usual courses. Anatole France has observed that it is the type of mind represented in these respects by Einstein that travels the farthest.

Professor Bose's work in Physiology and Psychology.

Some observations of *Current Opinion* on Professor J. C. Bose's researches show true insight into the nature of his work:

Professor Bose is not content with empirical discoveries or so-called applied science. Out of the power of life to create internal resistance to outside forces he has sought to establish the reality of Will. He asserts that, in the determination of sensation, will may play as important a part as the shock from outside. Through control of the molecular disposition of the nerve, the character of the resulting sensation may become profoundly modified. Man, in other words, is not passive in the hand of destiny.

The Bogey of Bolshevism.

Amos Pinchot writes words of truth in *Current Opinion* on the origin of Bolshevism.

When you step on a sleeping dog he jumps, and nine times out of ten, comes to his feet with a growl. Otherwise he would not be a normal, self-respecting dog. You can make all the laws in the world against dogs jumping and growling when trod on. You can denounce the whole race of dogs as anti-social, dangerous and advocates of direct action. But if you really would like to have a creature lie quiet with covered fangs, you might well consider the advisability of keeping your hob-nailed boots off his hide. The reaction of human beings to external stimuli is generally similar to that of animals. Especially is this so when excitement, caused by oppression or disbelief in the good faith of the established order breaks down the conventions with which so-called civilization surrounds us, and we begin to move directly and primitively from cause to effect. Then we have what it is to-day the fashion to call Bolshevism.

In other words, Bolshevism is neither the result of creeds nor the product of propagandists. It is simply the effect of injustice on the human animal, here and everywhere. Any man who knows life and history, knows this. And he is also aware that there is more social dynamite in the statistics of child mortality in jails full of men convicted for their opinions, or in the gouging of the public by profiteering trusts

and monopolies, than in the total propaganda of all the revolutionary-minded persons in the country. There is but one important element, one effective agitator and supreme propagandist, and that is injustice itself.

These observations require the attention of the theocrats, the bureaucrats, the plutocrats and the capitalists of India.

A New Pain-deadener.

The Philippine Review records the discovery of a new aid to surgery in the following words:

One of the greatest recent contributions to science is the discovery of a method whereby a surgical patient may be rendered insensible to pain without the loss of consciousness—as great an accomplishment perhaps as the original discovery of anesthesia by Sir Humphrey Davis 125 years ago. The credit for this scientific achievement belongs to Dr. James Cotton, of Toronto, Canada, but the perfection of the basic principles to a point where the discovery is made available to surgical and medical and dental science is due to the efforts and final success of a corps of chemists associated with the American firm of R. L. Dupont de Nemours & Co., of Wilmington, Delaware.

With regard to the usefulness of this scientific discovery, we read from *The Springfield Weekly Republican*, February 19, 1920:

"Not only does this new analgesic, which is composed of highly refined di-ethyl ether, render a patient insensible to pain without destroying consciousness, but it has been proved that its application is not followed by the usual nausea so familiar in the use of previously known anaesthetics. It is now possible for the patient not only to administer the pain-deadening ether to himself but also to watch, fully conscious and without any sensation of pain, the reduction of an abscess, the extraction of a tooth, the sewing of wounds and other similar minor surgical operations wherein total anaesthesia formerly was necessary."

A Year of "Appeasement."

More than a year has elapsed since the Paris Conference presented to the world the Treaty of Versailles with which

it intended to bring the Great War and all war to an end for ever. But, as the *New Republic* of New York rightly observes, the event has not fulfilled the intention. Great Nations are still at war either with one another or with themselves.

The events of the past year have, we claim, justified the opponents of the Treaty of Versailles. They have exposed the fallacy of those who argued that the Treaty furnished in the Covenant a dependable means of curing its own errors. The existing governments of France, Great Britain and Italy will always shrink from a sufficiently drastic revision because in their policy and conviction they do not embody the humane principles which constitute the motive and excuse for revision. In spite of professions to the contrary all the governments and nations really base their behavior on the politics of power and the economics of exclusive national interest and private profit. That is why they wrote as bad a Treaty as the Treaty of Versailles. That is why so many liberals complacently accepted the Treaty and deluded themselves with the promise of revising a contract which they were in the meantime solemnly promising to execute. That is why no sufficient revision has taken place and why Europe, which cannot live and prosper under post-war conditions without the binder of a just and humane international order, is crumbling to pieces physically and morally under the impact of legalized national irresponsibility and political violence. That is why no effective revision will take place until the existing governments are superseded by others which, however much they are willing to back up policy by force, will refuse to adopt a policy which cannot endure without the unremitting support of force. That is why the agency of effective revision is not a League of Nations which was created to underwrite the Treaty and necessarily starts with a presumption in its favor, but a new international conference which starts with the negation of the existing Treaty. Finally, that is why until such a conference can assemble, the destructive forces unleashed by the Treaty will have to run their course. The near destiny of Europe is not only, as Mr. Keynes says, no longer in the hands of any man, but it is no longer in the hands of any Power state or group of Power states. While this destiny is working itself out, there is only one way in which liberals can influence and arrest the ultimate result—which is by recognizing candidly why the world is out of joint and by providing the beginnings of a remedy in the "assertion of the truth, the unveiling of illusion, the dissipation of hate and the enlargement and instruction of men's hearts and minds."

UNIVERSITY LEGISLATION FOR BENGAL

BY SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI.

SINCE the publication of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission a year ago, the Government of India have announced more than once their intention of proceeding with legislation on the basis of the recommendations of the Commission, before the Reform Act comes into operation. The recommendations of the Commission are divided into three main groups. These are, first, the recommendations relating to the establishment of a teaching University in Calcutta; secondly, the proposals for placing secondary schools and teaching up to the intermediate standard under a Board to be newly constituted; and, thirdly, the terms for the establishment of a University at Dacca. The Government of India have already adopted the third scheme by passing at the last session of the Indian Legislative Council a measure for the constitution of a unitary teaching and residential University at Dacca. The projected University at Dacca has not yet been set up, but arrangements have already been set in train to bring it into existence at an early date, with Mr. P. J. Hartog, Academic Registrar of London University, who was a member of the Calcutta University Commission, as Vice-Chancellor. With reference to the two other schemes, the Simla authorities have indicated their plans in the Resolution published by the Department of Education in January last. It was necessary, the Resolution stated, that the Government of India should take early action regarding those recommendations which directly affected the University of Calcutta. It was their intention, we were then told, to place before the Imperial Legislative Council a measure based on the lines foreshadowed in the Resolution. They had already discussed the provisions of the proposed Bill with the Government of Bengal. The Local Government were in accord with the Government of India regarding the suitability of the action contemplated. The authorities proposed to publish the text of the Bill as soon as possible. It has not been published up to the time of my writing. It has, however, been announced repeatedly, and in various ways,

that the Government of India are determined to pass the proposed measure during the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Government of India have disposed of the question of the future organisation of secondary and intermediate education in a summary fashion. The Calcutta University Commission described their proposals in regard to the constitution of intermediate colleges, by separating intermediate classes from the University, and bringing them under the control of a body called the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, as "the very pivot of our whole scheme of reform." The Government of India have themselves described this scheme as "the most important recommendation of the Commission." But they quietly leave this complicated and difficult problem to the Local Government. They are asked to take such action as they think fit on the lines of the recommendations made by the Calcutta University Commission.

The proposals of the Government of India have naturally, from the very beginning, caused grave misgivings in the public mind. The Senate of the Calcutta University have repeatedly protested against hurried legislation. The Indian Association and the British Indian Association, the two most influential public bodies in the Province, have submitted representations to Government urging postponement of legislation till the reformed legislatures are brought into existence. A number of public meetings have been held all over the Province, asking the Government of India to stay action. Representative organs of public opinion and leading members of the community have expressed their concurrence with this view. But the authorities appear to remain unmoved by these protests. That the existing system of secondary and university education requires a thorough overhauling will be readily admitted by all who have the future progress of the Province at heart. But this task cannot be accomplished in a day. The improvement of education that the country stands in need of cannot be effected by a mere legislative or administrative decree. Those who raise their voice against

the proposed legislation do so not because they do not realise the great importance of educational reform, but because they feel that it is essential for the success of any scheme of reform, that may be adopted, that it should not be forced upon the people by an all-powerful foreign bureaucracy. The fact that the proposals of Government have aroused grave suspicion is itself a strong reason for putting off legislation. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says in his new work entitled "The Government of India", that University reform in India would meet with opposition, not on its merits, or demerits, but because it was a change brought about by Government. In the case of the legislation now proposed by the Government of India, who can say that they have not given good reasons for being treated as suspect? Mr. Ramsay Macdonald goes to the very root of the problem. He says: "But if the authorities could only gain the confidence of the Indian educated community as regards their educational policy, they would receive its support in making the necessary changes. This can only be done under a system of self-government."

It is not the purpose of the present article to discuss the various proposals of Government. I propose to set forth as briefly as possible the arguments that justify the public in demanding that the Government of India should not take any action, legislative or otherwise, in regard to the reconstruction of secondary and university education in Bengal during the life of the present Imperial Legislative Council. It is now a matter of history that the Government of India resisted up to the last moment the proposal of transferring secondary and university education to Indian ministers. In their Despatch to the Secretary of State on Division of Functions, dated the 16th April, 1919, they said that on a review of all the circumstances, they considered that there was "a compelling case for the transfer of primary education." But there was, in their opinion, "an equally compelling case for retaining secondary and university education in the hands of the official and more, experienced half of the Provincial Government." They further observed: "India stands to-day in a critical position; and her immediate future, apart from her slower political growth, depends upon the solution of social, economic and industrial problems to which a good

system of secondary education is the chief key. If we handed it over at this juncture to untried hands we should be guilty of grave dereliction of duty." As to the transfer of higher education the Government of India stated that "the time has not come when such important issues as progress and reform in higher education can be committed to the ordinary machinery of the provincial legislatures", and that they could not "assent to a proposal to place the control of legal, medical, engineering, technical and industrial colleges or schools in India in inexperienced hands." After the maintenance of law and order there was, in their opinion, no matter for which the responsibility of the British Government was heavier. We have seen how some of the Local Governments looked askance at the suggested transfer of secondary and university education. In Madras the Local Government were opposed to all transfer. Indeed, the Director of Public Instruction there told the Franchise Committee that no official would think of the possibility of education being transferred under any circumstance. In the Central Provinces there was strong opposition to the transfer of education, except primary education. In Behar the Local Government opposed the transfer. Bengal and Assam were opposed to the transfer of collegiate education.

In spite of strong official opposition, however, the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee accepted the recommendation of the Franchise Committee, that the whole of the field of education should be a transferred subject with certain reservations with regard to Bengal. They have included education in the provincial list "subject to Indian legislation controlling the establishment and regulating the constitutions and functions of new Universities", and it has been provided that among the classes of provincial legislation which the Governor will be required to reserve for the consideration of the Governor-General shall be legislation regulating the constitution and functions of any University unless such legislation has been subject to previous sanction. Legislation in Bengal with regard to the Calcutta University and with regard to the control and organisation of secondary education, shall be subject to previous sanction for a period of five years from the date when the reform scheme comes into operation. This, as the Functions Committee state in their Report

will give time to the Indian Legislature to pass, if it sees fit to do so, the legislation required to give effect to the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, and will secure such legislation against premature amendment. The matter was explained in the clearest possible language and in the most unambiguous manner by Mr. Feetham, Chairman of the Functions Committee, with whom the Hon Mr. H. L. Stephenson, I. C. S., Secretary, Government of Bengal, was associated, in his evidence before the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee. In replying to a question put by Sir Henry Craik, whether in Bengal provincial legislation with regard to the whole control and organisation of education was made subject to Indian legislation for a period of five years, Mr. Feetham made the following statement :

There is the point which you mentioned with regard to Bengal. There we do not divide ; we can hardly be said to divide the administration of education. We reserve legislation with regard to the Calcutta University, and with regard to the control and organisation of secondary education in Bengal to the Central Government to the extent, that the Provincial legislation on that subject must receive previous sanction, and that it is a subject on which in spite of any convention restricting the exercise by the Central Government of its power to legislate on provincial subjects, on this part of education in Bengal the right of the Indian Legislature to legislate for a period of years is formally recognised.

Mr. Feetham explained that the reason for the reservation about Bengal was that the Government of India had "given undertakings" with regard to carrying out by legislation the proposals of the Calcutta University Commission, which had been appointed by them, in so far as they were arrived at unanimously.

That is as regards legislation. That does not mean that the Government of India will take over the administration of the Calcutta University and of secondary education of Bengal for that period. They may reserve to themselves certain powers during that period by the Bill they invite the Indian legislature to pass, but it leaves education a Provincial subject for the purposes of administration, subject to any special powers which the Government of India may in these Bills think necessary for a period to reserve to themselves.

It is clear that though Bengal has been treated unfairly in the matter of transfer of secondary and university education, if Government proceed in the right spirit and the public is vigilant, she will not suffer much inspite of this reservation. What causes anxiety, however, is the fact that the authorities do not yet appear to be

reconciled to the transfer of secondary and higher education. This has naturally aroused suspicion in the public mind as to the future intentions of Government in regard to the transfer. It appears that Government having failed in their frontal attack have now adopted a flank movement. They resisted the treatment of secondary and higher education as a transferred subject. As they could not induce the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee to agree to their views, an attempt is now being made to protect the Department of Education from popular influence, as far as possible, in Bengal, in an indirect and insidious manner. Bengal has been penalised not because she is backward in education, but because alone among the Provinces, she has demonstrated her readiness and ability to advance the cause of higher education. The situation, therefore, demands the utmost watchfulness on the part of the general public, for the success of the Reforms will mainly depend on the rapidity with which we are able to extend education among the people, to improve the existing system of education and bring it to the level of the educational systems of the most advanced countries in the world.

The strongest argument against the measures that the Government of India now propose to take for the reconstruction of secondary and higher education in Bengal is supplied by the authorities themselves. While opposing the transfer of such education to popular ministers, the Government of India in their Despatch on Division of Functions frankly admitted that their "educational policy has not been a success in the past." They said : "That it has at times being lacking in foresight and perspective we do not deny. During the lean years education received only such funds as were available after more imperious needs had been satisfied." "We admit, the errors of the past and we ask for time to repair them : their reparation is, perhaps, the most urgent task before us, if constitutional changes are to bring to India the happiness which we hope. For these reasons we accept the Committee's proposal to transfer primary education, and we strongly dissent from their proposal to transfer secondary, collegiate and technical (including medical and engineering) education." Sir San-karan Nair in his memorable Note of Dissent, appended to the Despatch, gave an unanswerable reply to the arguments advanced by the

Government of India against the transfer of secondary and higher education to popular ministers. He said: "Those who would keep education a reserved subject, do so, I fear, not in the interests of educational progress but for political reasons. They have themselves no scheme of education in view and their predecessors have been going on making experiment after experiment all in the face of Indian protest, which they themselves have now to acknowledge had ended in failure." Again: "It is the universal belief, and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that Primary English Education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons. Higher professional industrial and technical education is discouraged to favour English industries and recruitment in England of English officials." There could not be a more serious indictment of the policy that Government have so far followed in the matter of education than the one contained in the words of the late Education Member of the Government of India. A careful perusal of the grounds put forward by Government in support of their view intensifies the suspicion of Indians in their intention rather than allaying it. Indians sincerely believe—and this belief is strengthened by the past history of the educational policy of Government and their present attitude towards the educational aspirations of Indians—that the anxiety of Government to push forward far-reaching changes in their educational policy before the Reforms take shape, has not originated entirely from altruistic motives. If their educational policy has in the past been a failure—as they themselves have admitted it has been—how could they promise that it would be a success in the future? If so long as they enjoyed undivided responsibility in the administration of the country, the bureaucracy failed to fulfil their obligation to the people in a matter of such vital importance in so lamentable a manner, how could they ask them seriously to believe that they would be able to follow a more progressive and enlightened policy when the responsibility will rest in hands other than theirs. As Sir Sankaran Nair has said, the matter is far too important and vital to the interests of the nation for any further experiments to be made or for the matter to be left in the hands of those who stand thus self-convicted and whose promises have not been faithfully kept.

There can now be no doubt whatever that the only proper solution of the problem of education lies in entrusting the direction of education entirely to the hands of capable Indians. The success of the reforms depends on the creation of an intelligent and public-spirited electorate. Unless and until the majority of people have sufficient intelligence, Government will be controlled, not by public opinion, but by the opinion of a dominant few, and the type of government that the country will have will be entirely undemocratic in character. What is required above everything else, therefore, is a diffusion of knowledge to the widest possible extent, and the introduction of a well-considered and properly co-ordinated system of national education. These objects can never be achieved unless and until education is controlled and shaped by Indians themselves. This view was very ably urged by several European witnesses before the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee. The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland had appointed a committee to consider the constitutional reforms of India, and in particular their bearing upon the future of Indian education and the educational work of Christian Missions. This committee, through their representative Mr. J. H. Oldham, submitted a very interesting statement on the subject to the Joint Committee. "It seems to us axiomatic", the Committee of the Conference declare in the course of their statement, "that the people of India should be free to shape Indian education in accordance with their own ideas and should not have imposed on them an education framed according to Western conceptions". "The most urgent problem in India", they add, "seems to us to be a wider diffusion of the advantages of education, and the imbuing of the mind of the rising generation and in particular of the future leaders of the people, with just and worthy conceptions of life and conduct and true ideals of public life and citizenship. We desire to make clear that the education we have in view is not one shaped in accordance with Western traditions and ideas, but one based on the assured results of modern knowledge and expressing what is best in Indian tradition and culture as well as in the educational ideals of the West." The Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies have the fairness to acknowledge that there is a high

Indian tradition in regard to education, and that there is much in common between the best in Western ideals of education and the characteristic traits of education in ancient India.

Sir Archdale Earle, lately Chief Commissioner of Assam, one of the most liberal-minded among the members of the Indian Civil Service, who had a good deal to do with education, because he was appointed soon after Lord Curzon's time as Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, to carry out his educational proposals in this Province, in his evidence before the Joint Committee emphasised the view that the success of education in India could be achieved only under a popular Government. "I think," he said "education is a matter in which the people should express themselves as they wish and as they can, and I do not think that we as a bureaucratic Government, can lay down an educational policy which will be satisfactory; we have tried in the past and we do not think we have been altogether successful. We have been successful in many things, but I do not think we have made a great success of education. I think it is quite possible that the other Government—the popular side—may make a greater success of it. They should be allowed to work out their own salvation in respect of education. I think it is a particularly difficult subject for a bureaucratic Government to find a satisfactory solution of." Sir Archdale has laid bare the fundamental defects in the Indian educational system. He will find many thoughtful persons, both among his countrymen and among Indians, fully in agreement with his views. Justice Sir John Woodroffe, Judge, Calcutta High Court, in his work on "The Seed of Race—An Essay on Indian Education" develops the theory that the charge of education should be placed in the hands of Indians. If India had had in the past, he says, the will and power to direct her own education and her affairs, she would have done so, and there would have been neither the need nor opportunity for English control. Education by the English was, therefore necessary, and what was necessary was beneficial. "But it does not follow," Sir John Woodroffe adds, "that it will always continue to be so, or at least to the same extent as heretofore. India like other countries is changing, with increasing rapidity. The spirit of the Indian peoples is acquiring power

to express itself—that is its Indian self. What the English can teach is of value. But that is not now enough, except for those who are content to be their shadow. What is now needed is an education which, whilst teaching what is of worth in the West, will yet help the Indian people to value their own past contribution to world-culture and to realise their own Indian selves. A conscious and independent self may, and will, assimilate foreign food which is good for it." Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, though he does not deal with the subject with such thoroughness and in so comprehensive a manner as Sir John Woodroffe has done, means the same thing when he says in his new work, referred to above, that they must abandon completely the idea that Indian education has to be controlled by Englishmen. Amongst prominent Indians both Sir Sankaran Nair and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu have urged that Indians should be allowed to work out their own salvation in education. Sir Sankaran has said so in his Note of Dissent. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu expressed the same view in the course of a speech that he delivered in London last year under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, Education Minister of the United Kingdom.

If Indians, therefore, desire to safeguard the future of education, it is imperative that they should, above every thing else, endeavour to secure its control. This, however, they cannot expect to do if Government persist in proceeding with the proposed University legislation for Bengal in the autumn session of the Imperial Legislation Council. Similar legislation is also contemplated for other Provinces. It is not difficult to realise why the bureaucracy are so anxious to carry their proposals at any cost. If they are able to determine now the character of the future educational machinery of Bengal, it will not be easy for anybody, however influential he might be, to change it for sometime to come at least. This would amply serve the purpose of the authors of the projected measures of reconstruction. By resolving to deal with the question of reconstruction of secondary and higher education in the summary and expeditious manner in which it is now proposed to be done, Government go completely against the spirit of the Reform Act. The underlying principle of the Reforms is that Indians are entitled to direct the Government of

their country through elected representatives. The ultimate object of the Reforms is the realisation of responsible government in India. This means that the executive should be responsible to the people through their elected representatives. It is proposed to proceed, in the beginning, by transferring responsibility for certain functions of Government, and it has been decided to take the first steps in the direction in the Provinces. It has accordingly been provided to transfer from among the provincial subjects, subjects referred to as "transferred subjects", education being one of them, to the administration of the Governor acting with ministers to be appointed from the elected members of legislative councils, and for the collection of revenues or moneys for the purpose of such administration. His Majesty has set his Royal seal to this principle by acknowledging that the progress of a country cannot be consummated so long as the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests, is not conceded. "The control of her domestic concerns," declares His Majesty in his now historic proclamation, "is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to taking upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment." And then His Majesty calls upon the officers of Government "to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people." I have said that the proposed measures for the reconstruction of secondary and higher education in Bengal are entirely opposed to the spirit of the Reforms. This is so because these measures are calculated to remove education indirectly from popular influence. They attempt to place education by a clever artifice, more than even at present, under departmental official control. Is this the way in which opportunity is to be given to Indians "for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase?" Is this the manner in which the officers of Government propose to carry out His Majesty's mandate "to assist the people and their represen-

tatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions?" It is for Indians now to withstand the sinister designs of an intransigent officialdom.

A very powerful reason why the proposed legislation should not be undertaken before the reconstituted legislatures come into existence is the sweeping and unprogressive nature of the changes contemplated by the Educational Department of the Government of India. The Calcutta University Commission themselves own that the changes that they recommend are of a comprehensive and far-reaching nature. In the words of the Commission, their proposals amount to "a complete reconstruction of the whole system of Secondary and University education in Bengal" and to "a complete departure from Indian University traditions." "We do not disguise from ourselves the fact", they say, "that the changes that we have proposed both in the methods of instruction and in the organisation of the University and its Colleges are so great as to amount to a revolution in the University system as it now stands." "I feel," said Sir Michael Sadler, who was President of the Commission, in the course of his very interesting evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, "that what we proposed is a revolutionary change in the administration of education in Bengal. It means the re-casting of a whole system; it means a new demand on the public finances of Bengal and on its private generosity; a demand for money help far in advance of anything hitherto given." Besides being of wide scope and of extensive application the recommendations of the Commission are of an extremely complicated nature, being in many important matters interconnected and interdependent. This is what a very competent English educationalist, Mr. Ernest Barker, Fellow and Tutor of New College Oxford, and author of a well-known work on Greek Political Theory and of a treatise on Indian Constitutional Reforms, an independent critic, says in the course of an eminently thoughtful and suggestive article in a recent issue of *The Edinburgh Review* on the recommendations of the Commission. "Their programme is large and they themselves anticipate that it will take years to realise. It is perhaps arguable that they have been too ambitious. To build the building they plan, there is need for a prolonged and sustained effort. Might

not have been better to suggest some few simple and clear-cut reforms, and to have pressed for their immediate execution?" The proposals of the Government of India are, however, even more drastic than those of the Calcutta University Commission. In fact in many vital matters they differ materially from the recommendations of the Commission and are most reactionary and illiberal.

The Senate of the Calcutta University in their preliminary letter on the Resolution to the Government of India have exposed with great skill and consummate ability the manœuvre employed by the Education Department. "The Resolution contemplates," the Senate state, "a departure from many of the fundamental recommendations made by the Commission which are treated as if they were of minor importance. Besides this, the whole scope of the Resolution is by no means reassuring, as, far-reaching changes, which are described by the Commissioners themselves as revolutionary in character, are apparently intended to be carried through expeditiously, without adequate safeguards that in the process of rapid reconstruction the facilities for high education will not be seriously impaired." Again, while referring to the proposals of the Department of Education in regard to secondary and intermediate education they observe: "There can be no room for controversy that this reactionary plan is in substance an attempt to departmentalise not merely the schools but also the intermediate colleges. The extreme gravity of the danger to public interests involved in a proposal of this character cannot be overestimated....." The action contemplated by Government is calculated to render education much more costly than it is at present and to limit the too restricted facilities for education, existing at present, rather than extending them. The result of this will be disastrous to the future progress of the country. In England, the Minister of Education speaks of a great increase in the number of secondary schools aided by the State, furnishing at little or no cost an education to boys and girls alike, and of the University as a democratic institution, open to all, and spreading its influence over the whole surface of national life." There he secures the adoption of a legislation whose result is to fit a great number of men and women for University life, and so increase the number of candidates for the bachelor's degree". The Secretariat at Simla, on the other hand is en-

gaged in forging measures, whose effect would be to allow only the favoured few to enter the temple of learning. A wise Government would never contemplate, and would always shrink from, such measures. A Government based on the will of the people would never dare to proceed in the way the authorities in India propose to remodel secondary and university education in Bengal. That the matter should not be dealt with in the present Council which is going to be replaced by more popular bodies in a few months, is so eminently reasonable a proposition, that it appears to us surprising that the authors of the proposed measure have not yet realised the utterly absurd and perverse nature of the enterprise upon which they have set their heart.

A careful consideration of the financial aspect of the scheme of reform outlined by the Calcutta University Commission will show how essential it is, that before any action is taken in the matter, adequate provision should be made for the requisite funds. The majority report of the Commission recommend that the Government should make an annual grant of 65 lakhs of rupees towards the cost of secondary and university education in addition to the present expenditure on education, besides the grants of certain lump-sums. If the amount of the annual grants recommended by the Commission be added to the present annual expenditure on education in Bengal, the total would come up to close upon 200 lakhs of rupees. The budget estimate for 1920-21 for education was Rs. 1,21,42,000. Besides it has to be borne in mind that substantial grants will be required for the extension and improvement of primary education and the introduction of effective schemes of technical, industrial, and commercial education. In this connection one must take into consideration the important fact that if the financial re-adjustment recommended by Lord Meston's Committee is accepted by the authorities in England, Bengal will find it difficult to meet even her normal expenditure. It has also to be noted that during the last few months considerable additions have been made to the expenses of the province owing to a phenomenal increase in salaries and establishments. Indeed, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Member of the Executive Council in charge of Education in Bengal, is reported to have stated sometime ago at the prize-giving ceremony of the Brahmo Girls' School in Calcutta, over which he presided, that the

position of the education budget of Bengal which, so far as the Government were concerned, was already by no means satisfactory, was going to be still more unsatisfactory when the financial settlement, arising out of the Reform Act, would become a *fiat accompli*.

There were two alternative courses by which the needed money could be obtained, namely either by a substantial retrenchment of public expenditure, or, by fresh taxation. Both these methods should be left out of account for the present. There can be no more reasonable proposal than that of applying the pruning knife to the present overgrown public expenditure. But such a proposal would be opposed by very powerful parties. The burden on the tax-payer has reached a point beyond which any further addition would be oppressive to many and would, therefore, be resented by a very considerable section of the community. If still, however, it is considered necessary to levy fresh taxation for the extension of education, such a course should be taken by the reformed councils and that only with the concurrence of the people concerned, that is, as the Commission say, "only when those who will have to pay the taxes are ready to do so." The Resolution of the Education Department is, however, silent on the point. It is amazing that Government do not think it necessary to say anything on a subject of such fundamental importance as the provision of funds for carrying out these proposals, beyond making the short statement that "funds will be required for the purpose." The attitude that the Government of India have maintained in this matter in spite of the repeated requests for information made by the Senate of the Calcutta University, important public associations, and organs of public opinion in the Province, has considerably intensified the suspicion aroused by the publication of the proposals. As the Senate of the Calcutta University observe in their letter to the Government of India, referred to above: "No sane individual, much less a circumspect public authority, would initiate an extensive scheme of reform, however desirable, unless the necessary funds are available. The attempt to reconstruct, without adequate funds, the entire educational machinery of a presidency would be as open to reproach, if not ridicule, as the endeavour of an individual who, without ascertaining whether he has sufficient money

for the purpose, embarks upon the demolition of his ancestral dwelling house and the erection of an expensive structure, which, however ideal, proves in the end to be beyond his limited means." Education will be a transferred subject and the Minister, and consequently the Legislative Council ultimately, will be required to provide the funds for the extension and improvement of education. A scheme involving such a heavy outlay, out of all proportion to the resources of the Province, should not be considered and sanctioned by any legislature other than the Council which will be required to find the necessary funds.

Nothing could be more unfair and unjust to Bengal than that the proposed Calcutta University Bill should be passed by a legislature which is nearing its end and is now in an almost moribund condition. It is more a dying institution, than a live legislative body. Constituted as it now is, it cannot in any way be regarded as a truly representative institution. It no more reflects the views of the people of the country than does the present British House of Lords the opinion of the public in the United Kingdom. In one respect both the institutions bear a close resemblance. If you wish to get the support of the House of Lords in any project which is reactionary, you may be sure of securing it, though the House excites the derision and contempt of the thoughtful and progressive section of the community in England for its impotence. The Imperial Legislative Council is not an impotent legislature, but its atmosphere is as conducive to the growth of retrogressive ideas as is that of the gilded chamber to the germination of reactionary counsels, and where backward or illiberal opinions prevail popular and progressive views have very little chance of flourishing or finding acceptance. The present Imperial Legislative Council is not, therefore, the proper body to take into consideration, and accord legislative sanction to, a measure for the reconstruction of secondary and university education in Bengal, a province which is very inadequately represented on it, especially when it is going to be reconstituted so soon. The right course for the authorities to follow would be to place the proposals for consideration before the reconstituted Bengal Legislative Council instead of the new Indian Legislative Assembly, which will replace the present Imperial Legislative Council. If other provinces are allowed to undertake similar legislation,

why should Bengal be treated differently? From what Mr. Feetham said in the course of his evidence before the Joint Committee, Bengal can rightly claim that the proposed legislation should be undertaken by her Provincial Legislative Council. But before the proposed Bill is taken up for consideration by any legislative body it should be thoroughly recast and completely divested of its objectionable features. It should be reshaped and transformed into a really progressive measure of reform, of which the country stands so much in need.

There is yet another reason why the contemplated legislation should not be undertaken before the reconstituted Councils are brought into existence. The war has brought about a welcome change in the outlook of many people. So far, however, as the bureaucracy in India are concerned they remain almost wholly unaffected by the momentous events of the war. It does not appear that there has been any appreciable change in their angle of vision save, perhaps, in a very limited few, who, unfortunately, exercise no potent influence on the counsels of Government. A series of events have transpired and various measures have been adopted since the termination of the war, which indicate the present temper of the Indian officialdom. It will not serve any useful purpose to refer to these events or legislative enactments at any length now, but I will mention one or two measures, germane to the present subject of discussion, that have emanated from, or owe their inspiration to, the bureaucracy, to illustrate my point. The proposed measure for the reconstruction of the Calcutta University may be fitly described as a typical offspring of this bureaucratic spirit, which luxuriates so vigorously on the Indian soil. This spirit, of which Mr. Bernard Houghton, himself once a prominent member of the bureaucratic confraternity in India, has made so fine and accurate an analysis, is responsible for the many glaring defects of the measure which provides for the establishment of a University at Dacca. The constitution of the proposed Dacca University is the most vulnerable point in the Dacca University Act. It makes the University, with the limited power that is given to the Court, more or less a department of Government, instead of a popular body. The most retrograde feature of the Act is the application of the principle of communal representation to the University.

There is absolutely no justification for the extension of this principle to an academic body, in face of the declaration of Mr. Montagu that its introduction is prejudicial to the development and is opposed to the spirit of self-government. As Mr. Lionel Curtis has said, the concession of this principle when electoral institutions were inaugurated a few years ago, is the greatest blunder ever committed by the British Government. The other matter, to which I wish to refer in this connection, is the attitude of the bureaucracy towards the question of technical and industrial education. The subject was discussed at considerable length by the Indian Industrial Commission. The Commission, while dealing with the question of the control of such education, came to the conclusion that it should be placed under the Department of Industry. The Government of India, of course, concurred with this view. The Secretary of State has, however, reserved consideration of the question. In the meantime the Directors of Industries of the various Provinces have held a Conference under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland and have urged that technical and industrial education should be transferred to the Department of Industry. Both the example of England and the weight of British opinion are, however, against the recommendation made by the Directors of Industry. Nobody for a moment imagines that when the Reforms come into operation the authors and supporters of these retrogressive measures or proposals will undergo a complete transformation. There can, however, be no doubt that they will not then be able to disregard public opinion to the extent, and in the manner, they have been used to do all these years, and, uncontrolled exercise of arbitrary power by an irresponsible bureaucracy will come to an end. Much of our trouble is due to the way in which European officials in India make a fetish of "efficiency" and "expert guidance." These things are undoubtedly of great importance. "But," as a well-known modern writer says, "impatience to get things done overshoots the mark when it ignores the importance of securing the co-operation of those for whom things are to be done." The authorities should bear in mind that the results achieved by such efforts may not appear very dazzling, but what they do achieve is of greater value and of more enduring quality than any improvement that might be forced from outside.

NOTES

Great Men and Politics.

The Reforms have brought political activities to the forefront of our life, and the imagination of not a few of us has been fired by the ambition to make our mark in the public life of the country, as will be evident from the large number of candidates for election to the councils. This is a worthy and patriotic ambition, but at the risk of being misunderstood we must say that it is neither the worthiest nor the noblest, and let our young men, the future hopes of the motherland, not be led astray by the false glamour of politics from their serious vocations, in which success, if more arduous, carries a guerdon richer far than any that our councillors can dream of. The highest interests of the country are served not by its debaters, but by its thinkers and actors—by those who think deeply and act nobly. Politicians are a great force in the country's progress, but they serve the country on a comparatively lower plane, and do not require abilities of the highest order; a little gift of the gab, wide miscellaneous information, and the courage to hold their own in the face of opposition, make an ideal politician. But a public man who talks above the heads of his audience, or knows too much, and is not sufficiently delicate in handling popular half-truths, is not likely to make much headway. As Carlyle said, in an assembly of one hundred there may be ninety-nine fools and only one wise man, and the plenary justification of the majority has been ridiculed by all political thinkers, however convenient the device may have proved in the present imperfect stage of the world's civilisation. Men of the highest talent and noblest purpose can seldom thrive in the political atmosphere, where compromises with conscience, love of notoriety, and a certain vulgar display,

are only too common. Tact is the highest virtue known to the politician; it comes very low indeed in the moral scale. While politicians have their uses, and are therefore to be welcomed and prized within their own sphere, it is proper for our young men to know the limitations of the former, and to aim higher than mere success in politics. Let their ambition be to be truly representative men, in the sense in which Emerson understands the term. "The race goes with us," says Emerson, "on their credit. The knowledge that in the city is a man who invented the railroad, raises the credit of all the citizens. But enormous populations, if they be beggars, are disgusting, like moving cheese, like hills of ants, or of fleas,—the more, the worse." It would almost seem that Emerson was thinking of India in these lines.

Gladstone was a prince of politicians, while Huxley, the biologist and the man of letters, was none. But read the fine defence of Huxley, in his controversy with Gladstone, of his own life, and you cannot but feel the truth of his conviction of its superiority, both for humanity as well as for his individual moral growth, to that of a statesman even of the eminence of Gladstone. Gladstone himself admitted the superiority of the poet's life to his own, on the occasion when the freedom of the city of Glasgow was conferred both on him and Tennyson, by saying that a century or two hence the world would be surprised to find the name of a (then) unknown man like himself coupled with that of a world-famous poet on the civic rolls of Scotland. That might be an exaggeration, but it contains a core of truth; for Gladstone has made little permanent contribution to the world's progress, whereas Tennyson's creative genius has given us glimpses of a new heaven on earth and brought

its realisation more within the bounds of possibility.

"To educate the wise man," says Emerson, "the State exists ; and with the appearance of the wise man, the State expires.....The wise man is the State." Emerson's reference to American politicians as a class is not very flattering. They are hollow, pompous, insincere charlatans. "Senators and presidents have climbed so high with pain enough, not because they think the plan is specially agreeable but as an apology for real worth and to vindicate their manhood in our eyes." But "successes in those fields are the poor amends, the fig-leaf with which the shamed soul attempts to hide its nakedness." On the other hand, "every thought which genius and piety throw into the world, alters the world." And true to himself, Emerson lays the emphasis above all on character : "We think our civilisation near its meridian, but we are yet only at the cockcrow-ing and the morning star. In our barbarous society the influence of character is in its infancy. As a political power, as the rightful lord who is to tumble all rulers from their chairs, its presence is hardly yet suspected."

Our young men should therefore devote themselves to solid work and must not allow their minds to be too much impressed by the claptrap of politics. We do not at all mean to say, let us repeat, that to shine in politics is not a worthy ambition. Those who, like Gokhale and men of his type, make politics their lifelong study and serious vocation and take it up in the spirit of self-sacrifice and singleminded devotion, are among our finest possessions. Even those who take up politics to serve their country as opportunity offers and leisure permits, have their uses. But the enthusiasm for service which burns in the souls of the finest type of our young men should find a higher, if a less showy, field of activity. India would rise much more rapidly in the scale of nations by producing men who combine creative energy with constructive imagination and a great love of humanity than by all the political speeches in her Legislative Councils.

The historian Lecky had a correct idea of the mental gifts which go to make successful politicians and statesmen, as the following words of his will show :

"Statesmanship is not like poetry, or some of the other forms of higher literature, which can only be brought to perfection by men endowed with extraordinary mental gifts. The art of management, whether applied to public business or to assemblies, lies strictly within the limits of education, and what is required is much less transcendental abilities than early practice, tact, courage, good temper, courtesy, and industry.

"In the immense majority of cases the function of statesmen is not creative, and its excellence lies much more in execution than in conception. In politics possible combinations are usually few, and the course that should be pursued is sufficiently obvious. It is the management of details, the necessity of surmounting difficulties, that chiefly taxes the abilities of statesmen, and those things can to a very large degree be acquired by practice."

Mr. H. G. Wells, the novelist, is more caustic in his observations. In his book entitled "An Englishman Looks at the World," under the caption "The Disease of Parliaments," he writes :

"When one speaks of Congressmen or Members of Parliament, one thinks, to be plain about it, of intellectual riffraff. When one hears of a pre-eminent man in the English-speaking community, even though that pre-eminence may be in political or social science, one is struck by a sense of incongruity if he happens to be also in the Legislature. When Lord Haldane disengages the Gifford Lectures, or Lord Morley writes a "Life of Gladstone," or ex-President Roosevelt is delivered of a magazine article, there is the same sort of excessive admiration as when a Royal Princess does a water-colour sketch or a dog walks on its hind legs."

Again :—

"In no sense are these [legislative] bodies really representative of the thought and purpose of the nation ; the conception of its science, the fresh initiatives of its philosophy and literature, the forces that make the future through invention and experiment, exploration and trial and industrial development, have no voice, or only an accidental and feeble voice, there."

We are afraid, the class to which we belong, viz., journalists, who are only the writing variety of politicians, must submit to the above non-laudatory remarks of Mr. Wells.

"Self"-Government vs. Dominion over Others.

"Whilst I do what is fit for me, and abstain

from what is unfit, my neighbour and I shall often agree in our means, and work together for a time to one end. But whenever I find my dominion over myself not sufficient for me, and undertake the direction of him also, I overstep the truth, and come into false relations to him. I may have so much more skill or strength than he, that he cannot express adequately his sense of wrong, but it is a lie, and hurts like a lie both him and me. Love and nature cannot maintain the assumption: it must be executed by a practical lie, namely, by force. *This undertaking for another is the blunder which stands in colossal ugliness in the governments of the world.* It is the same thing in numbers, as in a pair, only not quite so intelligible. I can see well enough a great difference between my setting myself down to a self-control, and my going to make somebody else act after my views: but when a quarter of the human race assume to tell me what I must do, I may be too much disturbed by the circumstances to see so clearly the absurdity of their command. For, *any laws but those which men make for themselves are laughable (italics ours).*"—Essays, 2nd Series, s. v. Politics, 1844, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Government by Love and Government by Force.

"The power of love, as the basis of a State, has never been tried.....We live in a very low state of the world, and pay unwilling tribute to governments founded on force. There is not, among the most instructed and religious men of the most religious and civil nations, a reliance on the moral sentiment, and a sufficient belief in the unity of things, to persuade them that society can be maintained without artificial restraints, as well as the solar system; or that the private citizen might be reasonable, and a good neighbour, without the hint of a jail or a confiscation. What is strange, too, there never was in any man sufficient faith in the power of rectitude, to inspire him with the broad design of renovating the State on the principle of right and love."—Essays, 2nd series, s. v. Politics, 1844, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

"Every experiment, by multitudes or by individuals, that has a sensual and selfish aim, will fail.....As long as our civilisation is essentially one of property, of fences, of exclusiveness, it will be mocked by delusions. Our riches will leave us sick, there will be bitterness in our laughter, and our wine will burn our mouth. Only that good profits, which we can taste with all doors open, and which serves all men." Representative Men, s. v. Napoleon, 1850, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Mrs. Naidu's Charge.

At a great public meeting held in London to condemn the Panjab atrocities and demand adequate punishment of all

directly or indirectly connected therewith, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that women had been outraged in the Panjab during the Reign of Terror. A question having been asked in the House of Commons in regard to this grave accusation, Mr. Montagu replied in effect that though the evidence, placed before the Commissioners appointed by the Panjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress to hold an inquiry into the Panjab disorders, contained statements supporting what Mrs. Naidu had said, the Report of the Commissioners did not refer to such outrages. But it is not necessary that the Report should discuss and then either support or dismiss as untrue every specific charge made in the statements. If such a rule were acted upon, a report of all such enquiries would be bulkier than the mass of evidence collected, and few would have the patience to go through and consider it.

We have read some of the statements making accusations of outrage on women, contained in Vol. ii (Evidence) of the Commissioners' Report. We have no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the accusations. In India, there is almost morbid sensitiveness as regards the honour of women, the result being that very often innocent women who are the victims of scoundrels are cast adrift by their husbands and families. For the same reason many outrages on women never come to light, because of the fear that publicity would result in the outcasting and consequent homelessness of the injured women. In India a man does not require to be Caesar to act on the principle that Caesar's wife must be above suspicion; men in very humble positions and circumstances have been known to act as Caesar did. But why refer to what Caesar said and did? King Ramachandra exiled his queen Sita of spotless purity of character simply because there were whispers against her among his subjects; and lesser men have in numerous instances acted on a similar principle. We do not in the least support such injustice to women. We write all this to show that in India social sentiment in regard to the honour of women is

such that none but disreputable women would bring forward against any men a false charge of having been outraged by them; and none of the women who gave the evidence before the Commissioners that we are speaking of were disreputable. We are, therefore, convinced that the statements made by them are true and Mrs. Naidu was perfectly justified in basing her indictment on them. As for the enquiry promised by Mr. Montagu, such hole and corner enquiries are quite unsatisfactory and serve no useful purpose, so far as the discovery of truth and the punishment of scoundrels are concerned.

Those who possess or may be able to procure the Commissioner's *Report* are referred to pages 177, 178, 179, 194, 865 and 866 of the second volume for the incriminating statements. Attention is drawn particularly to statement No. 147, page 194, which is unprintable in a popular magazine.

Panjab Atrocities.

A small number of European missionaries and a very much smaller number of other Europeans in India have condemned the conduct of Dyer and others who acted like him in the Panjab. A larger number of British men and women, some of them members of parliament and some who hold or held cabinet rank, have given expression to similar views. Some fine principles have been laid down in the despatch sent on behalf of the cabinet to the Government of India by Mr. Montagu. We respect those who have spoken sincerely and righteously. But so far as the British people as a whole are concerned, it must be said that they have not been alive to their responsibility in the matter and risen to the height of the occasion. We have never believed in the existence or superiority of any special brand of justice labelled "British justice", but those who have held any such belief will not be able to assert that such a thing as British justice has been vindicated on the present occasion. Some jurists have maintained that when wrong-doers are punished, the punishments act not only as deterrent, for the future but serve also

to gratify the communal feeling of revenge which in lawless times and countries impell men to take the law into their own hands and which but for such punishments would lead men even in civilised and law-abiding countries to favour lynch-law. It would be unworthy to insist on the punishment of the guilty from the motive of communal vindictiveness, but it cannot be gainsaid that punishments are necessary as deterrents. In the present case no one has been adequately punished. But why use the word "adequately" at all? The only man who is known definitely to have even lost his appointment is Dyer. It is not yet quite clear whether he has been dismissed, compulsorily retired, or allowed to resign, nor whether he will get his pension. But supposing he has been dismissed and will not get any pension, he will neither feel disgraced nor will be a loser from the pecuniary point of view. For practically all Anglo-Indians (old style) have been taking part, openly or tacitly, in the celebration of his apotheosis, the House of Lords has by a majority vote supported his action and censured the Government for the very mild punishment inflicted on him, and the funds being raised for presenting him with a purse will exceed in amount the total of his pension. While thus the only man who has so far been definitely and openly subjected even to the semblance of a punishment has been practically lionized and rewarded, nothing is known definitely as to how others who are also guilty, and more guilty than Dyer from some points of view, have been or will be dealt with; and it is also to be borne in mind that more than a year has elapsed since the atrocities were perpetrated and that punishment too long delayed loses much of its efficacy. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the source of all Panjab's recent woes and indignities, has been let off only with a mild censure which has only served the purpose of acting as a foil to the glowing panegyric pronounced on him in the despatch signed by Mr. Montagu, thereby heightening its effect. Lord Chelmsford, who—by his weakness, by the free hand that he

gave to Sir Michael, by his turning a deaf ear to all lawyers and others who wanted to go to the Panjab to investigate and render help, if needed, by his omission to visit the Panjab, by his criminal obstinacy in going on with the Rowlatt Bill inspite of unanimous popular opinion and protests, by extending by the resolution dated 14th April 1919, "the fullest assurance of countenance and support" to all "who are charged with the onerous responsibility of suppressing excesses against public peace and tranquility" in culpable ignorance of the atrocities already perpetrated by some such officers, by afterwards indemnifying all such men without the slightest enquiry as to how they had suppressed excesses or whether they had not themselves been guilty of enormities, and by other similar acts of omission and commission—has made himself responsible to no small extent for the atrocities in the Panjab, has received the most fulsome praise. The Rowlatt Act, the fountain-head of all the disorders, excesses and atrocities, still remains on the statute book, the Regulations which enable the Governor-General to play the despot with impunity have not been repealed. He still has the unrestricted power of making ordinances. All the repressive laws, including the press laws which are a direct personal insult to journalists and printers; passed during the last two decades, are still in force. As all the most important and vital laws can be passed, amended or repealed only by the Indian Legislative Assembly and as the Government of India Act does not confer full control over legislation on the elected representative of the people, the people would still be at the mercy of the bureaucracy. As now there is not, so in the future there would not be any guarantee that innocent persons would not be murdered by military or other officers by the hundred and the whole population treated as worse than vermin by their women and kith and kin being subjected to the greatest humiliation and the most provocative indignities.

Though the acceptance of Lord Finlay's motion in the House of Lords by a major-

ity adds to the feeling of resentment and the sense of humiliation of the Indian people by showing of what little account are our lives and honour in the opinion of the majority of the peers who voted, yet from one point of view the Government deserved the censure which they have received. Though Dyer acted like a diabolically vindictive murderer, he was not the only offender, nor in every respect the worst offender. What justice or sense was there, therefore, in practically visiting him alone with the semblance of punishment, semblance though it was? The situation in the Panjab became what it was because of the tyrannical methods of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration and his open contempt of the educated class, and because of the blind obstinacy of Lord Chelmsford's Government in passing the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of vehement and unanimous popular opposition. It was the civil administrators who had brought together the combustible and explosive materials, as it were, and applied the torch to them, and then left the military authorities to get the conflagration and explosion under control. And yet the civil administrators have made the military, particularly Dyer, their scapegoat, themselves taking good care to save their own skins. Dyer and his fellow officers and civil officers like Sriram certainly deserved condign and exemplary punishment. But many highly placed civil officers also deserved severe punishment. But whereas in the case of the military, there has been some talk of punishment and a semblance of it, in the case of the heads of the civil administration and others associated with them, there has not been even any talk of punishment.

Why the French Failed and the British Succeeded in Empire-building in India.

The truth is, the British Government has in the case of the officials directly or indirectly concerned in oppressing the Panjab acted according to the time-honoured British method in dealing with high-placed officers guilty of misdeeds. In parts of

their Empire inhabited for the most part by non-European and non-Christian peoples. What that method is we intend to indicate in the words of Lord Macaulay, who shows in his essay on Lord Clive, how and why, though it was a Frenchman who first discovered the means and methods of founding an empire in India, the French failed and the British succeeded in founding a lasting empire in this country. Macaulay writes :—

"The man who first saw that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had formed this scheme, at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline, and guided by the tactics, of the West. He saw also that the natives of India might, under European commanders, be formed into armies, such as Saxe or Frederic would be proud to command. He was perfectly aware that the most easy and convenient way in which an European adventurer could exercise sovereignty in India, was to govern the motions, and to speak through the mouth of some glittering puppet dignified by the title of Nabob or Nizam. The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were employed with such signal success by the English, were first understood and practised by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman."

Macaulay then relates by what successive steps Dupleix became the most powerful potentate in the South and how "he was declared Governor of India from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin," and how he erected a column near the spot where his policy had obtained his chief triumph, on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions in four languages should proclaim his glory to all the nations of the East. "Round it arose a town bearing the haughty name of Dupleix Fatihabad, which is, being interpreted, the City of the Victory of Dupleix." Yet Dupleix's power and empire soon vanished like dream fabric, and the power and dominions of the British East India Company grew apace. Let us see how Macaulay indicates the underlying reasons.

We will quote again from his essay on Lord Clive.

"At length, in 1772, it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India.....the Ministers were forced to take up the subject; and the whole storm which had long been gathering, now broke out at once on the head of Clive.".....

"A Committee was chosen by ballot to inquire into the affairs of India.....When at length the Committee had concluded its labours, enlightened and impartial men had little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible to vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues; that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India;....."

But though Macaulay mentions Clive's talents, virtues and services, he writes in the very next paragraph,

"Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression."

And yet after laying down this very excellent principle, he says in effect that great empire-building or empire-saving criminals by whose abilities and misdeeds the British people have been or may be gainers should be slightly reprimanded and greatly rewarded. But let us quote his own words :—

"It is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not indeed to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and, if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation."

Macaulay wants "their good and bad actions" to be "fairly weighed"; but what imperializing nation is there which will not practically consider the tyranny or other misdeeds of an officer to belong to the category of good actions, provided his conduct has been materially advantageous to the nation?

The historian then proceeds to observe

that the principles laid down by him, as quoted above, were accepted by all sensible people in Great Britain! Says he:—

“Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt this in Clive’s case. They could not pronounce him blameless; but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down and were eager to worry him to death.”

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to describe in detail the inquiry into Clive’s conduct. It is necessary only to quote from Macaulay’s essay what the Commons resolved.

“The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step farther, and resolved that, Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large sums from Meer Jaffier. Here the Commons stopped. They had voted the major and minor of Burgoyne’s syllogism; but they shrank from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, the previous question was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country; and this motion passed without a division.”

We do not know whether, when writing the above, Macaulay was conscious that some irony or caustic humour might be read into his words. But, it does seem to us funny and a very grotesque kind of righteousness which lays down that, if an officer of a State practically plays the blackmailer or the robber, he must not keep the gains for his personal enjoyment and aggrandizement (which is right) but that these wrongful gains should be kept for the use of the State! It did not evidently occur to these Christian Pecksniffs that the persons who had been, by force, forgery, or fraud, deprived of their possessions should get them back. Macaulay, however, praises the decision of the Commons in high terms. His pronouncement is:

“The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the

justice, the moderation, and discernment of the Commons.”

We may note in passing that in the Panjab affairs, too, the British Cabinet and many members of Parliament have set forth in clear language the major and the minor premise of the Indians’ syllogism, but the logical conclusion has not been drawn. And the verdict of the Lords amounts to a declaration that Dyer has “rendered great and meritorious services to” the British Empire.

Some idea of the British method, as understood by Macaulay of dealing with imperialistic offenders has been gained. With that method Macaulay contrasts the French way in the following passage:—

“The equitable (!) and temperate proceedings of the British Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched Government of Louis the Fifteenth had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille, and, after years of suffering, left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in antechambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag between his lips. The Commons of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately (!) pointed out where he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy.”

All this in plain language means that the French were logical enough and just enough to deal with offenders against foreign non-European and non-Christian peoples in the same way as ordinary criminals are dealt with. They followed the maxim that “criminal justice knows nothing of set-off.” They did not connive at the crimes of their state servants on the ground that the misdeeds of the latter had been advantageous to France from a worldly point of view. This was one reason why France failed in building up a lasting empire in India, (and, of course, there were other reasons). For, any nation follows the teachings of Buddha or of Christ in its international

dealings, it cannot succeed in founding and keeping an empire.

By the way, may we suggest that the despatch on the Panjab disorders signed by Mr. Montagu was drawn up by himself or some one else after a perusal of the following sentence of Macaulay's, which though quoted above, will bear repetition?

"They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy."

It was not Clive alone who was gently censured and highly praised and rewarded. The impeachment of Warren Hastings ended in his acquittal. In 1865 martial law was proclaimed in the island of Jamaica on account of some riots there during the administration of Governor Eyre. In the *Modern Review* for September 1919, will be found a brief account of the whole affair abridged from Herbert Paul's "A Modern History of England." During the Jamaica riots horrible cruelties were perpetrated on the Negro men and women of that island. Governor Eyre said there was insurrection there, but the historian's verdict is, "there was no general insurrection in Jamaica." (What will be the verdict of history on the Panjab disorders?) Herbert Paul speaks of the cruelties practised in Jamaica as "work of vengeance", just as the Panjab atrocities were "work of vengeance." Of the execution of a Negro leader of Jamaica Herbert Paul writes: "Although Governor Eyre approved of his execution, history must pronounce it to have been murder without the forms of law." Have not there been many such murders in the Panjab? A Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the Jamaica riots and the martial law regime, and Governor Eyre was also tried in the ordinary courts of Great Britain; but he was not punished. He suffered no other penalty than the loss of his appointment, and was never again employed under the Crown. Among the defenders of Eyre were Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson, Rev. Charles Kingsley, &c.; and among those who brought about his trial were John Stuart Mill, Huxley, Thomas Hughes,

Herbert Spencer, Goldwin Smith, &c. In the case of Dyer such distinguished men are not to be found ranged on opposite sides, and there has not been any Royal Commission appointed so far, nor has he or any other official wrong-doer been brought to trial.

The Bihar Government and the Puri Non-official Famine Relief Committee.

We have received the advance proofs of the Report of the Non-official Committee appointed by the Utkal Union Conference to enquire into the alleged famine conditions obtaining in the sadar sub-division of the Puri District, 1920. The Committee have proved their case up to the hilt and answered the strictures of the Bihar and Orissa Government in a way which must convince all impartial men. In connection with the visit of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province to the district on April 7, 1920, the Committee observe:

"We thought that this gubernatorial visit was the consummation of all our efforts. For nothing is calculated to produce a deeper conviction in the human mind than a direct visualisation of things and events as they actually exist. We thought we were not wrong in our hopes, when the Lieutenant-Governor expressed to one of us, "what ought to have been done has not been done," and evinced his anxiety for the future improvement of the situation. It has, however, to be acknowledged that relief measures, inadequate though they are, were for the first time undertaken by Government soon after His Honour's visit, and it was reasonably expected that at least after distribution of gratuitous relief for two months, famine would be declared as prescribed in the Famine Code. After His Honour's presence on the scene and the expression of his feelings in the matter, a report of enquiry was thought unnecessary, and as a matter of fact we abandoned the idea of publishing our report. All that has been done since then is occasional issues of account of distress by way of making appeals for funds to supplement as far as possible Government measures of relief. The statutory period of two months passed. By the 13th June, 1920, the numbers in receipt of gratuitous relief only in Government centres did admittedly come up to the appalling percentage of 14 of the population of the parts worst affected. But after all this, the attitude taken by Government has not only been disappointing but unfair and unjust. Instead of declaring famine Government have now issued a *Communique* in which an attempt has been made to exonerate the officials from

their responsibilities, to present facts and circumstances in a manner which is misleading, and even to blame non-officials unjustly for what they have done, because they did not do more. After the publication of the *Communique*, we think it our duty to place before the public the results of our investigation to enable them to arrive at a correct judgment.

It is to be hoped that the Report will be sent to the press of all provinces and that the daily papers will make large extracts from it and draw attention to them. The Report narrates in chronological order all that the Committee have done and it is a creditable record. As regards declaration of famine, it is to be noted that famine was declared in a part of the adjoining Madras district of Ganjam which was not worse affected than Puri.

Regarding deaths due to starvation the Committee observe:

It is a well-known fact that Government are always slow to admit deaths from starvation. But that there have occurred even hundreds of such cases in the famine area is beyond all doubt. We have got signed statements from relatives and neighbours of persons who are said to have died for want of food. We have ourselves seen and reported a few such cases. We give a list of some such cases in Appendix C., with particulars necessary for verification. The list is by no means exhaustive.

Evidence of villagers has in most cases been corroborated by village Chaukidars. Almost all the Chaukidars have signed or attached their thumb impressions to the statement they made before us. In most cases their Death Registers were examined but no entry of death from starvation was found.

The chaukidars were almost all unanimous in stating that the absence of such entry was due to fear of their superiors who forbade them from recording the true cause in cases of death due to starvation.

These observations are supported by a mass of statements made by Chaukidars and others and formidable lists of the names and addresses of persons whose death was due to starvation.

The Committee have shown that "the three important conditions necessary for the declaration of famine have been more than sufficiently" satisfied.

The Government *communique* has been examined in detail and the most important statements made therein have been shown to be 'incorrect'. We will make only one extract from this part of the Report.

Statement in the communique—The Commissioner Mr. Gruning visited the area in March 6th but was unfortunately prevented from seeing the worst place by a storm which made Kutcha tracks impassable.

Remarks by the Committee.—Our members who waited in the area for the Commissioner could find no storm or shower or even a cloudy sky on the day of his visit. If he cared to do so, he could have gone to the worst affected parts for which he was requested, and for which comfortable conveyances were provided by the Collector, but which were not availed of. We therefore fail to see how Kutcha tracks were made impassable, which in the best condition are field tracks and never motorable.

It is to be hoped Sir Edward Gait and Mr. Gruning will appreciate this "retort courteous" instead of the more rustic "lie direct." Another flat contradiction may also be quoted. In the official communique it was said that "the reason for giving less than the standard ration is that jungle products are plentiful in the area," etc. The Committee reply: "We emphatically deny that jungle products are plentiful in the area. *There is no jungle at all. The jungle in the affected areas of sadar sub-division exists only in the imagination.*"

It is to be hoped the Bihar Government will not again have recourse to the futile task of explaining away its criminal neglect of duty, relying on the untrustworthy statements made by officials from Mr. Gruning, the divisional Commissioner, down to frightened village chaukidars, but address itself righteously and generously to the duty of saving lives, particularly as some famine-stricken and other tracts have been recently devastated by floods.

Floods and Famine.

Famine conditions have prevailed for a long time in a good many districts, making life unbearable to the poor, who form the majority of the inhabitants of the country. To add to their miseries, several rivers have overflowed their banks, washing away many villages and spreading devastation around over wide tracts of country. There have been floods in the Suvarnarekha, the Brahmani, the Cossye and some other rivers. The Midnapore

Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri districts are most terribly affected. Jamshedpur, in another part of the country, has been partly under water. The Damodar wears a threatening look. While the immediate duty of the people and Governments is to save the lives of men and cattle in the affected areas and to help the villagers to rebuild their houses and cattle-sheds when the waters have subsided, for the future flood insurance engineering works on a large scale should be planned and executed without any avoidable delay. Ours is not the only country periodically laid waste in some parts by floods, other countries are subject to similar havoc. We should take a lesson from what they have done to protect the inhabitants of the areas liable to such danger.

A Lesson from America in Flood Prevention.

The Scientific American for May 22, 1920, tells us how the Miami Valley in Ohio, U. S. A., plans to stop the next inundation before it starts. We read :

The coming summer will see brought to virtual completion five great dams near Dayton, Ohio, costing \$ 25,000,000, representing at once the most daring and comprehensive flood prevention project ever undertaken in this country.

Final stages of the work involve the moving of a whole village of 1000 population two miles across country to get it out of the basin behind one of the dams. Several highways and railroad lines will also be moved.

Work on the project has been under way for some three years, and it has been brought to a stage where a few quick strokes will put the system in operation. Two or three years more will be required to put finishing touches on the work, but the essential features will be completed before snow flies again, if the present program is carried out.

The American paper tells its readers why the flood prevention project was undertaken and also describes the ways and means of its execution.

The flood prevention project was inspired by the great flood of 1913, in which Dayton suffered the loss of many lives and millions of dollars in property damage. The great damage at Dayton was due to the sudden rise of two rivers, the Miami and Mad River, which meet within the city limits. It was early recognised that any local measures undertaken by the

city, such as the widening and deepening of the channels and the building of dykes, would only serve to increase the danger to other cities of the Miami Valley, below Dayton. These cities, chief among them being Hamilton, were also heavy sufferers from the flood, and each was considering some preventive measures. The matter finally crystallised into combined effort. Special legislation was secured welding all the affected areas into a "conservancy district" with Governmental powers over this district. The board levies taxes to meet its expenses, has set up its own community Governments at the dam sides, has its own schools for the children of the workmen, and exercises general governmental authority over the district independent of state, country or city governments.

The flood prevention plan adopted by the Conservancy Board mentioned above is stated to be unique in the United States of America, although it has been tried with success on a smaller scale in Europe. Here are some details of the plan :

Three dams are being thrown across the valleys of tributaries of the Miami, above the city of Dayton, and two dams below the city. Normally, these dams will hold no water behind them, and the rivers will flow through spillways just large enough to accommodate a little more than normal flow. But in time of flood, the water being unable to pass through the spillways, will back up behind the dams. Spillways over the tops of the dams are also provided against the remote possibility that the water will reach such a height. The capacity of the dam basins has been calculated to care for even greater floods than have yet been experienced in the Miami Valley. When the crest of the flood passes, the water behind the dam is automatically released at a rate easily cared for by the river channel.

It is interesting and instructive to learn what preliminary steps were taken before the dams began to be constructed.

The first step was the purchase of all the land within the proposed basins. This included thousands of acres of valuable farm land and one entire village. A strip of land above the high water line was also purchased around each basin. When the work is completed, all of this land will be laid out in farms and resold. Each farm will have a space for the buildings above the water line, and the farmer only faces the prospect of having his fields inundated by occasional floods. It is anticipated that floods will enrich the land more than enough to compensate for any damage done.

The village of Osborne, eight miles north of Dayton, fell within the condemned area. All of the property was purchased by the Conservancy

Board and the citizens were told they must hunt new homes. The town was to be razed. The citizens protested against annihilation of the town, and at one time a proposition to allow them to remain at their own risk was considered. But recently the citizens organised a company for the purpose of moving the town out of the danger zone. The Conservancy Board has sold them land for the re-location and has promised to assist in the enterprise. Two tramways are to be built across almost level fields to the new site and all of the substantial buildings of the town will be moved on them. Those homes which are torn down, will be replaced by model cottages of the type erected by the Conservancy Board for its workmen. The town is being planned as a model village with sections for cottages, two-and-three story houses, factories, parks, business district, etc. It is expected the moving will be completed this summer. Three railroads which run through the town, two steam roads and an electric line, will be re-located so as to pass through the new town site.

The method of constructing the dams is also believed to be unique in the United States of America.

The so-called "hydraulic fill" method is being used. Instead of hauling the earth to the dam in cars or trucks, it is mixed with water and pumped to the dam as mud. First, two ridges of earth are raised, with steam shovels, marking the width of the dam, mud is pumped to the crests of these ridges and allowed to flow to the hollow between. The stones and heavy material are deposited along the outer edge of the dam, and the silt is carried to a pool in the center. When the silt settles the water is drawn off. As the dam rises the coarse material deposited along the outside forms "shoulders" of great strength, while the center core of silt is impenetrable to water. Engineers connected with the project believe, they thus secure an ideal dam structure at a minimum cost. Thus the system also makes it possible to use the earthen material at hand. The usual method employed is to wash down hill sides hydraulically, into big "hog boxes," where the mud is mixed and from which it is pumped to the dam. A great quantity of power is required, and this is supplied to all of the dam sides from a central station large enough to care for the electrical needs of a good sized city.

The project also includes the widening and straightening of all of the river channels and the building of many miles of protective dykes.

The article in the *Scientific American* is illustrated with reproductions of photographs which are calculated to make the plan of the flood prevention works clear to engineers. If some Indian engineer

could describe for the Indian readers what flood protection works exist in different provinces of India, reproducing illustrative photographs where necessary, it would be appreciated as something done to educate the public on the subject.

Emir Feisal in a Dilemma.

The Catholic Herald of India writes :

The Franco-Syrian war is attributed to "Feisal's temporising attitude in connection with the French endeavour to arrange the use of the Beyrout-Aleppo line, via Reyak, which latter is just within Feisal's territory." If this is the cause, this new war is obviously unjust, Reyak being within Emir Feisal's territory, he has an obvious right to prevent foreign armies crossing his frontier, whatever be the pretext. No nation would allow its neighbour to build military lines on its territory. But just because the reason is so frivolous we refuse to believe it, though it is attributed to a French source. Feisal is a clever intriguer, and we must wait for the French to state their own case in their own language. There exists a political clique on each side of the Channel bent on wrecking the Entente. The present piece of news bears marks of its origin.

The fact appears to be that Emir Feisal has found himself between the horns of a dilemma. He cannot please both the French and his own people. The Arab Deputy from whose article in *Le Populaire* we quoted some passages in our June number, very distinctly says :—

"There is a good deal of talk about Emir Feisal. That plays no part in our demand for complete independence. Not only his throne, but his very life would be in danger were he to consent to any curtailment of Arabian independence."

If, as the *Catholic Herald* says, Emir Feisal is a clever intriguer and if he is really intriguing, there can be little doubt that he will find himself outwitted ; because for centuries the Occidentals have proved superior to the Orientals in force, fraud, lying and bribery in international affairs, with the exception of only one Asiatic nation.

Lebanon Proclaims Independence.

According to Reuter

A telegram from Damascus dated the 11th July says that the Lebanon Administrative Council has declared the independence of Lebanon after refusing the French mandate. The

claration has occasioned surprise, as the majority of the Council are Maronins who are understood to be the main supporters of the French.

It need not have occasioned any surprise. It is true Lebanon is for the most part Christian and anti-Muselman, and its Administrative Council is the only body in Syria which agreed to a French mandate. But it, too, does not want European political control, as the Arab Deputy whose authority has been cited above, writes in *Le Populaire* :—

"In Lebanon, which is for the most part Maronite and more Catholic and Papist than the Pope himself, the French authorities attempted to replace several civilian functionaries, and even judges, without consulting the Administrative Council, which is a sort of Legislative Assembly there. This body protested with energy, repeating that even the Turks themselves had never presumed to interfere directly with the local Government of Lebanon. Both in that state and the adjoining territory the Turks respected the native courts and the independence of Local Civil Courts and military authorities. They asserted that the people of Lebanon did not understand French co-operation to imply political control, but merely technical and financial aid to the extent that the people themselves desired.

"This protest by the Administrative Council of Lebanon, which is the only official body in Syria that has agreed to a French mandate, and has done so solely because it is anti-Muselman, was published in an Arabian journal printed by the Maronites, which is employed as an official organ by the authorities in occupation. The French representatives thereupon suspended this paper for having ventured to publish a protest by the National Assembly where the words 'complete independence' were employed.

"If the 250,000 or 300,000 Maronites, who are ordinarily such fanatical supporters of France and Catholicism, are so jealous of their independence, what about the 4,000,000 Musalmans and 400,000 'Orthodox' Christians of that province?

"It is no use for M. Millerand to say: 'We have never thought of trespassing in any respect upon the independence of these people.' No one is deceived by such statements as that."

Significance of Soviet Japanese Armistice.

In a paper called *Japanese-American Commercial Weekly* published in New York, dated May 22, 1920, it is stated :

Soviet Russia's position in Central Asia and

Caucasus region might have been menaced without an understanding with Japan attacking the Soviet forces in Siberia. But as the Soviet move to Persia has been started after formal signing of armistice with Imperial Japanese government and the Soviet authorities in Siberia, there is no such possibility.

Signing of armistice between Japan and Soviet Russia means official recognition of Russia by Japan. Thus Japan is the first nation among the Allied Powers to recognize Soviet Russia. Soviet-Japanese understanding through the armistice may be the beginning of an independent Japanese policy towards Russia. Russo-Japanese friendship is one of the prime requisites of Asian Independence and Soviet's move of an armistice with Japan and advance towards Persia against Britain is full of tremendous possibilities in the world politics.

What the Appointment of a Canadian Minister to the United States Means to India.

The sanctioning of the appointment of a Canadian Minister to reside in the United States of America, in addition to the British Ambassador, has been known in India for some time, but its significance to India dawned on our mind only after reading the leading article on the subject in the *Kobe Herald* of Japan, dated June 11, 1920. It is stated there that "unusual powers are to be conferred upon the Canadian Minister. In the absence of the British Ambassador, he will take full charge of all British diplomatic relations with the United States." The text of the British official statement is, in part, as follows :—

"As a result of recent discussions, an arrangement has been concluded between the British and Canadian Government to provide more complete representation of Canadian interests at Washington than has hitherto existed. Accordingly, it has been agreed that His Majesty, on the advice of his Canadian Ministers, shall appoint a Minister plenipotentiary who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from, and reporting direct to the Canadian Government.

"In the absence of the Ambassador, the Canadian Minister will take charge of the whole Embassy and of the representation of Imperial as well as Canadian interests. He will be accredited by His Majesty to the President with the necessary powers for the purpose.

The British Ambassador at Washington

has never been known to be friendly to Indians and Indian interests in the United States. Indians are not excluded from Great Britain, but they are excluded from Canada. It stands to reason then that, when occasion would arise, the Canadian Minister in charge of the whole British Embassy would prove more hostile to Indians and Indian interests than the British Ambassador has generally been.

Indian Troops and Bolsheviks.

The following telegram appeared in the *Kobe Herald* of June 14, 1920 :

Indian Troops Join Bolsheviks.

London, June 9.—A wireless from Moscow declares that the Revolutionary government formed at Resht in Persia, alleges that part of the Indian troops at Resht have joined the Revolutionists.—Kokusai Reuter.

It is probably this report which, parts of the following Associated Press message, contradict :—

Simla, June 14.

Reports have been circulated to the effect that an Indian Regiment mutinied at Constantinople and in a recent speech at Paris Mr. Muhammad Ali stated already in Persia it is stated Indian troops refused to fight. Enquiries were made to ascertain whether there was any foundation for these statements. The General Officer commanding Constantinople has replied as follows :—The report regarding the mutiny of Indian troops is absolutely without foundation. Far from mutinying, their services in recent operations have been remarkably good. The General Officer commanding Baghdad has wired that there is absolutely no truth in the statement and report referred to by Mr. Muhammad Ali.

A Scientific Laboratory in Tokio.

The *Kobe Herald* reports that construction work for the scientific laboratory, started some time ago under the auspices of the Science Association at an estimated cost of six million yen, in Tokio, is making speedy progress. Six million yen is equivalent to more than ninety lakhs of rupees. The endowments of the Calcutta University College of Science do not come up even to half this amount. Of course, the Japanese being independent can make money in whatever way they like and their private and public purses are under their own control, and hence they

can spend liberally for scientific equipment. But if we wish to survive, our sacrifice must be proportionate to our dependence. It is said that with the completion of this laboratory in Japan that country will have one of the most perfect scientific laboratories in the Orient. The water required daily for the new laboratory will be more than the Municipal Waterworks can furnish. To meet this demand, accordingly, a well about 420 feet deep has been sunk, the result being very satisfactory.

Lala Lajpat Rai Elected President of Special Congress.

The election of Lala Lajpat Rai to preside over the special Congress to be held in Calcutta in September next is worthy of commendation not only because of his sufferings and eminent services in the cause of the country, but also because no Panjabi has hitherto received the highest civic honour which is in the power of the people of India to bestow on any countryman of theirs.

Illness of Mr. B. G. Tilak.

The news of Mr. B. G. Tilak's serious illness, with the further information that his condition is critical, has caused great anxiety in the country. He has been a doughty champion of the cause of the motherland. No suffering has damped his ardour, no danger cowed him down.

A Lie Pure and Simple.

It is said that the English press in East Africa accuse Mr. C. F. Andrews of having been actuated by motives of self-interest and money-making. This unadulterated lie could have been invented only by men who know no other motive than money-making and whose God is riches.

Boycott of Councils.

It is said Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhry of Lahore is against the boycott of Legislative Councils. *Young India* sums up the reasons for disapproval of boycott as mainly two :

(1) If the nationalists refrain, the moderates will get all the seats ; (2) Since through the Legislative Councils we have made some progress

we are likely to make greater progress by reason of larger powers having been granted to popular representatives.

Mr. Gandhi's reply is in part as follows :—

Now the first reason hardly does credit to a great popular party. If it is harmful to enter the Councils, why should nationalists be jealous of the moderates entering the Councils? Must they participate in the harm because moderates will not refrain? Or, is it contended that the harm can be avoided only if all join the boycott? If the last is the contention it betrays ignorance of the principles of boycott. We boycott an institution because we do not wish to co-operate with its conductors. In the matter of the Councils the latter is the deciding reason. And I submit that in a sense we co-operate by joining even though the object is obstruction. Most institutions, and a British legislative council most of all, thrive upon obstruction. The disciplined obstruction of the Irish members made practically no impression upon the House of Commons. The Irishmen have not got the Home Rule they wanted. The *Mahratta* argues that obstruction would be active and aggressive non-co-operation. I venture to deny it. In my opinion it shows want of faith in yourself, i.e., in your doctrine. You flout and you perish. I do not believe that either the English or the moderate tenders can possibly contemplate with equanimity a nationalist boycott of the Councils. To enter the Council is to submit to the vote of the majority, i.e., to co-operate. If then we want to stop the machinery of Government, as we want to, until we get justice in the Khilafat and the Panjab matters, we must put our whole weight against the Government and refuse to accept the vote of the majority in the council, because it will neither represent the wish of the country nor our own, which is more to the point on a matter of principle. A minister who refuses to serve is better than one who serves under protest. Service under protest shows that the situation is not intolerable. I contend that the situation created by the Government has become intolerable, and therefore the only course left open to a self-respecting person is non-co-operation, i.e., complete abstention. General Botha refused to enter Lord Milner's Council, because he utterly disapproved of the principle that governed Lord Milner in dealing with the Boers. And General Botha succeeded because he had practically the whole of the Transvaal behind him. Politically considered, success depends upon the country accepting the boycott movement. Religiously considered, success is there for the individual as soon as he has acted upon the principle he holds and his action has ensured national success because he has laid the foundation by showing the straightest way to it.

We think in the main Mr. Gandhi's argument is sound, though we also think that the position of the Irish members in the British Parliament is different in an important respect from what the position of Indians in the enlarged councils may be. The Irish M.P.'s in opposition can under no circumstance be in the majority in the House of Commons; the elected Indian members in opposition in the Indian and provincial legislatures may be in the majority. The success of the Boers in their endeavours to obtain autonomy was due on the surface to non-co-operation, no doubt. But the underlying causes were such as do not exist in India. The Boers are a white Christian people of European extraction; we are not. Europeans may be ready to concede rights to other Europeans which they would not concede to Asiatics. The Boers had at that time recently fought the British with great courage and skill, and at times were on the point of being victorious; and it was known that they would and could fight again if hard pressed or unjustly dealt with. Moreover the whole of the Transvaal was behind Botha. None of these factors and conditions exist in India. Therefore, it need not be taken for granted that because Botha succeeded by refusing to enter Lord Milner's Council, we can also surely succeed by refusing to enter our Councils. We may or may not. In a calculation of probabilities, opinions will differ. Mr. Gandhi is on surer ground when he lays stress on the 'religious' motive and asserts: "Religiously considered success in there for the individual as soon as he has acted upon the principle he holds and his action has ensured national success because he has laid the foundation by showing the straightest way to it." Here we also wish to make it clear that the Khilafat stands on a different footing from the Panjab matters. The former directly concerns the religious beliefs of the Musalmans alone, the latter concern all Indian communities.

Mr. Gandhi's reply to the second reason is :

The other argument is that we shall succeed

by entering the new Councils because we have after all not done quite so badly in having entered less popular bodies before. The answer to the objection is that the dividing line had not then been reached, we had not lost confidence in British honesty and justice or we had not confidence in ourselves then to carry boycott to the successful end or we had not thought of the method in the way we are doing to-day. Probably all the three reasons operate to-day. After all, manners and methods change with the times. We must grow with our years. What was good enough food for our babyhood cannot be good enough for manhood.

Against this we have nothing to urge.

"Co-Operation" and the Councils.

Co-operation means working together to bring about a desired result. When it is said that Indians should enter the legislatures to "co-operate," we should try to understand what is the object that is sought to be attained and the parties with whom we are to co-operate. Our national object, which is the main object, is the attainment of free and enlightened collective manhood. If the party or parties with whom we are asked to co-operate be wholly and heartily in favour of the gaining of the same object, co-operation can be a reality. The parties with whom Indians are to co-operate in the Councils are the official Europeans and the non-official Europeans. The former are mainly the 'Indian' Civil Servants. It is claimed that the Reforms are meant and would be able to make a nation of us (that is not our idea and estimate of them), and it is known to what extent the Indian Civil Service has supported the Reforms. Therefore it is not difficult to guess whether the Civilians wholly and heartily support our national object of attaining a full measure of free and enlightened collective manhood. The attitude of the non-official European community is easier to guess. Their public associations and organs (the Anglo-Indian journals) have opposed the Reforms and continue to ridicule them whenever the occasion arises. Their attitude in the Panjab affairs is a good gauge of what their attitude towards the growth of a free and enlightened Indian nation would be. Barring a few European missionaries and far fewer European lay men, the whole

European community in India appear to support O'Dwyerism, Dyerism, Frank-Johnsonism, Bosworth-Smithism, and O'Brienism; that is to say, they appear to support the doctrine that for safeguarding European dominance it is right, proper, necessary and commendable under certain circumstances to kill non-combatant unarmed Indians by the hundred, to machine-gun and bomb from the air non-combatant Indian men, women and children without knowing who or what they are or what they are doing, to flog school-boys chosen by lot, to humiliate entire Indian humanity and seek to kill their soul by subjecting them to all sorts of indignities, to insult Indian women by removing their veils, by kicking them, by abusing them in most filthy language, by subjecting them to grosser outrage, and to have recourse to other continental and insular Teutonic (?) methods. Our main object, then, does not appear to have the support of the official and non-official Europeans of the present day. Of the future we cannot and need not speak; it is not with a future generation of Anglo-Indians (old style) that we of the present generation are asked to co-operate.

As the parties who are to co-operate have not the same main object, we do not see why there has been such loud talk of co-operation. We do not deny that there may be co-operation in small matters. But it cannot be worth our while to discuss co-operation and non-co-operation day after day, week after week, month after month in our organs of public opinion, and it would be also a waste of time and energy on our part to elect representatives and on their part to attend Council meetings and work there, if co-operation be possible only in trifles but not in the chief object of national existence and endeavour. Therefore let us be frank and say that Indian representatives can become members of and work in the legislatures either to (1) obstruct and thereby try to frustrate the selfish objects of the official and non-official European members, or (2) to co-operate with them in non-essential or minor matters, or (3) to grind their (the Indian members') own axes by subordinat-

ing themselves to the wishes and interests of the European members. Hence we have never taken it for granted that whoever tries to enter a legislative body must necessarily be understood to be impelled by a desire to "co-operate"—whatever that may mean. It is possible to enter a Council with the object of "non-co-operation." But *full* non-co-operation can mean only having nothing to do with the Councils, that is, neither electing nor getting elected.

Non-co-operation and Government Schools.

The Non-co-operation Committee have asked non-co-operators not to send their children to Government schools for education. As the main interschool rules are the same for all classes of 'recognised' schools, *i.e.*, schools which send up students for university or departmental public examinations, we do not understand the reason for the boycott of Government schools alone. To be consistent and reasonable, all 'recognised' schools should be boycotted. But, then, where are children to be educated? Truly and fully independent schools are very few in number, and very few parents and guardians are competent or have enough leisure to teach their own children, or are in a pecuniary position to keep private tutors for them. We are not blind to the defects or anti-national influence of Government schools. But in spite of these facts, it is better to send children there than to keep them ignorant. Obstruction, destruction, and boycott are necessary under certain circumstances, but construction ought also to go hand in hand. Just as in the case of civil litigation, non-co-operators have been advised not to have recourse to the Government law-courts but to get their disputes settled by private arbitration, so parents while being urged not to send their children to Government schools ought to have been told of some available alternative means of educating them. We are not unaware that self-respect may urge many not to accept any kind of Government help, but it may be asked whether sending children to Government schools can in the least add to the disgrace

of being domineered over and exploited by an alien people? We do not desire to be devoid of national self-respect, or to lose sensitiveness in that respect; but we do desire that our sensitiveness should not strain at a gnat while swallowing a camel. We quite appreciate the sense of self-respect of those who would avoid entering the legislatures in order that they may not have to associate in the least with those who have no sympathy and respect for the Indian people. But we do desire that all should consider whether politically self-conscious and self-respecting nations pay taxes which are not self-imposed and over whose disbursement they have no control and obey laws in the framing of which they have no effective voice.

Non-Co-Operation may be Another Form of Dependence.

What is understood by constitutional agitation in India consists in passing resolutions on the duty of Government, making prayers, submitting petitions, protesting against oppression and injustice, &c. This kind of agitation has been called political mendicancy. There is another method, that of bringing pressure to bear on Government by civil disobedience, non-payment of taxes, non-co-operation of other kinds, &c., which amount to giving trouble to Government in a non-criminal and non-violent manner, in order that Government may do things in the way we desire. This method, too, when pursued by a dependent people, is really a method of mendicancy, a form of seeking the help of others; it is not self-help. There are two kinds of beggars: those who supplicate and excite our pity and get help in that way; and those who annoy us by their vociferousness, etc., and are helped by those who wish to get rid of the annoyance. Men who do something positive and earn something for themselves form a class different from the two kinds of beggars described above.

In the list of eight things which Non-co-operators have been asked either or to do refrain from, there is the production, distribution and purchase of genuine Swadeshi articles. Properly speaking, this ought

not to come under the category of Non-co-operational activities. No doubt, if the Swadeshi movement affects British manufacture and commerce, pressure will be indirectly exercised on Government to make them inclined, not necessarily to act according to our will, but to satisfy us by offering us some substitute for real power. But suppose Government give us real power under pressure. Would we and should we then give up 'Swadeshi'? Certainly not. Therefore, we should always, under all circumstances, stick to "Swadeshi." It is a method of earning, of positive work, different from both kinds of mendicancy.

Similarly, having our own independent schools or system of schools is positive work. Such schools there are in free and independent countries, too. Their need in a dependent country like India is much greater.

"The Rush of Youth to the Universities."

In the opinion of the *London Inquirer*, "there are few things more re-assuring in these troublous days than the rush of youth to the universities." But in the opinion of the countrymen of the editor of the *Inquirer* out here in India, there are few things more *alarming* in these troublous days than the rush of Indian youth to the Indian universities. Our London contemporary notes with satisfaction that

The number of students and graduates is remarkably increased, not only in comparison with the lean years of war, but compared with the figures for 1913. And now in London, as in Manchester and Liverpool and elsewhere the demand goes up for better equipment so that this tide of educational aspiration, which Mr. Fisher's new Act will certainly add to, shall be taken at the flood and so "lead on to fortune." We wish the promoters of these various schemes all success in their efforts, but most we wish that while the technical arts and intellectual studies are fostered the young minds may be filled with great visions of the best use of all learning. Without spiritual culture they and their nation will surely decay; with it, there is no height of excellence impossible.

Our wish coincides with the wish expressed above. We, too, believe that without spiritual culture nations decay; with it there is no height of excellence impossible.

American Opinion on the Opium Trade.

In the House of Representatives, U.S.A., on the third day of June, 1920, Mr. Mason submitted a resolution on Great Britain's opium cultivation, manufacture and monopoly, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed. The preamble consists of three paragraphs, and the resolution proper runs as follows:—

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the American Government should make a friendly request to the British Government that the latter should, for the sake of humanity and Christianity follow the example of China in abolishing the cultivation of poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in India and other parts of the British Empire, except for medicinal purposes.

Resolved further, That the attention of the British Parliament be drawn to the fact that it should exert its influence as a matter of Christian duty and charity, to end the intolerable sin and crime of the drugging the world by Great Britain.

Right of Asylum Recognised in America.

It is said the deportation proceedings against Bhagwan Singh, Gopal Singh and Santokh Singh, the Indian revolutionists and political refugees in America, have been dismissed by the American Federal Government. This is a recognition of the right of asylum, even though the refugees belong to a subject, non-European and non-Christian race.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar on the Panjab Atrocities.

As president of the public meeting of Bombay citizens held on the 2nd July to consider the Panjab tragedy, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar made a dispassionate, dignified, just and courageous pronouncement. He spoke of the excesses of the Panjab officials during the prevalence of martial law last year as a blot on British statesmanship and British sense of justice. He proved to demonstration by citing facts that "the disturbances had their root primarily in the wise policy adopted by Government with reference to the Rowlatt Act after the Armistice. In his opinion,

The Rowlatt Act, seeking, as it did, to fetter

the liberties of the people, led them rightly or wrongly to feel that the Government were taking advantage of the victory obtained in the war, and since they had become strong and invulnerable, they were trying to fetter the liberties of the people and were inaugurating a policy of suspicion and distrust. I am not concerned here to discuss whether that feeling was well-grounded or not, whether it was reasonable or not, but it was there and it was the duty of British statesmanship to remove that impression. I am, therefore, of opinion that it was Government that created the situation, and that Government cannot escape responsibility for it.

The next point which he urged was that, having created the situation which led to the disturbances, the Government introduced Martial Law and handed over the people of the Punjab bound hand and foot to the military authorities, with the result that the Martial Law officers, left in the exercise of uncontrolled power conceived and enforced their measures with a vindictiveness amounting to barbarity, which leaves no room for doubt that they were bent upon humiliating the people and degrading them in order to teach them a lesson which they will never forget. It is said in defence of the Martial Law officers that allowance must be made for the fact that they had to face a sudden situation and that they had to act promptly and decisively without sufficient time for cool and cautious deliberation. Now, this defence is falsified by the facts... The evidence of the martial law officers examined before the Hunter Committee sufficiently proves that what was done was done deliberately and not on the impulse of the moment when there was no time for calm decision.

Sir Narayan held that Mr. Montagu's despatch "seems to have been written with a view to please all parties instead of boldly facing the situation."

Mr. Montagu says that the conclusions recorded in that despatch have been inspired in the main by the belief that the chief duty which lies upon His Majesty's Government in dealing with the Hunter Committee's report is not primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been done amiss or to inflict penalties upon them, but rather to prevent the recurrence in the future of occasions for blame or regret, should unfortunate circumstances ever produce again a situation such as that which occurred during the spring of 1919. Now this policy would have been all right if there had been no experience of the past to guide us. But we have had such experience to show that the policy of the despatch cannot longer be relied upon to prevent the recurrence in future of the excesses of the Punjab tragedy.

During the Mutiny of 1857, there were excesses, there was violence and there was indiscriminate retaliation. As the Viceroy of the time, Lord Canning wrote to the Queen during the dark days of the Mutiny, there was rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad even among those who ought to have set a better example. Not one man in ten, said Lord Canning, seems to think that the hanging and shooting of forty or fifty thousand men would be otherwise than practicable and right. In spite of Lord Canning's attempts to check that rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness, there was indiscriminate hanging and shooting. Lord Canning, however, did not publicly take action because, as he said, he did not like to expose his countrymen and that it was enough he had taken steps to prevent the recurrences of similar vindictive barbarities in the future, should similar situations arise. We see now that the steps taken then were forgotten in the Ceylon disturbances three years ago, and now in the Punjab tragedy. Therefore, having these precedents before us, we think it our duty to represent to Parliament and the British public that the situation created by the Martial Law excesses in the Punjab in 1919 should be dealt with in a more determined manner than that formulated in the Secretary of State's despatch.

The situation has not been so dealt with. Therefore, people cannot be blamed for holding that the method of protesting and passing resolutions has failed and the time for some sort of civil disobedience has come. It is no doubt very decorous to say that it was after years of *constitutional* agitation the Bengalis succeeded in unsettling the settled fact of the Bengal Partition. But is it correct history to ignore the other facts and occurrences which constituted the "unrest" of those days? Moreover, in those days, Great Britain had to take into consideration the existence of rival world powers which do not count for much at present. It is not suggested that anything unconstitutional should be done. The denotation of constitutional agitation should be fully understood in its widest extent, so that all the weapons in its armoury may be used as circumstances require.

Sir Narayan said at the conclusion of his address that he was at first opposed to the view that the Viceroy should be recalled, but had afterwards accepted that view as correct.



SIVA OF THE HIMALAYAS

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Nandalal Bose.

"The Aryans fell in love with India and became Hindus. And what was their thought about the Snow-Mountains? Lifted above the world in silence, terrible in their cold and their distance, yet beautiful beyond all words, what are they like? Why, they are like—a great monk, clothed in ashes, lost in meditation, silent and alone! They are like,—like,—the Great God Himself, Siva. Mahadevi!"

—*Sister Nivedita.*

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HEGELIANISM AND IMMORTALITY*

FOR enlightenment on one of the most important topics of Philosophy, a topic which will never fail to be of paramount importance and absorbing interest to mankind, one turns in vain to the philosophy of Hegel. I refer to the problem of immortality, understanding by that term the continued existence of the finite self after death. Did Hegel accept this doctrine? It is by no means easy to answer the question. Nowhere in his writings is a systematic discussion of the doctrine of immortality to be found. All other subjects of fundamental interest to the student of philosophy are elaborately treated of, but the problem of a future life is almost entirely ignored. It is true that there are a few passages in the *Philosophy of Religion* in which belief in immortality is expressed, but these passages are exceedingly ambiguous and cannot with certainty be taken to mean that the finite personality survives death. Stirling, than whom perhaps no one is a greater authority on Hegel, indeed tells us "that the whole tendency of the writings of Hegel supports belief in the immortality of the soul."† He refers to "the warm manner in which Hegel hails all such categories as the infinite and speaks of the melancholy of the thought of finitude," to "such expressions as that unreality death, the death of the body is the birth of the spirit," and concludes "that we have but to recollect all this to feel convinced of the perfect loyalty of Hegel to the hope of immortality." But the passages on which Stirling relies can hardly be said to support his conclusion. It is quite true that they express Hegel's fundamental conviction that spirit is the presupposition of all that is real and cannot, therefore, be conceived as not existing, but he seems to mean the universal spirit of which the world is the expression rather than the finite spirit of man. Take, for instance, the following passage in the

Philosophy of Religion which is perhaps typical: "The soul, the individual soul, has an infinite, an eternal quality, namely, that of being a Citizen in the Kingdom of God. This is a quality and a life which is removed beyond time and the past; and since it is at the same time opposed to the present limited sphere, this eternal quality or determination eternally determines itself at the same time as a future. The infinite demand to see God, i. e., to become conscious in spirit of His truth as present truth, is in this temporal present not yet satisfied so far as consciousness in its character as ordinary consciousness is concerned."‡ Now, I think, it is hardly open to doubt that by the eternal quality of the individual soul" in this "passage, Hegel understands the spiritual life based on the consciousness of oneness with the Absolute and not the indefinite prolongation of the finite self. Man is immortal in so far as he is lifted above time through the religious consciousness of union with God and this immortal life is lived here and now and not in another world beyond the grave. "The immortality of the soul," we are told in another passage, "must not be represented as first entering the sphere of reality only at a later stage; it is the actual present quality of spirit; spirit is eternal, and for this reason is already present."§ Universal spirit, that is to say, as the *prius* of all is incapable of perishing, and if man is immortal, it is because he has his being in it and has no meaning apart from it. This, however, does not necessarily mean that he, in his finite form, will survive death. What is imperishable in man is his essence and that essence is the Absolute Spirit.

All this, however, throws no light on the problem of immortality as it is usually understood and Hegel resolutely refrains from helping his reader in solving it. The reason of this can

* A paper read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society.

† *Schweitzer's History of Philosophy*, p. 440.

‡ *Philosophy of Religion, English Tr.* Vol. III, p. 105.

§ *Op. Cit.* p. 57.

not be that he regards the question of immortality as not belonging to philosophy. Nor can it be said that it follows so obviously from his philosophical principles that it is unnecessary to deal expressly with it. The philosopher who devotes about a score of pages to the discussion of phrenology could, if he were so inclined, easily compose a few unambiguous sentences to let the world know what he thinks about the subject of immortality. Why then does he persistently evade the problem? One reason seems to be, as Dr. McTaggart thinks, that Hegel is not much interested in the question. Man's being is consummated in the Absolute; in the Absolute he is eternal, and that being so, it is hardly worth while to inquire whether he, as a creature of time, will endure for ever. This appears to be his view. If in the midst of the finite we can become one with the infinite, eternal in every moment, why trouble about anything else?

But even if Hegel were disposed to pay attention to the doctrine of the survival of human personality, would he have found it easy to make it square with his general principles? Survival means, in some sense, the separation of the soul from the body and the continuance of the life of the released soul in an environment other than this, in some world different from the natural world in which we live at present. But, according to Hegel, there is no dualism of body and soul and the spiritual world is not another world somewhere beyond this, but this very world regarded as the expression of mind. "Only in appearance," he tells us, "is the natural separated from the divine and the body is only in imperfect knowledge body and separated from the soul." The soul is the ideality of the body and is nothing apart from it. What ideally is the soul is, as a thing existing in space, body. "In so far as the 'I' lives the soul, which conceives, and what is more, is free, is not separated from the body. The body is the outward embodiment of freedom and in it the 'I' is sensible. It is an irrational and sophistic doctrine which separates body and soul."* Body and soul, in short, are, in Hegel's view, not two different things but two sides of the same thing. The latter includes the former and contains it as a necessary element of itself. How, then, can the mind survive bodily death? Separation of mind from the body, it must never be forgotten, is absolutely meaningless from Hegel's point of view. Supposing that such separation has any meaning, what is to be the future home of the soul freed from the body at the moment of death? Again and again Hegel tells us that God is completely revealed in nature and that there is no supernatural world above and beyond this. He is most emphatic in rejecting the medieval conception of the other world. The supersensible

world is not another world but the sensible world itself adequately conceived. It is the present world regarded as the self-expression of reason. The everyday world which is here and now is the only world and in it God is fully revealed. The vain world beyond is only a phantasm of the abstract understanding. Consistently with this view, it is impossible to suppose that the soul, after death, is transferred to another sphere. Future life would thus appear to be rendered impossible by the absence of any place where such life could be lived, unless we adopt the theory of reincarnation and say that after death the soul is born again into this very world. But the doctrine of reincarnation, besides other objections to which it is open, involves the assumption that the soul can be transferred from one body to another. This, we have seen, is an impossible conception for Hegel. Can it be that he was aware of these difficulties and the consciousness of them was one of the reasons which led him to shirk the problem of immortality?

Dr. McTaggart thinks that Hegel is a believer in immortality. I am not quite so sure. There is no doubt that he regards, as he must, the universal mind, independently of which nothing can exist, as immortal; but, on the whole, the trend of his theory is, I am inclined to think, rather against the doctrine of the immortality of the finite self. In spite of his deep conviction that man is the son of God, he somehow fails to appreciate sufficiently the value of human personality; at any rate, to realise all that it implies.

Whether this view is correct or not, one must agree with Dr. McTaggart when he says that Hegel's failure to emphasise the immortality of the individual is a defect in his work. For, as he truly remarks, "this is a question which no philosophy can be justified in treating as insignificant. A philosopher may answer it affirmatively, or negatively or may deny his power of answering it at all. But, however he may deal with it, he is clearly wrong if he treats it as unimportant. For it does not only make all the difference for the future, but it makes a profound difference for the present.... We can scarcely exaggerate the difference which will be made in our estimate of our place in the universe and, consequently, in our ideals, our aspirations, our hopes, the whole of the emotional colouring of our lives."*

But if Hegel has neglected the question of immortality, most of the distinguished thinkers who have been powerfully influenced by him and are described as Neo-Hegelians have taken cognisance of it and discussed it from various points of view. It will be instructive to consider how the topic has been handled by them.

T. H. Green, like Hegel, makes no direct reference to immortality, but it is distinctly

* *Philosophy of Right*, Dydes Tr. p. 54.

* *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*. p. 6.

pointed to by his theory of the moral ideal.* In man, according to Green, the eternally complete consciousness presupposed in the existence of nature is partially reproduced through an animal organism. This makes human nature a contradiction. As a limited expression of God, man is finite, but as one with him, he is infinite. He, therefore, is driven to seek to solve this contradiction, to be in actuality what in possibility he is. Perfection of his nature, the complete development of his capacities comes to be his ideal. This ideal is not an empty notion. Though in relation to the finite developing subject, it actually is not, still "if there were not a consciousness for which it existed, there would be no sense in saying that in possibility it is, for it would simply be nothing at all." It must exist not merely for but in or as a self-conscious subject. It is true that self-realisation is possible for man only as a member of an ethical community. Apart from the nation the individual is an unreal abstraction. But it is equally true that the nation exists in persons. In combating the falsehood that the nation is an aggregate of individuals, we must not fall into the equally serious mistake of supposing that the national life is realised anywhere except in the widened and deepened self-consciousness of the citizen. The general will is real only in so far as it is individualised in the will of the good man united with his fellow men by the bond of social relations. Progress of Humanity, therefore, "can only mean progress of personal character to personal character." With personality we begin and in personality we end. Realisation of human personality, which is possible only in society, "cannot be a mere process to infinity but must have its end as an eternal state of being and that no state of being could be such end in which the self-conscious personality presupposed by the process was either extinguished or treated as a mere means." If, then, the progress of the race and of the individual is possible only on the basis of personality, if in the attainment of the end of human development personality is not extinguished but enriched, immortality, it would seem, must be regarded as a necessary postulate of the moral life. Green does not expressly draw this conclusion, but the tenour of his thinking justifies it. The emphasis he lays on personality distinguishes his system from that of Hegel and it is for this reason that, in spite of his silence on the subject, it is possible to regard his philosophy as favourable to belief in immortality.

Upon the significance and value of our moral personality, Edward Caird also lays stress. The highest life of Humanity, he argues, is realised not in spite of but because of the transitoriness, the weakness, the dangers and the failure of the natural life. What appear to be the evils of life are, very often, its opportunities of rising

to a higher state of existence. "It is in meeting the risks and sufferings of a transitory life that the noblest features of character, courage, patience and the power of self-sacrifice are exercised and matured."* When the soldier sacrifices his life for his country, when the martyr prefers death to disloyalty to the cause with which he is identified, death is not a mere incident of the higher life but the very means through which it is realised. Can it be believed that the event which makes possible the realisation of the spiritual life in such cases is destructive to it? Our ultimate reason for believing any thing of which we have no direct knowledge is that without it no rational interpretation of the experienced facts can be given. Is the supposition that the organs of the moral forces, by which, after all, the course of the world is shaped, perish at death consistent with the rationality of the universe? "I think that every one who has known intimately a great and good man feels death in his case to be almost incredible if by death be meant an end of being. If the world is a rational and therefore a moral system, it cannot be that this, the most precious thing we know, the only absolutely precious thing in the world, a character built up and matured in goodness through all the trials of life should pass away and be lost for ever."† If, then, we believe that the universe is a rational system in which God is self-revealed, future life would seem to follow as a necessary consequence. The world would be irrational and meaningless if what is highest in it perished with the dissolution of the body. "He who has lived for truth and goodness," Caird rightly concludes, "has built upon a rock that will not fail him if there be a God who governs and manifests Himself in the universe. He has become a part of the divine life and he and his work must remain."‡

In his *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity* John Caird bases his argument for a future life on the inherent capabilities of our nature. Man is not a merely finite being, a creature of time destined to pass away. There is an element in him which distinguishes him from the lower animals and to which it is possible to apply the term 'eternal'. This is the element which raises him above the limits of time and space and makes him one with the spiritual principle presupposed in the existence of nature. In the finite things and events which constitute the world of experience, an infinite mind is revealed and it is because we are a reproduction of this mind that it is possible for us to transcend our limitations and to be conscious of our finitude. The intelligence which is conscious of events in time cannot itself be in time. "When we think of our tem-

* *Lay Sermons*, p. 269.

† *Op. Cit.*, p. 277.

‡ *Op. Cit.*, p. 282.

* *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Book III, Chap. II.

poral existence we are lifted above it to a point of view that is not conditioned by its transiency, but yet in virtue of which we can pronounce it to be transitory." The conclusion to which such considerations point is that man's spiritual constitution is of such a nature that it is impossible to regard it as intended for the few years of his earthly existence. The only rational explanation of the disproportion between our latent capacities and the functions we have to fulfil in this life is that there is a higher life where such capacities will find sufficient scope and employment. To think otherwise is to make human life vain and purposeless. "What strange irony of fate would there be in the cultivation and training of human intelligence, in the hived up fruits of long study and research, in the manifold struggles and self-denials by which a noble and beautiful nature is chastened and refined, if it is to disappear and drop out of existence just when it has become fitted for great and beneficent service in God's universe."* It is no answer to say that though the individual perishes, the race survives, and that the achievements of individuals contribute to and further the progress of mankind. Corporate immortality cannot be substituted for individual immortality. However true it may be that the good man is disinterested in his actions and lives an altruistic life, he can never be regarded as a mere means to an end, even if that end be the perfection of the human race. Personality is always an end in itself and it is after all in the consciousness of the individual that Humanity is realised.†

But is not all this, it will naturally be asked, a mere expression of pious hope? What proof is there that it will be ever fulfilled? To this question there is only one reply. "If underneath all the phenomena of the world in which we live, we can discern no principle of reason and order, no absolute intelligence and love, then, indeed, our hope of immortality may be but an illusion and a dream, then, indeed, the world's course may be the thing of meaningless waste and reckless incongruity which such a supposition involves. But if there be a God, an infinite loving wisdom which has endowed us with the capacity of knowing, loving and communing with itself and which has made the order of the world a system of moral education preparing and disciplining us for a career of never-ending goodness and blessedness hereafter, can it be that all this vast moral system, with all the hopes and aspirations it encourages us to cherish, is but an elaborate and cruel

deception?"* Belief in immortality, in short, ultimately rests on faith in God.

The philosophical principle on which Caird's case for immortality stand is employed by Lord Haldane for precisely the opposite purpose, in trying to show that any quest for immortality beyond the grave is essentially unmeaning.† The substance of his argument is that life is not a mere event or process in time. It involves a spiritual unity to which the temporal process is relative. Succession presupposes a principle which is not itself in succession, but transcends it and makes it possible. On one side, life is succession in time, on another side, it finds its full meaning in the unity of self-consciousness, without which there would be no succession in time. Eternity, therefore, is not other than and beyond time but is realised in time. The truly immortal life is the eternal life which is being lived at this very moment. When these correlated sides of a concrete unity are, by an abstract understanding, separated from each other, it is wrongly supposed that the present life is one of changes only and the eternal element is looked for beyond the grave. But "life now stands for us as intelligible only when contemplated from the standpoint of the eternal. Here and now is God, here and now is freedom, here and now is immortality." All this is very true, but it is hard to understand why this truth should be an insuperable obstacle to the inquiry whether the finite personality survives death or not. The fact that I am an eternal being today does not make the question unmeaning whether there are reasons to believe that I shall live tomorrow to complete the work I have taken in hand today. Why then, because I am beyond time, should it be unreasonable to ask whether death will put an end to me as a finite man bearing a proper name? On the contrary, it may be inferred that because we are what we are only upon a basis that is unaffected by change and decay, because we are one with the Absolute mind, we are as little injured by death as the Absolute itself. Lord Haldane seems to take it for granted that the believer in immortality is bound to separate the eternal element in man from what belongs to time and to connect the former with a transcendent world of immutable essences and the latter with the present sensible world, the two worlds being regarded as antithetical to each other. But surely it is possible to conceive of this world and the other world as essentially the same in kind and as the constituent members of a single whole in which the eternal mind is revealed, and of man as a finite-infinite being belonging to this whole and, therefore, to both worlds.

* *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*. Vol. I, P. 263.

† Humanity, to tell the truth, is not, at this moment, presenting a spectacle calculated to inspire men with the belief that to be merely the means to its perfection, of which there is no sign, is the be-all and end-all of life.

* *Op. Cit.*, p. 296.

† *Pathway to Reality, stage the second*, Bk. IV. Chap. III.

W. Wallace points out that it is an ineradicable tendency of man to believe that the power behind nature, in spite of appearances to the contrary, is on his side and that life is not extinguished "by death." It is not easy for him to think that death is the termination of his existence. Though this deep-rooted instinct is of great aid to us in the struggle for existence, it is wrong to suppose that it is a mere product of evolution. If, in order to avoid the paralyzing thought that all is vanity, man said to himself 'let there be a life hereafter,' it is because there spoke in him "something other and yet not wholly other, than himself." But all that this irresistible belief really amounts to is that "our inner true being is not a visible and a sensible thing, that it is that in us which is unextinguished by death." We do not know anything more than this that "we are above and beyond time!" This, to be sure, is giving a stone instead of bread. The conviction, simply, that we, as spiritual beings, transcend time can scarcely be of much use to us as a sustaining principle in the battle of life.

Professor Watson, like John Caird, regards immortality as a consequence of our essential nature.† Finite as he is, there is a principle in man which lifts him above his limitations and enables him to view all things from the standpoint of the whole. This distinctive power, due to his ideal nature, makes him one with God. The infinite wealth of the divine life is prospectively his and to take actual possession of it comes to be the inevitable aim of his life. There must therefore "be eternal progress in knowledge, art and morality leading to an ever clearer and fuller comprehension of God." The immense potentialities of our nature must be realised and "all eternity would seem to be required to give opportunity for progress in the knowledge of God and for approximation to his infinite perfection." It is scarcely possible to believe that a being who can transcend his finitude and be "a spectator of all time and of all existence" and who is continually making progress towards an ever-advancing ideal should perish without attaining the goal of his journey. "In struggle and conflict man has gradually attained to a measure of knowledge and morality and it does not seem credible that all this toil and pain and strife should be suddenly cut short for ever." If it is objected that such considerations merely point to the never-ceasing progress of the human race, the answer is that although moral progress is only possible through the co-operation and fellowship of men with each other, it ultimately involves the "conscious personal participation of all the members of

society in its highest triumphs." If, therefore, it is legitimate to infer immortality from the unrealised possibilities of human nature, it must mean the immortality of the individual and not merely of the race.

Mr. Bradley does not think that the immortality of the soul is very probable, though he concedes that it is barely possible.* What exactly survival means and how far it must be personal is, in his view, not easy to determine. A soul may continue to exist without a body or "another nervous system sufficiently like our own might be developed." A future life is thus possible "even on the ground of common crude materialism." A thing is impossible absolutely only when it can be shown to be inconsistent with the nature of reality. This the continuance of the soul after death is not. But to say that survival is possible is one thing and to say that it is probable is another. It is idle to attempt to determine the chances of it when we have to deal largely with the unknown. If we judge by what little knowledge we possess, "a future life," Mr. Bradley declares "is decidedly improbable." If it is urged that the hope of immortality is indestructible and that the deep-seated cravings of our nature must be satisfied, Mr. Bradley's answer is that it is irrational to demand that "every desire of every kind must, as such, be gratified." "What is there so sacred," he asks, "in the desire for a future life." Its attainment is not implied in the principles of our nature, nor is there anything particularly moral or religious in it. I, of course, desire to live a life of constant pleasure and no pain indefinitely prolonged, but this wish of mine is incapable of literal fulfilment consistently with my place in the world. All this, surely, is only a travesty of the position of the believer in immortality. The real point of his argument is that the unrealised possibilities of our nature go to indicate that this life is only the first stage of human existence and that somewhere else the career begun here will be continued and completed. There is such a disparity between the ideals and aspirations of man and the opportunities for their realisation in this life that unless we believe in a future of never-ending progress, it becomes impossible to regard the universe as anything but fundamentally incoherent and irrational. "The sense of the incompleteness of our personal life, if death is to terminate it," as Professor Ward truly says "has grown with our moral and religious progress and is most keenly felt by the best men and by men at their best."† "If without belief in immortality," declares Mr. Bradley "our religion and our morality will not worsen so much the worse for our morality and religion. The remedy lies in the correction

* *Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics*, p. 202-7.

† *The Interpretation of Religious Experience*, Vol. II, pp. 313-17.

* *Appearance and Reality*, pp. 501-10.

† *The Realm of Ends*, p. 387.

our mistaken and immoral notions about goodness." As a moral being I seek to attain goodness, but if, as the consequence of my single-minded devotion to it and the faithful endeavour to realise it in my life, the conviction is forced upon me that there is a career of unlimited attainment in knowledge and goodness beyond the grave, my notion of goodness straightway becomes immoral! If it is argued that unless we survive death all our hard-won gains will be lost, Mr. Bradley has his answer ready. "Is a thing lost, in the first place, because I fail to get it or retain it? And, in the second place, what seems to us sheer waste is, to a very large extent, the way of the universe. We need not take on ourselves to be anxious about that." But what is lost, if death ends all, is not any mere *thing* but the *moral personality*. The question is not whether I am to retain certain things which I have acquired but whether the universe is to retain what is of infinite value, viz., the moral individual. As for sheer waste being the way of the universe, it is just this that furnishes a hard problem to philosophy. That it is an appearance is not to be doubted but does it not get itself supplemented and explained in Reality? If we could help being anxious about that and be indifferent to the tragedies of life, the problem of job would never have been raised and it would never have troubled mankind.

With endless progress, Mr. Bradley urges, perfection is unattainable. Precisely so, if progress meant only an infinite process not relative to an end. But, as Green has pointed out, it presupposes a goal and that goal is a completely developed personality. We speak of it as endless because our consciousness is subject to the condition of time; but there is no reason to think that time is not superseded without being annulled in a higher form of consciousness of which we, at present, have no knowledge. Perfection, Mr. Bradley insists, is not something to be attained. "As a function of the perfect universe you are already perfect." The trouble arises from finitude. "If you are to be perfect; then you, as such, must be resolved and cease." But here I am and do not mean to cease, at least for a time. That being so, why may I not try to bring the perfection I already have in the Absolute over to my side? Instead of my being engulfed in the Absolute, why should not the Absolute be progressively revealed in me? To the argument that pain and sorrow should be somewhere made good, Mr. Bradley's reply is that all is not wrong if individuals suffer. "The universe in its attitude towards finite beings must be judged of not piecemeal but as a system." True, but the universe is a system of individuals and the perfection of the whole to which the hardships and failures of life in the temporal order contribute must

ultimately be shared by and expressed in the consciousness of individuals.

The main reason of Mr. Bradley's hostility to the doctrine of immortality appears to be the difficulty of harmonising it with "the general results of this book," viz., *Appearance and Reality*. The final destiny and last truth of things is not to be maintained and respected in the Absolute. There they must undergo wholesale rearrangement. "We have an all-pervasive transfusion with a reblending of all material." From such a point of view, so far from the idea of a future life being deserving of encouragement, even the existence of finite selves for a few years on this planet would appear to be a scandal. But is there not a more excellent way of avoiding the awkward situation, viz., to re-examine the first principles of a philosophy whose insufficiency is proved by its confession of inability to justify the hope of immortality?

Dr. Bosanquet's view of immortality has affinity with Mr. Bradley's.* He discusses at considerable length the question of the unequal distribution of pleasure and pain, good and evil, to which Mr. Bradley also refers, and asks whether the demand is justified that the inequalities of the present life shall be redressed in another. The conclusion reached is that such demands arise from a total misconception of the nature of the world we live in. Finite beings are not independent and only externally related to each other. They are members one of another and have their unity in the Absolute. Claims, therefore, all vanish and the "best people have most to bear and carry the burdens of the rest." But is it possible to regard this as a finally satisfying arrangement? The good man, of course, does not complain and bears the burden as cheerfully as he can, but the impartial observer instinctively feels that this is a profound anomaly which requires to be explained. No amount of abstract reasoning will ever shake the fundamental conviction of the human mind, cherished alike by widely differing races of men, that the undeserved sufferings of the virtuous and the triumph of the unrighteous plainly indicate that this life is not all and that elsewhere things are righted and readjusted. The extent and magnitude of the evils of life would be fatal to the rationality of the universe, unless we believe that their purpose is fulfilled in a better world for which life here is a preparation. It is no doubt true, as Dr. Bosanquet shows, that pleasure and pain arise from the finite-infinite nature of man and are, consequently, unavoidable. But is the frightful amount of pain and misery to be found in the world to be

* *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, Lecture IX.

explained in this way? Is so much of suffering the result of our dual nature only? If good and evil, though common, must be unequally shared, why should not their distribution be on more equitable principles? It is all very well to say that sufferings are opportunities of soul-making. They are as often soul-destroying. How much consolation, one wonders, would Dr. Bosanquet's philosophy afford to the inhabitants of ravaged Belgium and stricken France! So long as we understand that the root of our pleasure and pain is our own nature, "we cannot," argues Dr. Bosanquet, "pick and choose among the hazards and hardships which empirically confront us. We cannot say that so much of evil would be very well, but this which we find is more than we can put up with." Is it possible for any one overwhelmed by the misfortunes of life to be so heroic as this, unless he is supported by the conviction of better things to come? "The sense of misery, unrelieved," as Mr. Balfour forcibly puts it, "of wrongs unredressed, of griefs beyond remedy, of failures without hope, of physical pain so acute that it seems the one overmastering reality in a world of shadows, of mental depression so deadly that it welcomes physical pain itself as a relief—these and all the crookednesses and injustices of a crooked and unjust world, may well overload our spirits and shatter the springs of our energies, if to this world only we must restrict our gaze."

It is not possible to deal here with all the important points which Dr. Bosanquet has raised in his discussion of the destiny of the finite self. His view is the outcome of the theory, in which he agrees with Mr. Bradley that all limited modes of being, all finite individuals are transformed and absorbed in the Absolute. Persons, like everything else, are rooted in the Absolute, are elements, not members as Dr. Bosanquet tells us, of the Absolute, but the all-inclusive reality in comprehending them transmutes and rearranges them. Nothing from the ultimate point of view remains as it appears to our limited comprehension. The separateness and mutual exclusiveness of the finite selves is due not to their strength but to their impotence. It arises from the separation of a limited portion of the total content of reality from its context. To realise our personality is "to absorb ourselves in our exclusiveness." Perfection or completion of our being, therefore, is incompatible with the continuance of the exclusive self. It implies that "we should include much more material and lose something of our exclusiveness." But why should the extension of the area of our being mean the weakening of the link with our past self or the dissipation of personality? The ever-widening circle of the

contents of the growing self must surely continue to be centred in the unity of the self-same consciousness. A little child develops into a great philosopher but the latter does not lose the consciousness of his identity with or become more impersonal than the former. As the same content can belong to different selves like the common base of several triangles, their increasing perfection means not their exclusion from but rather intimacy with each other. Dr. Bosanquet all along lays stress upon the contents of the self and seems to forget that the form of them, viz., self-consciousness is not less essential. Whether the finite personality survives death or not, "what is certainly preserved," he argues, "is the content of the self, which is secure in the Absolute." But if the principle of the conservation of values has any meaning, it cannot be that the thing of highest value, the personality of man, is not conserved. Dr. Bosanquet contends that what is essential "is not primarily that the goal of development should be our personality but that it shall be a personality." What came from God is for ever continued in God. But God is not of the dead but of the living. The father needs the son quite as much as the son the father, and in the Absolute spirit they, in and through their difference, are one. The truth is that Dr. Bosanquet's conception of the Absolute requires to be amended. Things are not blended with each other and merged in the Absolute. It is rather the Absolute that is differentiated into things, each of which it is realised as a self, whole and undivided.* Ultimate reality, that is to say, is not a single unitary self, but a system of selves, objectively expressed in a system of inter-related things and reproduced in the finite selves of men socially united with each other. From this point of view, selves are not mere elements of but members of the Absolute.

A conception similar to this is put forward by Royce in his well-known Gifford lectures and on it he founds his argument for immortality. He conceives of the Absolute as a unity of selves, each of which is infinite of its own kind. They, like the monads of Leibnitz, represent the whole world from their own individual and unique points of view. The content of experience of all of them is the same; it is the form or mode of experiencing that varies. These selves, infinite but partial, are interdependent on one another through their common relation to God and are unified in God because of their distinction from and relation to one another. Each one of them requires the others as its supplement and "its life with them is an eternally fulfilled

* I have tried to sketch this view in an article entitled "The Absolute and the Finite Self" in the *Philosophical Review of America* (July, 1918).

† *The World and the Individual*, Vol. II, Lecture X.

social life" in which "God, the individual of individuals, who dwells in all as they in Him" is self-expressed. The constituent members of the "Self-conscious organism of the Absolute," the finite but perfect individuals, are infinite in number "since the Absolute must possess an infinite wealth of self-representation." Human selves are fragmentary expressions of these eternal selves. God is the unified system of the transcendental selves of men and other selves like them and in Him they, through their very union, retain their relative distinction from each other. "In God, every individual self, however insignificant its temporal endurance may seem, eternally possesses a form of consciousness that is wholly other than this our present flickering form of mortal consciousness. Our life, as hid from us now, in the life of God, has another form of consciousness than the one which we now possess." The mortal beings that we now are, are really conscious selves only in God and death, from the philosophical point of view, is only "an incident in the life of a larger individual continuous in meaning with the individuality that death cuts short." The included self disappears from view at death but it "implies an including selfhood continuous in meaning with the first." The moral tasks of man are never finished. By serving God fresh opportunities of service are created. "The service of the eternal is an essentially endless service. There can be no last moral deed." What is here begun must, therefore, be continued in another form of existence. The present truncated self is developed into something of which we, at present, have no conception and continued in God, but "despite God's absolute unity we, as individuals, preserve and lead our unique lives and meanings and are lost in the very life that sustains us, and that needs us as its own expression."

At least two writers influenced by Hegel have taken the doctrine of reincarnation into serious consideration. Dr. McTaggart discusses it at some length in his *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology* and *Some Dogmas of Religion* and Professor Mackenzie is willing to admit that there is something to be said in favour of it.* I have not space to deal sufficiently with the arguments which Dr. McTaggart has advanced in support of the doctrine and must be content with observing that if it be true, it can in no wise take the place of belief in continued existence in another world as a postulate of the moral life. I can see no difference whatever between extinction at death and reincarnation. Immortality has no meaning unless the surviving personality retains the memory of this life and the consciousness of identity. This does not, of course, mean that every event of past life must be remembered. All that is

required is that the bond of conscious connection with the past is not broken. I may forget almost all the incidents of my childhood but nevertheless I know that I am the same person today that I was in the early years of my life. What have I to do with the gentleman, if a gentleman at all, that I was in my previous incarnation? Indeed I feel that I am much nearer to my fellow beings around me than to that personality. It is useless to say that he and I are the same substance. We have something of infinitely higher value than this identity of substance between the successive incarnations of the same individual. In the Absolute, here and now, we are all one. No practical problem of life is solved by the theory of reincarnation. It is supposed to account for the inequalities of this life. But present inequality cannot arise out of past equality. There must have been inequalities in the past, at whatever point of time you begin. And if it takes all sorts of things to make a world, inequality in some shape or other there must always be. The doctrine of rebirth, Professor Mackenzie tells us, "has undoubtedly a certain fascination." I do not know what the general feeling about the matter may be, but, speaking for myself, I can say that nothing is more shocking to me than the idea of coming back to this world again. If the Almighty gave me a choice between extinction and reincarnation, I should without a moment's hesitation choose the former. The only thing attractive in the doctrine is that there is an element of humour in it. Just think of the mighty effort which Hegel reborn, unless killed in the war, is making at this moment, as an undergraduate of some university, to understand the meaning of what he wrote a century ago!

Among the writers whose views we have considered, Mr. Bradley alone, curiously enough, says anything helpful as to how, assuming that survival is a fact, another life and another world may be conceived.* He, of course, only suggests possibilities and is far from holding that what is supposable is real or even probable. We have seen that to maintain with Hegel that God is fully revealed in this world is to render life after death inconceivable. There must be surroundings in the midst of which such life can be lived. The ordinary idea on the subject is that the soul after death continues to exist in God in a purely spiritual world. For such a view the opposition between the natural world and the spiritual world is fundamental. A dualism of this sort, however, is shown by Hegel to be wholly untenable. Spirit not unfolded into a world of facts is a false abstraction just as a world of facts not centred in and experienced by mind is unreal. The one idea against which Hegel inveighs at every turn is that of a transcendent

Elements of Constructive Philosophy, pp.

* *Essays on Truth and Reality*, Chap., XVI.

God. But because God is not somewhere beyond the world in which we live, it does not follow that he is completely manifested in it. The sensible world, the world we call real, may be a part only of a wider reality. As Mr. Bradley suggests, "what we call our real environment may be the merest fraction of the universe." It is "the universe of those things which are continuous in space with my body and in time with the states and the actions of that body." As such, it is the outcome of an ideal construction we make for the practical purposes of life. Though it is the only place where at present it is possible for us to live and work, it "may, for anything we know, be one of the least pieces of reality and there may be an indefinite number of other real worlds superior to our own." All these worlds, however, must be viewed as comprised within a single system of reality and it is in this inclusive system alone that God can be regarded as fully revealed.

Relative with the invisible world and functioning in it, there may be an invisible body pervading and supporting the perishable physical organism, and death may mean nothing more than the separation of this body from its material adjunct. As its ideal counterpart, the surviving soul may continue its career in the environment supplied by the encompassing unseen world.

The world beyond, however, is not purely spiritual any more than this world is purely material. Spirit has its content in facts of experience, and any world, in order to be a world at all, must consist of facts experienced by mind. The real is also ideal and ideality is nowhere except in the real world. A world of pure ideas, eternal essences, bodiless minds is a figment of the imagination, an abstraction as

false as the materialist's universe of mindless stuff. You cannot sever from each other the mutually complementary elements of a concrete whole and place one on this side of the grave and the other beyond it. This world, as an experienced world, is for mind and, as such, spiritual, just as the other world, consisting of facts which can be real only as known, must be an objective world and, therefore, in essence, of the same kind as the world in which we exist at present. We are too ready to assume that what lies beyond the ken of our senses at present is, as such, spiritual, forgetting that to beings differently situated and possessing senses of another sort, it may appear to be as 'material' as the things around us. There is nothing which is not both physical and spiritual from different points of view. To form an unduly low estimate of our present abode and to sigh for a realm of purely spiritual entities is the outcome of want of reflection and false philosophy. If your spiritual world is not here, it is nowhere, and any sphere into which you may be introduced after death is bound to be surprisingly analogous to this. The only difference which may be expected is that there our hopes and aspirations will be better fulfilled and the conditions of higher life will be more favourable than on this planet. But everywhere the real world must be of the same stuff, unspiritual if you view it superficially and spiritual if you take it at its maximum. Ultimate reality is only one, and that reality is the Absolute mind embodied in a universe of which the visible and the invisible worlds are mutually complementary elements.

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WHEN LOYALTIES CLASH

By MISS SANTA CHATTERJEE, B.A.

AT the extreme end of the village of Mādhāpur, there stands a red building, rearing its stately head in the midst of a garden. A girl could be frequently seen on its balconies, which boasted of beautiful stone balustrades. In the early morning she would stand on the eastern balcony looking towards the river with her face resting on her two slender and white hands. The pure snow-white of her face used to take on a rosy tinge from the red blush of dawn. If I call her simply a girl, she is not fully des-

cribed. It was hard to tell her age. Her large grey eyes carried in their depths the sorrow of centuries. Her carriage was slow like one of advanced years, but her slight willowy figure was that of a young girl.

Before the break of day, at the first note of birds, the slender figure of Sunandā was to be seen advancing towards the bathing place of the river, which flowed by the house. As she returned after her bath, her wet dress clinging to her young body and leaving the impress of her wet face on

step of the Ghat, she might easily have been mistaken for a Naiad. Water drops fell from her body like a shower of pearls and her wet hair clung to her marble white arms as the fibres of the water moss cling to stalks of lotuses. Her lips were not bright red but soft pink like the heart of the mother of pearl. But that which caused this water-goddess to leave her mysterious watery kingdom and sigh out her grief in a secluded corner of this hard earth, remained hidden from the bystanders.

The laughter and song of Sunandā filled the old palace the whole day. Her face did not lack the light of laughter though it reminded everyone of a lily drenched with tears. Her friends not unfrequently asked her, "Can you tell us, dear, where you find such a store of laughter?" As the sunshine breaks through the dark clouds of July, so Sunandā used to smile and answer, "What have I to grieve over? I have no home, no family, there is none to cause me sorrow with death or to make me weep with the pangs of love unrequited. To me, the world is full of strangers. Tears are never wasted over strangers. So why should I not laugh?" What to another would have been the greatest of sorrows, was to this girl a never-ending source of laughter, or at least so she said. "Are you made of stone?" asked a friend once. "No, my dear, I am flesh and blood, like the rest of you," answered this strange girl.

But the smile vanished as soon as she was alone. It was like a costly ornament, put on in public for the sake of appearance. And one does not need adornment when there is none to see.

The temple of the god Shiva stood by the side of the river. As regularly as the sun rose every morning gilding the spire of the temple with its golden light, and as often as he went down setting the western sky on fire with his dying breath, even so could Sunandā be seen every evening standing before the image of the god in a dress all white and gold, with her palms joined in the attitude of prayer. In the soft light of the temple lamp her white face looked still more colourless. She seemed like a statue of veneration, done in wax, so still and white.

But after the evening worship as she used to prostrate herself in obeisance before the god, she resembled a flower-laden jasmine plant in the moonlight. It seemed impossible

then that so fair a thing could have taken its birth on this earth; she reminded one of a garland of celestial flowers blown off from its heavenly home by a mad stormy wind.

In fair weather or foul, in rain, storm and darkness, she never failed in her attendance. In the same place she ever stood and in the same dress. Joy and sorrow struggled to gain ascendancy in the expression of her face. But so long as the eyes of others rested on her face, it never lost its smile.

(2)

In the bedroom of Sunandā, at the head of her bed, stood a small box of marble. It contained a few trifles, the largest in size being a letter. It was written by herself, but for all that she cherished it. There were no means of knowing beforehand to whom it was written, as it was not addressed. But the contents revealed his name. They also revealed many things about the person who wrote it, which otherwise would have remained unknown for ever. The letter ran thus :

Every human being possesses something which to the possessor is priceless. And this thing, he or she is unwilling to share with anyone, lest it loses its value. I have such a thing; it is my sorrow. I do not want to share it with anybody. There is nothing else of my very own, to which I can cling, which I can cherish in the inmost recess of my heart. So I keep it jealously hidden. But a time will come when I shall cease to be, and then I wish you to take charge of it. It is my very own and to none else can I entrust it. It came to my heart from the hands of God and none knew. I have kept his trust. I hid this priceless sorrow beneath my mantle of laughter, as the green turf hides the treasure lying in the dark womb of the earth. You too have always looked upon my face masked with laughter; so I do not know whether you will believe this tale of tears.

A human child takes its birth in a world full of light and joy. But I came into a world which had no welcome for me. The only person who then took me in her arms, did so with eyes full of tears. To me, the world meant nothing but my mo-

ther's arms; the single tie which bound me to this earth was her love. To a child the world is full of friends and playmates. The ties of blood bring some to it and others come drawn by the bond of joy and love. The world is a willing slave to the child-emperor. Miserable indeed is he, whom no child rules with its soft little fingers. But from the moment of my birth the world frowned upon me. I did not know with whom ties of blood connected me and no person ever approached me through love. Dumb, inanimate nature was my sole friend. I was a stranger to the play of human emotions.

The memories of my childhood are all vague and shadowy. There is no event, no loving playmate, to which these shadows could cling and take distinct shape. There is only one face which comes to my mind when I think of that period. It is the face of my mother.

The first distinct impression of my life, the first that I remember with any degree of clearness, is one of weeping and tears. I was clasping my mother round her neck and sobbing upon her shoulders. Tears ran down her face, too. The memory of her tear-stained face still remains with me; it was like a white lotus drenched with dew. An old man was standing by my mother. Clusters of hair, white as the sea-foam, framed his gentle and benign face. "I have come to entrust this poor thing to you," my mother was saying. "Miserable mother that I am, I cannot by any means keep my child with me." The old man stretched out his arms to take me. I clung to my mother more firmly, while her tears fell fast on my hair. I have told you already that the world then meant nothing to me but my mother. It seemed that the world was taking farewell of me in tears. The arms of the old man did not tempt me. I viewed him with suspicion. I was too young to understand fully what was happening but the sight of my mother's tears filled my heart with terrible forebodings. I have no distinct recollection now, how long that drama of tears and sorrow lasted; but I vaguely remember that when the cruel hands of the old man finally tore me from my mother's arms, it was already dark, and the roads had become deserted. My mother ran

to be away before she lost her resolution. She looked back at me from the door and with an inarticulate word of blessing vanished for ever. It was the last sight I ever had of my mother. I do not know who she was. I have forgotten her parting words. I only remember the tears which fell upon my hair as she kissed me farewell. My mother was the only person on whom I had any claim, and the only gift I had of her was her tears. With this treasure alone I began my life. Time has continually added to it, but the capital was my mother's gift.

I was born with a heart full of love. But the only person whom I could have naturally loved, disappeared in the morning of my life like a star at the approach of daylight. I understood that I was fated to pass my life in tears. Laughter and love were not for me. But I fiercely resented this, I rebelled against my creator. I was determined to oppose his decree. From the day when my cruel benefactor tore me away from my mother's embrace and took me to his house, I banished tears from my eyes.

In that strange abode I passed the first few days in total silence. I refused to get up from the bed on which I had taken refuge when my mother made me over to the old man. I would not eat or drink. The old man tried patiently to bear with me. He used to come to feed me with his own hands, but I pushed aside his hand in anger and would not open my lips. I used to hold my lips fiercely with my teeth, lest they should open without my consent. The old man waited and waited with my food, sometimes till evening. He himself went without food the whole day, because he would not eat while the child entrusted to him remained unfed.

To propitiate the little stranger every means was taken. My room gradually began to take on the appearance of a toy-shop. The garden was stripped of its wealth for me. And there also appeared a crowd of little boys and girls. They had been bribed by the good old man to come and make friends with me. I never had any friend, so my whole heart was greedy for them. My benefactor now watched me with a sigh of content. The smile returned to my face.

home to me. I began to call the old man grandfather. I was called Sunandā by him. I do not know if ever I had any other name.

When I had become a little older he taught me how to worship the god Shiva. I found my greatest joy in that. Grandfather had told me that to the god all can be told, all can be asked of him. Even the greatest of sorrows can be turned into bliss by him. I eagerly believed him. Every evening, as I prostrated myself before the god, I told him all that filled my heart. To men I had nothing to confide. They were nothing to me. I gave them only smiles. My god alone knew of that well of tears which I called my heart.

I lacked neither love nor care in my grandfather's house. But for all that, I never could forget that there was a great difference between myself and other children. He used to feed and bathe me himself, when I was too young to do things for myself, but even in the coldest winter, if he happened to touch me before his prayers, he would go and bathe again to purify himself. To save me pain and mortification he took every care to hide these things from me, but it is hard to deceive one whose eyes have lost the illusions which love gives to every child. Whenever he was detected by me, he shrank away from me, lest I should ask for explanations. But what right had I to complain of anything to man? To my god alone I complained. With smiles and prattlings I tried to put the old man at his ease, as if I had seen or understood nothing. Many a time have I seen him questioned by his neighbours as to who I was. It was difficult for him to answer the question before me, but I used to break in with, "I am his adopted grandchild," and so relieve him.

The attenuated figure of the old man became more so, as the years advanced. One day I heard that we were going away to his country-house. It was in Mādhāpur. He wanted to close his eyes in the place where he first opened them.

We arrived in that red brick house, together with the mango-blossoms, which heralded the approach of spring in the huge garden which surrounded the house. The house stood silent and deserted. I have heard that once it held many persons, and festivities were of daily occurrence. But the huge reception rooms were empty now. Only the daily worship at the temple of Shiva still goes on.

My grandfather had wealth and he

also possessed numerous children and grandchildren. But all had followed the departing footsteps of the goddess of plenty. At last he had only one grandson left. But in his terrible bereavement he turned away from this boy and left his native home. He did not want any more ties, which are formed only to be broken.

But as death approached him, he returned again to his deserted home. "Here", he said, "have I given up all whom I had cherished in life, in death I will not be parted from them. Let my ashes, too, mingle with theirs."

Here it was that I first met you. You seemed to me as beautiful as a single streak of light in this kingdom of dark desolation. Many years have passed since. I wonder if you still remember that day.

I think that the river must have flowed close to your house at that time when these stairs were made leading down to the depths of the clear current. Since then it has changed its course a little and the water has receded more and more, leaving the stairs bare and dry. After stepping down these, people now have to walk a short distance over the dry mud in order to reach the water. A big banyan tree stands close by; it has stood so from time immemorial, looking down at its own image reflected in the dark blue surface below. The current of the river has gradually washed away the earth from around its numerous roots, leaving them exposed. Underneath this tree, two large stones have been laid down and these now form the bathing-place of the village people.

On that day, I had come out of my room and was sitting on one of these stones. The water had not yet turned rosy with the first kiss of the god of day; it was lying still and gray before me. The birds had just begun to send out welcoming trills to the fast advancing sun-god. I was thinking of my own fate. I did not know whether I had any relations of my own living, and the person with whom destiny had made me take shelter was fast approaching the end of his days. Suddenly I looked up at the sound of footsteps. You were advancing towards the river and to my eyes you looked as resplendent as the god of light himself. In the half light, of the early dawn we first exchanged glances. It was the most inauspicious yet the most auspicious moment of my life.

A young heart craves for human company, and as there were only the old man and

myself to choose between, it was no wonder that you chose the younger one as your companion, and so did I choose you. The smile that I had worn as a mask became real through your friendship. So long as this lasted I banished all sorrow and sadness from my heart; all was full of light within and without. How the days passed! They now seem like dreams to me, dreams that have vanished in the fierce light of day. But memory still lingers on like some golden feather dropped from the flitting wings of the fairy of dreams.

Within those few days I tried to gather ample compensation for all the dark days of my life. The harp of my life resounded with joyous strains full and loud. But in my eagerness, perhaps I had struck too hard; for one day the string broke. From that day the harp has been mute.

But at the same time when we were filling the hours with joy and laughter, the messenger of death had already entered the house. My grandfather took to his bed; it was his last illness. The day was given over to joy, but morning and evening I went twice to his room and sat by him. He used to look up at me, his gentle eyes full of pity, and he stroked my hair with his trembling hand. I knew that his heart was more full of the thoughts of the girl whom he was leaving behind than of the blessed land towards which every day carried him nearer. The wail whom he had so long sheltered would now be left alone and shelterless. This gnawing anxiety seemed to hasten his end. He was one of the noblest of human beings, yet he used to bathe after touching me, to purify himself. My touch was pollution even to him! So what could I hope for at the hands of any other person?

But these thoughts came afterwards. Then I had no time to spare for gloomy thoughts. Grandfather sometimes used to draw me down to his bedside, he struggled to say something; but he could not utter it. His eyes expressed what his tongue failed to do; he seemed to ask a favour of me,—of me to whom he had given everything. But what that favour was, I never tried to know. I had then no time for reading the language of an old man's dim tear-filled eyes. Your bright dark eyes told me a new tale every morning, and my eyes wanted nothing else. So after a few hurriedly spoken words, accompanied with

pillows, I used to leave his room and go off. Countless sighs from a broken heart pursued me, but I paid no heed. Indeed I was not even conscious of them. It is only now that I find time to think of them.

Do you remember that day, when you and I together made a garland of white lotuses sitting on the grass by the side of the river? You took one end of the string and I the other, and we both worked at the same time. The chain was very long before we finished. In the middle was a large full-blown lotus. Grandfather was very fond of lotuses, so I took the garland to his room. "Look here, grandfather," I called out, "what a beautiful garland! See if I wear it, it reaches down to my feet."

He turned round and said, "Indeed child, you are nearly covered with flowers. You look like the goddess Saraswati! Who gave you so many flowers?"

"Your grandson Shankar," I answered.

His pale face seemed to turn paler still. Yet he laughed and said, "My dear, you spend your days in laughter alone. But life is not all laughter; there are tears enough in it. It is well to be prepared for both, otherwise sorrow gives too severe a shock. May it never enter your life. Still you never know."

I hung the garland on the wall, and left the room. Our joyous laughter had penetrated even into the sick room, and told its own tale. But it found no answering joy there, only sadness. But why?

I passed that day alone and speechless. The shadow of some impending calamity darkened everything for me. But in what shape was it coming? The old man had told me to be ready; but for what was I to be ready? At one time I thought you must have told something against me to him. But I dismissed that thought, because why should you? I had never harmed you. Then,—was my mother dead? Was my grandfather trying to prepare me for that? I was a mere child when I had last seen her. I called to mind her tear-stained face but my own eyes remained dry. Why should I weep for a mother who had given me away? Even the street beggars share their poverty with their children, but my mother had not done even that. I hardened my heart. Why should I weep and tremble for anything or anybody? I chased away the dark shadows from my heart.

But from that day the light of joy which had filled my universe, began to fade fast. I began to get dispirited and dull. I refused to go out of the house, and frittered away the time in useless and trivial tasks. You seemed surprised at my behaviour; sometimes you even asked for reasons. I laughed in answer, but the laughter was becoming hollow and insincere.

A few days passed in this way. Then one day in the morning you entered grandfather's room and spent two or three hours there. I do not know what you told each other, but as soon as you left the room I was sent for. As I entered he turned slowly round and said, "My child, my days are numbered. Before passing away I have something to say to you and Shankar. To him I have told all I had to say. Besides he is a man, he can very well look after himself. But I am anxious for you, my darling."

He ceased to speak and gazed intently at me. I sat still with beating heart and averted face.

After a time he began again: "My darling child, perhaps you do not know how much I love you. My love for you is no whit less than the love I feel for Shankar. The day when I deserted this house and left it ruined and desolate, I did so, swearing not to love anybody again in this world. Love is a never-ending source of suffering and agony. But your face made me break my promise. The heart never remains empty for long; some one or other creeps into it and establishes a new sway. Such is the law of the Creator. So you came in, the child-queen of my heart. Shankar was then with his mother's relations. I left him there willingly. I did not want any more ties of affection, but the world is full of them; so I could not escape. How I brought you up, with what care and love, you know well. I sheltered you from sorrow and sin to the best of my power. But who can go against destiny? It is I who must deal you the first great blow of your life. I tried hard to shirk this terrible duty. But I could not find any other way."

I sat there silent, my heart turning cold within my breast.

What I heard was terrible for me. I did not know what sin was, but I understood how my being to sin. Then it was I knew what had caused my mother to desert

her baby. It was not poverty; she was afraid of herself, she feared to contaminate me. She gave me up to this saintly man in the hope that his merit might wash away my sin. But can any one wash a piece of charcoal white? The sin of my birth clung to me.

The old man went on: "My child, I have loved you above everything. But man is weak, he is stained easily. I know that I have caused you pain sometimes by my treatment of you, as one whose touch makes one unclean, yet I could not help it. I have ever loved and cared for you as my own child, and now that I am dying, I have only one favour to ask of you. I found out long ago, what perhaps you do not know yet. To Shankar you have become as the apple of his eyes. He confessed it to me to-day, my darling. I know that you are pure as the water of the sacred Gangā. But society will not recognise it. You are an outcast by its laws. Swear to me, my child, touching my white hair, that you will do nothing to make Shankar ashamed before his fellow-men; that you will leave him; the last of my race, free to live a life worthy of his birth. If you become hard, he will easily forget you sooner or later. Such is man's nature. I will leave you everything that I die possessed of. You will be able to maintain yourself in decency and comfort."

At this mention of his property, I felt as if someone had struck me with stinging nettles. But without a word, I swore the oath which he desired me to take. Then I understood how much I had taken upon myself.

The old man blessed me, "May you be born as Savitri in your next birth. The penance you will undergo in this life will wash away all your sins. Give up everything to the god, he alone can be the husband of such as you."

After that I came out of the room. I had gone in a girl, I came out a woman. I knew then that I had given you everything unknowingly. I loved you above all earthly things, so I must forget you. But the human heart knows no master. You were my friend in times of joy, but in this day of sorrow, you became all the world to me. I could not forget, but I could make you forget.

I began to move away from you by imperceptible degrees. I did not want any questions and explanations. So I behaved as if

my household tasks engrossed all my attention and I had no time for child's play. Even to myself I pretended that you were nothing to me but a chance playmate.

Before this I never mentioned the word marriage to you. But now I always jested about your coming marriage and your future wife. This made you angry, which made me go on worse. That day, the last day of the month of *Paush* it was, you came to me with a garland of flowers. As you gave it to me, you were about to say something when I interrupted you: "What a fool you are," I cried, "to be always running after thankless tasks. What's the use of presenting flowers to me? It is nothing but casting pearls before swine. Keep your presents for one who will want them."

You looked at me with eyes full of pain. You never expected such words from me. I began to talk at random, as if I had not understood anything. But you did not know what it cost me to hurt you. Perhaps you thought that my heart was made of stone. But out of such beds of stone the mighty rivers take their birth.

You had come to say something, but it remained unspoken. You went out with a sad and disappointed look. I called in our neighbour *Mandā* and began to talk and laugh with her aloud. I am quite sure that you heard me; I meant you to do so.

It was my love for you which made me hard as flint. I went on striking at your heart mercilessly. I must make you think me cruel and worthless. I must make you forget; I had promised to the old man.

I was born to a heritage of shame and ignominy. I was determined to keep it to myself. I would not allow any one to share it, least of all you. I would not let a particle of my shame rest upon you, and form a stain upon your fair name. So I tried to keep you at a distance from this child of sin. I was afraid that if once I let you guess the secret of my heart, nothing would keep you from me. You would gladly share my burden of shame. But I must not let you. You were the last of a noble family and I an outcast, whom God and man have forsaken. How could two such persons come together?

Once I thought of confessing everything to you. I wanted to hear all you had to say and to tell all that filled my heart. I wanted to tell you what had caused me to behave like a heartless thing and what it had cost

me. But I soon gave up that idea. Why make your sorrow greater? You must forget me; then what was the use of such understandings? But now I think I should have told you all.

Once again we met by the side of the lotuses. Our eyes were full of the memory of the first meeting. I turned off my eyes lest they should reveal any secret, and said lightly: "What a wealth of flowers we have this year!"

"Why, don't you remember," you said, "last year, too, there was exactly such a profusion? We two sat here and made a huge garland of white lotuses."

"Oh, one cannot always remember everything that happened in one's childhood," I replied.

"Childhood? Why it was only last year! Do you forget so soon?"

"I cannot remember every trifle," I replied with a show of disdain.

Your voice had a mingling of sadness in it when you said, "I remember many greater trifles."

"Then you must lend me a share of your memory. I have nearly lost mine," I said with a laugh.

If I had you now near me I could tell you that my memory for trifles was even greater than yours. I remembered every look, every gesture of yours; I had got by heart all your habits, likes and dislikes. I pretended to ignore you, but I never ceased to look after your every comfort. I tried to blind you, but why were you so easily blinded? Why could you not see through my thin subtleties?

Gradually I grew more and more scarce to you. I never had time to walk or talk with you. But as I gave up things in outward appearance, in my inmost heart they established themselves all the more firmly. I thought only of you; I worked only for you. This was my only joy, that I could still serve you though you knew it not. But seldom does the god know of the adoration of the votary.

Every morning I went to the temple to prostrate myself before the image of the god. To him alone I confided my agony and sorrow. I told him alone of the deceit that I was practising with you, but it was for your good.

But this confession did not bring relief to my heart. For you, I had carried deceit even into my dealings with the god. In his

shame and sorrow I confess it and hope for forgiveness. During the evening worship, when I stood with bowed head and joined palms before the image of the god, it was not he who filled my heart. I felt your gaze with my whole body. It flowed over me like a stream of holy water, purifying this body of its inherited sin. I felt that the end of my penance was drawing near. Purged of the sin in my blood in this life by your purifying look, I should have you as my very own when I should be born again. The conchshell blew on and the silver lamps blazed, but I had neither ears nor eyes for them; all my senses were then steeped in you. The temple held nothing but you. Even now, every evening I feel your presence there and it fills me with rapture.

But when I returned from the temple, fear used to take hold of my heart. If I had made the god angry by my neglect of him, would any harm befall you? For punishment strikes a woman very often through her beloved. But you too had no faith in that god. You went to the temple, not for him. We have both sinned against the god, but I was the cause of your sinning. With bowed head I supplicated to him, not for forgiveness, but that punishment might fall only upon me.

My grandfather had told me that a god can never be contaminated by man. So I decided to dedicate myself to his service. He would take care of me and maintain me, for I was determined that I would never accept the property which by right belonged to you. I dreamed of myself in the future as living in a little hut by the side of the temple and from there witnessing your home made beautiful and happy by some fortunate woman. But who knows if ever the dream will come true? All the probabilities seem against it. Yet I cannot give up my dream, and I am taking care of your house and property in the hope that one day I shall be able to make all over to you.

Long years have passed since I first began to sweep and wash the temple stairs and decorate them with flowers. Though I am the lowest of the low, yet I am allowed to serve thus. Every evening I wipe the accumulated dust of the day from off the stairs with my own hair. But it is nothing but a habit now. For I know that the last particle of the dear holy dust had long been blown away by the wind.

The temple is no longer so crowded now

as it used to be in your days. Only a few old women still persist. But of the innumerable young village folk who thronged here every evening and made my entrance nearly impossible, not one is seen any more.

A great storm ravaged the countryside that year. On the day of the storm, it grew dark even before evening. During the night several large trees were torn down by the violence of the wind, many boats were wrecked and the river wildly broke down its banks. It was a mad dance of the elements, and man trembled before it.

Before the storm broke, the evening worship in the temple was somehow hurried through. All the people left in haste. I alone remained for the purpose of finishing my daily tasks. But I did not know that you too had lingered behind. I never set about my self-appointed tasks before the eyes of a single human being. Not even the priest of the temple knew anything about them. So it must have come as a sort of surprise to you.

After trimming and polishing the silver lamps of the temple and washing the back stairs, I came round to the front. I knelt down and swept the marble steps with my hair. The last rays of the departing daylight struck upon my white and gold sari and made it glow. This attracted your eyes and you came forward and asked, "Sunandā, what makes you kneel here before this god of stone?"

The truth rushed to my lips. But I held it back. I must not tell you the truth before the day of final parting. So I said, "My god has made me kneel here."

Suddenly you cried out, "What is this? Why do you sweep the stairs with your hair? Who is the fortunate being, the dust of whose feet dare to aspire so high?"

I laughed and said, "Do not you know that to a woman her beloved is above God?"

In the dark I could not see your face. But your voice was hoarse as you said, "What has he given you in return for this?"

"I do not keep count of that, I am satisfied with giving."

"So you have given away all to him? Have you kept nothing at all for others?"

I replied, "No, when we give, we give all."

Then you said, "Sunandā, is there then really no hope for me?"

I replied, "Indeed! What is that which you expect from me?"

You went away without another word. I too left soon after.

All through the night I lay awake, listening to the crash of thunder, and the roar of the river as it broke down its banks. The rain fell in torrents and at intervals the crash of a large tree, as it was uprooted and flung to the ground, penetrated to my room.

Next morning, as I rose and looked out, I could scarcely recognise the long familiar scenes. All the old landmarks were gone, broken or washed away. Many houses had fallen, many lives were lost. But the havoc outside was nothing to the havoc in my heart. For that day I lost all.

Since then I have not set eyes upon you. I have not given up waiting. I want to tell you everything before I go. But if I am not fortunate enough, this letter will tell you. But I want once more to see your face, the smile kindle in your eyes; and I want myself to laugh once again from the heart as I used to. Then I shall die content, with the memory of this last meeting blooming like a white lotus in the sea of tears which I called my life. But I wonder, will so much be granted to me, who have been denied all from my birth."

[Translated from the original Bengali by
SEETA CHATTERJEE.]

EFFECT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL JUDGMENT ON PERSONAL AND POLITICAL FREEDOM IN INDIA—VIEW OF MR. R. C. REGINALD NEVILL, B.A., LL. B.

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

THERE are few men in England, and for that matter in India, who have given more serious consideration to the question of personal and political freedom in India as affected by recent legislation passed by the Government of India and the decisions of the courts thereon than Mr. R. C. Reginald Nevill. As solicitor in the recent Amritsar riot appeal "Bugga and others vs. the King Emperor" he has had to examine with the minutest care the Government of India Acts 1915 and 1916 and other measures which affect Indian Liberty. In connection with that and allied matters he had to go to India sometime ago, and while there he met some of our most eminent lawyers—among them the Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Lalas Harkishenlal and Duni Chand. In this circumstance, I think, it may serve a useful purpose if I set down, in a condensed form, the gist of the many conversations I have had with him during the past few weeks on the effect of recent legislation and decisions upon political freedom in India.

Mr. Nevill being one of those Englishmen who feel greatly concerned at the British agents lowering in the outposts of the Empire British standards of governance, civilization and justice, has very kindly consented to my casting the substance of our talks in the form of the present article.

"I have read," said Mr. Nevill, "the Rowlatt Act very carefully." It is quite true that the co-operation between the miniature Star Chambers called "investigating bodies" and the Criminal Investigation Department presents a formidable prospect, but even so, the powers of the Governor-General under section 72 of the Government of India Act 1915 as interpreted by the Privy Council seem to me more formidable still.

Everything by way of abrogating the liberties of the subject which is done under the Rowlatt Act can be effected equally well by section 72, and when this has been done the further ordinance-making powers of the Governor-General are limited solely by the power of the Secretary of State to disallow the ordinances.

Section 72 of the Government of India Act, like many other sections of that Act, is based upon similar provisions in the older Acts now superseded. To outward appearance it seems harmless enough, but the application that it has recently received at the hands of the Governor-General—an application upheld by the Privy Council—gives it almost unlimited potentialities as an instrument of oppression.

"The Governor-General," the section provides, "may in cases of emergency make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good government of British India or any part thereof, and any ordinance so made shall in the space of not more than one month from its promulgation have the like force of Law as an act passed by the Governor-General in Legislative Council."

The power of making such ordinances, like the power of the Governor-General in Legislative Council to make laws, is of course subject to disallowance of the Crown acting through the Secretary of State. Given a Secretary of State who is not vigilant, or who is unwilling to assert himself, the Governor-General can use the vast power conferred under this section to interfere to his heart's content with the freedom of the Indian subjects of His Majesty. Whenever he can be persuaded that an emergency exists, he may dispense with his council and legislate independently, and the laws so made have full force for six months provided that they are not *ultra vires* of the Government of India and so long as they are not disallowed by the Crown.

Whether this section is put into operation or not, depends then entirely upon the view taken as to what constitutes an emergency. An emergency may be a mere matter of nerves on the part of those persons who are conscious of its existence. It may even be possible for a masterful and headstrong head of a local Government to persuade the Governor-General to give him by ordinance despotic powers in his province on the ground that an emergency or a supposed emergency exists.

The Governor-General considered last

spring that such an emergency existed in the Punjab and he accordingly made a series of ordinances.

The sequence of important events needs to be noticed to appreciate whether (a) the Governor-General was right in making use of his ordinance-making powers and (b), if right, the ordinances which he in fact made were in excess of the occasion.

The *hartal* was held in Lahore and Amritsar on April 6th and on the 9th April. Mr. M. K. Gandhi was arrested at Palwal on the Punjab frontier and sent back to Bombay. Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were deported from Amritsar on April 10th. On the same day there was rioting, arson, destruction of the Banks and murder of the Bank officials at Amritsar. Disturbances also took place at Lahore on the 10th and 11th April and at Gujranwala on the 14th April. By the night of the 14th serious disorders were at an end. Nevertheless on April 14th Martial Law was proclaimed in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar and almost immediately afterwards in Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur, in none of which districts had a single murder taken place. On the proclamation of Martial Law, the Bengal State Offences Regulation was put into force.

This Regulation enables the Governor-General with regard to certain specified offences to suspend the functions of the ordinary courts in the districts in which it is in force and to order the trial by Court Martial of all persons, "taken in arms in open hostility to the British Government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state, or in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government."

It needs to be emphasized that a person charged under this Regulation must be taken in the act of committing one of the offences enumerated, and if he is to be tried by Court Martial under this regulation the only penalty that can be inflicted upon him is death. In other words, the Regulation permits of all rebels taken red-handed being tried by Court Martial and put to death.

That is simply the ordinary practice in all countries where Martial Law is declared on the occasion of a rebellion. It requires, in fact, no Regulation or ordinance to expound it. There is even a rough and ready practice in dealing thus with rebels taken in arms against the established Government. In such cases and under such conditions even a drum-head court-martial becomes almost a formality.

But in April 1919 there were no such cases in the Punjab, neither did these conditions exist. Obviously, therefore, the Bengal Regulation was wholly inapplicable. It was of no use to the Government. Consequently ordinances had to be promulgated to enable the Punjab Government to try by Court Martial persons and offences which the framers of the Bengal Regulation in 1804 evidently felt ought not to be dealt with by Martial Law.

It must be clearly understood that the *raison d'être* of the Bengal Regulation is to limit the scope of Martial Law when once it has been proclaimed. It is just because the Government of India and the Punjab Government were impatient of these limitations, by which our forefathers in India were content to be bound, that these ordinances were found necessary.

The first ordinance made under section 72 of the Government of India Act was ordinance I of 1919.

This ordinance set up commissions of three judges, two civilians and one soldier, to try by the procedure of Court Martial all persons charged with offences against

the Bengal Regulation committed on or after the 13th April, 1919. The procedure to be followed by the Commissioners was that of a Court Martial under the Indian Army Act. Now, as it was obvious that no one had been taken in the act (as required by the Bengal Regulation) and that the disturbances had not only arisen but for the most part subsided before April 13th, these commissions would have had nothing to do if they confined their atten-

tions to offences against the Bengal Regulation and to offences committed after that date.

The Governor-General therefore on April 22nd promulgated ordinance IV of 1919.

Clause 2 of this ordinance will suffice to explain its purpose and intent.

"Notwithstanding anything contained in Martial Law ordinance 1919 (i.e., Ordinance No. I) the local Government may by general or special order direct that any commission appointed under the said ordinance shall try any person charged with any offence committed on or after the 30th March 1919."

That is to say, that if petty larceny had been committed at Amritsar on April 1st 1919, the offence

could after the 22nd of April be tried by Martial Law although at the time it was committed it was triable only by the ordinary courts.

Surely it is patent on the surface that such an ordinance can have no moral sanction. That the competence of the Governor-General to make this ordinance has been upheld by the Privy Council merely serves to demonstrate and emphasize the dangers of the autocratic powers



Mr. R. C. Reginald Nevill, B. A., LL. B.

conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act, 1915, powers which are, moreover, left entirely untouched by the new Act of last year. When the tribunals set up by Ordinance I, had been invested with the full powers under Ordinance IV, they proceeded to try not only charges of crimes of violence but those which consisted of such offences as 'sedition' and 'conspiracy to wage war against the King', the accused of this latter class of offences having been guilty of nothing more formidable than making speeches and writing and publishing newspaper articles.

The two most important cases of this class are the Amritsar Conspiracy Case and the Lahore Conspiracy Case. The judgments in these cases frequently refer to the existence of a grave conspiracy, though the records contain no evidence which bears even the appearance of having been called for the purpose of proving a conspiracy. The evidence in both cases is very imperfectly recorded—especially, be it noted, the evidence for the defence—but the only reference to a conspiracy is to be found in the judgments. This simply amounts to reiterated assertion entirely unsupported by evidence.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer is constantly complaining that Lord Hunter's Committee has taken no notice of these 'findings' of the existence of a conspiracy. The reason is obvious. They were not worthy of serious notice. Is Sir Michael O'Dwyer conscious of the very poor compliment that he is paying to the intelligence and acumen of so eminent a lawyer as Lord Hunter?

The real danger of the Privy Council having found that the promulgation of Ordinance IV of 1919 was within the power of the Governor-General appears to be that unless prevented by the Secretary of State almost any kind of ordinance abrogating the right of the citizen would be competent to the Governor-General.

It would seem that he can on any occasion of supposed emergency set up a tribunal constituted as he shall think fit and directed to try any Indian for any offence notwithstanding that the offence was committed long before the ordinance setting

up the tribunal was made or promulgated. At any moment then he can supersede the powers of the ordinary courts of law in favour of entirely irregular tribunals.

It is curious that although the Privy Council has upheld the Governor-General in promulgating this ordinance, His Majesty's Government have allowed the Secretary of State to declare that the ordinance is too wide in its terms and that it is impossible not to disavow many of the acts committed under the powers which it conferred.

This however being so there are several questions which must inevitably arise. First, if the ordinance is in fact open to these grave objections why was it not disallowed by the Secretary of State before the mischief was done. Secondly, there is the more important question,—if in future a similar ordinance is made where "due limits to its application are not ensured," will the Secretary of State feel himself bound by Mr. Montagu's despatch of the 26th of May to disallow any such ordinance even although it is strictly within the legal powers of the Governor-General to make it? He may; but surely legislation is required to guarantee the liberty of the subject.

The present position is full of inconsistency and contradiction. The Privy Council declares that the Governor-General has not exceeded his powers and the Secretary of State says that he has not exercised them properly. Seeing that in promulgating Ordinance IV of 1919 the Governor-General has enabled the Punjab Government to imprison for a period of at least eight months many persons on charges which admittedly ought never to have been tried by the tribunals passing the various sentences, the matter is no light one, and it is difficult to understand why the Secretary of State should welcome the opportunity which his despatch of the 26th May affords, to assure Lord Chelmsford of the sense of obligation which His Majesty's Government feel to him personally for the manner in which he has fulfilled his high trust.

Lord Chelmsford by promulgating Ordinance No. IV of 1919 and the Privy Council

by upholding him have shown us that the Governor-General of India has on occasions the powers of an autocrat, while the results of autocracy are demonstrated by the obvious and admitted injustice done under the powers conferred by the ordinance.

It is the concern of the British people to see to it that those who have suffered this injustice are reinstated and that adequate reparation is made to them for their suffering and loss.

It is both foolish and unreasonable for Englishmen to expect that the judgment of History will be kinder to them than to the Germans if they adopt the same

methods and act upon the same principles. By opposing material to moral and spiritual forces the Prussian militarist has brought the once mighty German Empire to the dust. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer would lead us along the same path. Amritsar and Louvain are but the culminations of two policies based upon the same principles. If we value our Empire and all that is best in its traditions, we must not only refuse to follow the lead which these two men have given us, but we must seek out some means by which we may emphasize our disapproval without ambiguity or equivocation.

THE EAST AFRICAN ATMOSPHERE

THERE was one man in East Africa, whose name was on every one's lips, —Major Grogan. I was not able to meet him, because he was away in England, but the magic of his name was so widespread, that I seemed almost to be able to picture him and know him, even without seeing him at all.

Many persons spoke to me about Major Grogan, as the 'Cecil Rhodes' of East Africa. It seemed to me a singularly inappropriate title, because, on the race question, he had chosen a policy which was the very reverse of that of the South African statesman. In Cape Colony and in Rhodesia, as I was able to see with my own eyes, the policy of Cecil Rhodes, —

"The Franchise for every civilised man," had been carried out; and, as a direct consequence, the Indians in these two countries have received better treatment than elsewhere and have been more respected. But Major Grogan and his ardent followers have always stood out for, —

"The White Man's Franchise,"

and this policy, which is now hardening into a political dogma, up and down the length

and breadth of East and Central Africa, has already led to untold bitterness, and is certain to lead in the end to bloodshed and revolution. For even apart from the bitter animosity which must necessarily possess the hearts of the Indian settlers, the future hatred that will be engendered in the minds of the East African natives themselves has to be considered. The White Man, who follows Major Grogan as a leader, aims at nothing more or less than a 'brute-force' domination over the inhabitants by his own invading race, which is rapidly expropriating and reducing to a servile position the original possessors of the soil.

The Indian settlers (who came before the European) never aimed at this; and it is a fact of great significance and interest in the world today, that there is not a single country, to which Indians have gone out as colonists, wherefrom they have permanently dispossessed the original dwellers on the soil. Whatever war-conquests were made, were confined ultimately to India itself. Even in Java and Cambodia, the colonisation and the government by Hindu princes and settlers appear to have been by the direct choice of the

inhabitants, rather than by conquest in battle.

But to return to Major Grogan,—however much one may dislike his political and racial views, it is impossible not to see in him today the expression of that type of settler, who is likely more and more in the future to make East Africa his own occupied territory. Major Grogan's character is that which is very definitely before the eyes of the average English colonist in East Africa. For that very reason, it is worth while to analyse it and to find out what it denotes for humanity.

There is, first of all, an abounding energy and vigour, together with a reckless physical bravery, which make any amount of suffering endurable,—a forcefulness which indomitably pushes its way through every obstacle. This force is difficult either to estimate or to define: it is like something elemental. Major Grogan, who is an Irishman, possesses this elemental force, and it makes up some part of the magic of his personality.

In the second place, there is an extraordinarily close comradeship with those who belong to the same race in a foreign land,—the common pride of being a 'white man', which brings with it an open, unbounded hospitality to those of the same blood. The arrogance which is involved in this assumption of superiority to all others is obvious; and this paper will show some of its most hateful effects. But it must be remembered, that, within the charmed circle of the 'white race' itself, a kind of blood-comradeship exists, which is stimulating and electrical. An insult offered to this blood-brotherhood sends a shock through the whole society and leads sometimes to madness.

The third distinguishing quality, which I met with everywhere in East Africa, was an all-round business capacity and a power of hard, concentrated work. These European settlers are no comfortable, arm-chair people. They are bent upon success; they are straining every nerve and muscle and using every ounce of brain to obtain success quickly. From all that I have heard and seen, Major Grogan's

energies for pressing forward business schemes must be exceptional.

All that I have mentioned hitherto may, by some be regarded, (just like a sudden outbreak in Nature), as one of those explosions of human energy that must somehow find its vent and outlet in the world. The rush of flood-water must find its proper level. We may dread some of its devastating effects, but we cannot avoid its irruption or expansion. This aspect may first of all occupy the imagination. But when this force is so employed as to harden into brutal callousness the insolence of race domination, the conscience of mankind, which has been restless and uneasy before, at once revolts. For this consuming energy of a stronger race, when directed against a weak and defenceless people, is perhaps the most evil and pernicious of all the evil forces that have been let loose in the world today. It has absolutely no redeeming feature. It leads to the wreckage of humanity.

After travelling in very many lands and among different peoples, I know no country where the danger is so terribly immediate of this evil force being let loose to do mischief in our own generation as in East Africa. It is destroying in that great land the native population, as surely as the aborigines of Australia were destroyed by the English settlers, who killed them off with firearms and whisky and gin, or the Red Indians of North America were destroyed by the pioneer settlers there, who used the same devastating weapons. The process in East Africa may be slower to-day but it is hardly at present less certain.

The horror of the whole thing is, that it is being done with open eyes; and the ruthless greed, which is effecting it, is driving all before it like a devouring flame. Here are the words about it written with regard to South Africa in his younger days, by Major Grogan himself, and they remain even more true of East Africa to-day:

"We (white men) are dependent on the aid of the natives. To assist us, they must be moulded to our ways. But they do not want to be; and yet they must. Either we give up the country com-

mercially, or we must make them work : and mere abuse of those who point out his impasse can never change the fact. We must decide, and soon. Or rather, the white men of South Africa will decide. May History (the philosophy, which teaches by examples) teach us at last to be discreet. I have seen too much of the world to have any lingering beliefs that Western Civilisation benefits native races. Socially, physically and morally its advent is their death-knell. Still we have taken up the task. Let us see with open eyes the issues which that task entails. For sure as the tide, comes the moment when there is no longer room for both peoples to live together their own individual lives : at that moment one must bow or leave his path. .

"I have small sympathy with the capitalist regime [Major Grogan now owns 300,000 acres of East Africa and is perhaps its largest capitalist.—C. F. A.] and I am convinced that the immediate future of South Africa is nipped by the root of the land monopoly. But it is the regime in which we live as yet, and till it, top-heavy, crumbles to the ground the native, too, must fall into line. We have stolen his land. Now we must steal his limbs. The setting apart of native 'reserves' does but defer the issue. In time, the white man will have all. It is happening in New Zealand : it is happening in the United States : it will happen in Africa none the less.

"Lack of incentive precludes any voluntary development from the existing communism into progressive State socialism, in which the negro would reap the fruits. There remains a possible alternative. It is the organisation of African Society on the lines of the Incas of Peru : that is, the division of society into two strata, of which the lower (the negro race) does the menial work and draws sufficient of the proceeds to meet all simple wants, while the upper (the white race) organises, directs and takes all the surplus produce.

"Compulsory labour in some form is the corollary of our occupation of the country, and the sooner we grasp this essential fact the better chance there will be that

South Africa will settle down in the shadow of the flag. It is pathetic, but it is History. The immediate cause can be found by a simple measurement of skulls. The primary cause lies hid in those great words of Rhodes : 'Tread me down : pass on : I have done my work.' "

This was the philosophy of history which Major Grogan learnt in his travels up and down Africa. He has brought it into his own life-work in East Africa. There are two driving incentives behind it. The first is the fanatical cult of the 'White Race', which takes the place of religion. The second is the consuming desire to get rich quickly, which sweeps away all moral considerations.

A notorious incident, in which Major Grogan was the protagonist, will best explain the barbaric cult of the 'White Race' with its sacrificial ritual. The facts were specifically related to me by an English official, who is one of the oldest and sanest Englishmen in the country. He was in Nairobi at the time, and his account may be relied on.

Two native African rickshaw-men were dragging a rickshaw uphill, which had inside it two English women. One of these was leaning back and the other of them was leaning forward. The rickshaw coolie touched the arm of the English woman who was sitting forward beckoning to her to sit back. This action of the native was regarded by an English onlooker to be insulting to a white woman. The two rickshaw coolies were therefore seized and taken before the English Magistrate, who dismissed the case.

Thereupon, the ritual of the religion of the 'white race' began to be performed with its full ceremonial. Captain Grogan (as he was then), at the head of three hundred settlers, rode down to the Court House, took the two natives out of the hands of the police and flogged them with his own whip nearly to death in front of the Court House and in the presence of the Magistrate. The religious ceremony was duly performed amid loud cheers from English men and women, who were on the spot.

Captain Grogan was convicted, and

the Colonists' Association immediately complained by telegram to the Secretary of State, and asked for a special retrial and a special commission. The Secretary of State, Lord Elgin, in his Despatch wrote as follows :—

"The contention of the defendants was that the flogging was justified, because the natives had been guilty of insulting a white woman. The defendant, Bowker, for instance, expressed himself as follows :—

"As it has always been the first principle with me to flog a nigger on sight who insults a white woman, I felt it my duty to take the step I did and that in a public place as a warning to the natives."

The Secretary of State has no difficulty in disposing of the charge brought against the rickshaw coolies. The Despatch is too long to do more than quote its concluding words, which are of significance in India as well as in Africa. It runs as follows :—

"The fear of a native rising, which has induced some of those who took part in the flogging to demand arms and ammunition for their own protection, do not appear to have any foundation. I am bound to observe, however, that the commission of such flagrant acts of lawlessness and injustice, as those of which the defendants in this case have been found guilty, is the surest way to provoke an outbreak."

In accordance with the religious tenets of the 'White Race Superiority', the same S. Grogan, who had lynched these two offenceless natives, at the head of three hundred white men, expressed himself only a short time ago on the Indian question. The speech was a speech of welcome to Sir Edward Northy. The Settlers' Daily Paper reported it as follows :—

"Major Grogan referred to the Indian question as being the most urgent of the lot. But he pointed out that it had been forced upon the Europeans by the Indians themselves. It was not likely that British people would submit to the rule of inferior people. (Hear, Hear, and applause). There might be a few decent and intelligent Indians in the country, but no more. 'If', he said, 'the Indians base their claim on

what they have done in this war, I dispute it, Sir. I believe they contributed one hundred and fifty stretcher bearers and certainly some have given one tenth of one per cent of their profiteering profits. When we were on the War Council and were given authority to *compel* Indians to take part in the campaign, I think we selected something like twenty Indians. Now almost without exception these gentlemen burst into tears: they all pleaded incapacity, an aged parent, etc., etc. And such as were selected went back to Mombasa, where some deliberately contracted venereal disease to escape military obligations. If that is their claim to obtain control of the position in Africa, it is wonderful !

"No English Cabinet has the right to settle this problem, because if you once establish a precedent, there will be no possible line of demarcation. The right to take part in the *business* of this country is a general right and everyone—Indian or otherwise—must be so entitled. But once give the Indian participation in the control of this country and before you know where you are, the majority of control will have passed over to a race which has never known how to govern itself, much less anybody else. The union of South Africa has definitely closed the front door to the Indians. We are the guardians of the back door. And I say, that no man, until this matter has been decided in full council not only in the Union of South Africa, but in Nigeria, Soudan, Nyassaland,—I say, no man has the right to establish a precedent about Indians, which will make it difficult for those other countries. (Cheers). That it is a difficult position we all realise. We sympathise with you, Sir, in the task you have before you. But I think it is only right—English—that we should state to you on your arrival in this country, unequivocally, definitely, what our views are. (Applause)'

I will not comment on the insults of this venomous speech, nor will I take up the space of this magazine in order to contradict them. But what I wish to point out is the hateful religious creed which lies

behind them,—this worship of the White Race. It would seem as if one of its settled and established Articles of Belief was this that Indians are 'an inferior people.' In the orgy of bitterness and passion which such a creed produces, any story, provided it is black enough, can readily be believed.

In my next article, I shall deal with the effects which the greed of wealth, on the part of the ruling white race, is producing on the East African population.

(To be continued)

C. F. ANDREWS.

INVITATION TO AMERICA



CHORUS: "COME ON IN, SAMMY, THE WATER'S FINE!"

—Morris in the New Haven *Journal-Courier*.

SUNLIT FIELDS

What light lies on the fields
That has so still a shade;
What sun at flood
So large a quiet made?

Sank the lit fields to rest,
Tranced by some vision bright,
Of lands that never lose
The enchantment of the light!

Where hours that flow as waves,
Fall to a golden peace,
Noiseless as air,
When sounds of water cease!

GERTRUDE BONE.

PROOF THAT MONKEYS TALK

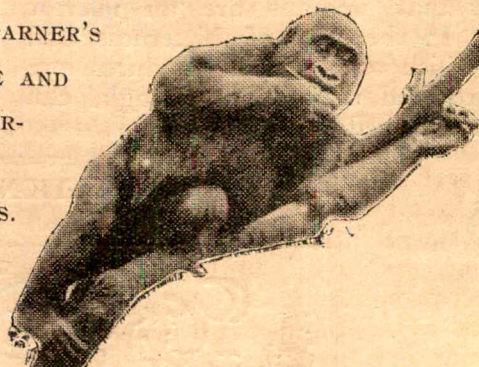
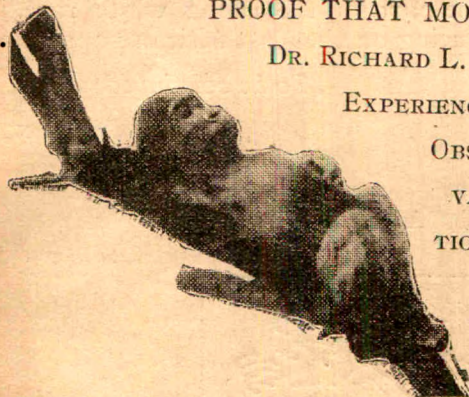
DR. RICHARD L. GARNER'S

EXPERIENCE AND

OBSER-

VA-

TIONS.



A LIFETIME of study and nearly a quarter of a century of self-imposed exile in the dense jungles of Africa enabled the painstaking American, the late Dr. Richard L. Garner to make important and interesting discoveries concerning monkey speech. He classified the speech sounds of monkeys, distinguished one hundred simian "words" and learned the meaning of thirty of them. Many have cast doubt on the sincerity of his labours and the value of their results. It is difficult to see why one capable of such expensive intelligent and painstaking investigations should be deemed guilty of the intention to fool the world. Dr. Garner, just before his death, which lamentable event took place very recently, told in an article in the 'Popular Science Monthly' what there was behind his faith. It was his last word on the subject to which he devoted his life. He was not out to convince the public, he knew what a tough job it is. He simply presented the essential facts thus far tabulated on the subject of simian speech, so that the reader might draw his own conclusions. He tells us:

The word *speech* is used throughout as a more exact term than *language*, which is often used in an ambiguous or figurative sense. Let us begin then by asking: What is speech?

My reply is:

Any oral sound voluntarily uttered with the definite purpose of conveying a pre-conceived idea, concept, or impression

from the mind of the speaker to that of another is speech.

From this plain and simple premise we proceed to collect the salient facts on the question of simian speech and briefly recount how those facts have been formed by many years of methodic research. The limits of space preclude many minor and incidental observations that corroborate the main facts.

All through my early life I observed instances of intercommunication between animals. For some years my studies were only casual and the results incoherent, but my progress, though slow, was constantly in one direction, for I had faith in my own ability to solve the riddle of speech. In the mean time I had sorted out certain sounds that appeared to qualify as elements of speech and others that did not. The former were voluntary, more or less modulated, and expressed a desire; while the latter were involuntary or accidental, and expressed no deliberate mental process. The one group I classed as speech sounds and the other as anomalous sounds.

One day I visited the Cincinnati Zoological Garden, where I saw a large mandrill caged with a lot of small monkeys of three or four different species. The cage was divided into two compartments with a small doorway between them. It was quite evident that the big mandrill was a source of terror to the monkeys. I noticed that some of them were con-

stantly watching his movements and from time to time uttering peculiar sounds. It was also clear that the sounds conveyed some idea to the small monkeys which inspired them with fear or quieted them, according to the conduct of the mandrill. I spent the whole day watching those animals until I was convinced that they could understand the meaning of the sounds well enough to be guided in their actions by the information conveyed. This incident opened a new avenue of study.

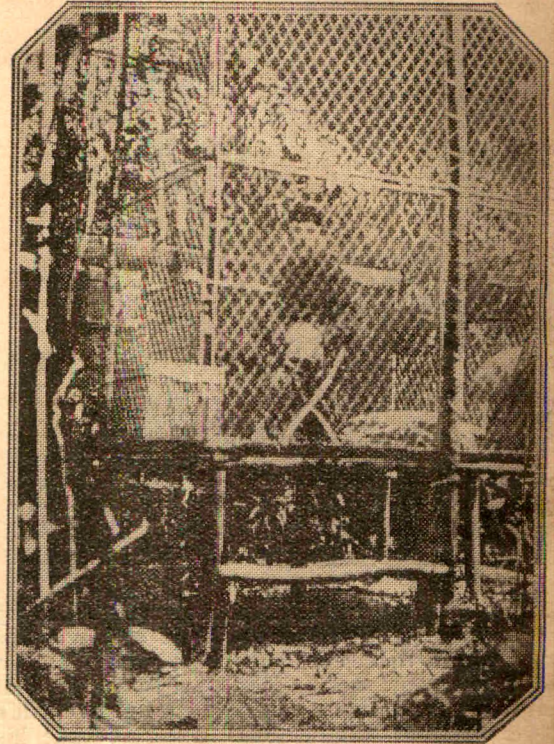
Among the great difficulties in determining the speech of animals, not the least is to distinguish the exact quality or intonation of sounds made by the same animal at different times, to remember the actions that attend them and the results that follow them. It took me a long time to learn that no two species of monkeys had the same vocabulary, and that strange monkeys of different kinds, when first brought together, could not understand each other, though they learned readily.

After countless difficulties, I went to Washington and sought the aid of Dr. Frank Baker. He let me have the use of two monkeys which were kept in a small annex of the Smithsonian Institution. Taking a gramophone to the building, I first placed the two monkeys in different rooms so that neither of them could see or hear the other. Then on the wax cylinder I made a record of the sounds uttered by the male monkey.

This was not difficult, for he was in a loquacious mood. Taking this record into the other room, it was reproduced to the female. She evinced great interest and anxiety. She rushed to the horn, looked into it and all around it, thrust her arm into it, and chattered to it.

Then a record of her voice was made and repeated to the male, who became more excited and vociferous than ever. By repeating and varying these experiments I was convinced that these two monkeys absolutely understood the sounds thus reproduced. Dr. Baker was likewise convinced.

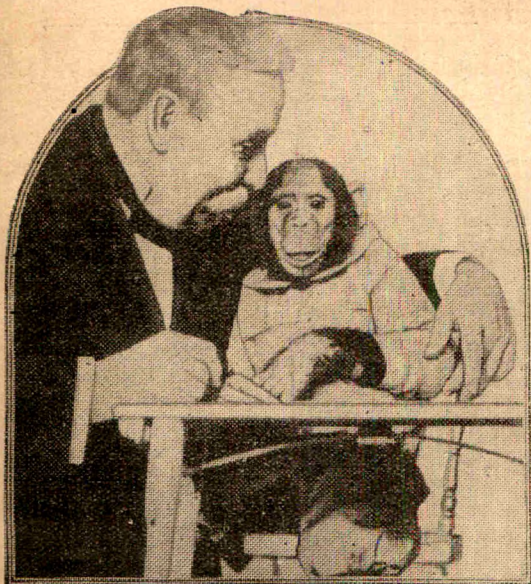
After a cursory study of several specimens elsewhere, I selected the brown



Dr. Garner in the cage where he sat motionless for long hours listening to and recording the talk of the jungle folk.

capuchin monkey because it was one of the most talkative. Incidentally I observed that there were certain sounds that they used more frequently than others. Upon one of these I focussed my efforts, and by noting the actions of the monkeys when uttering or hearing that sound I soon began to make deductions as to its meaning.

The method by which I proceeded was so simple that any novice can follow it. I selected a young capuchin monkey in Central Park and made a clear record of its voice on a phonograph. In fact, I made several of these, each containing the sound that I regarded as most important. These cylinders were taken to Cincinnati and there reproduced to a specimen of the same kind whose conduct was carefully studied. A second machine recorded the sounds made in response and at the same time the conduct of the second monkey was noted.



Susie had just had her photograph taken by flash-light. She did not like it and was disinclined to face the machine again, but Dr. Garner told her in her own language that it was all right, and you can see by Susie's expression that she was going to take his word for it although still rather anxious.

Having made a score or so of such records and duly tabulated the actions of the animals at the moment of uttering or hearing the sounds, I was enabled to carry about with me and study those sounds at leisure, to compare them with others, and ultimately to make a tentative translation of some of them. With those records and data I went to Chicago, where the experiments were continued and amplified. After adding several new cylinders I returned to New York to resume and elaborate the experiments.

By certain manipulations of the phonograph, such as changing speed, reversing the cylinder, and other means, the sounds can be converted into divers forms, analyzed and studied in many aspects. Such experiments show the essential difference between musical notes and spoken sounds, which the keen ear of the monkey perceives more readily than our own ears do.

Now and again a new sound was add-

ed to the list and the experiments extended to four or five other species of monkeys. Finally, the chimpanzees in the Cincinnati gardens confirmed my opinion that the higher types of animals had the higher types of speech, and this fact induced me to go where I could study the Gorilla and Chimpanzee in a state of nature.

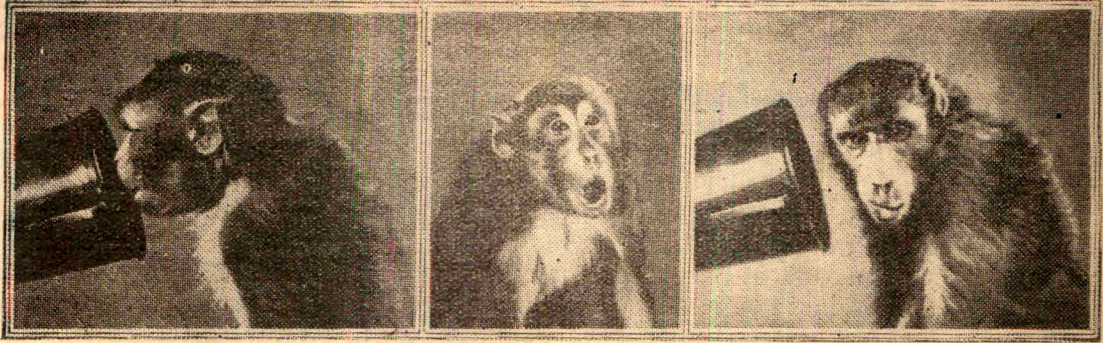
Allotted space here precludes even a synopsis of my seven voyages to tropical Africa, where I have lived most of the time for twenty-seven years, during which I have owned and studied in my premises thirty-nine specimens of those apes, besides a greater number in a wild state.

Living alone in the depths of the great jungle cut off from all social and intellectual intercourse with my own race, having no companion but an ape which was likewise isolated from his kind, it is surprising how quickly and how well we learned to understand each other. In summing up the results of my researches in the African jungles I would cite the following cogent facts.

The phonograph shows that the higher types of simians have a greater vocal range and a greater number of phonetics, more clearly enunciated, more uniform in quality, and apparently more definite in meaning than have animals of inferior types. Those characters are more marked in the chimpanzee than in any other animal below man.

The next fact in the order of importance is that certain oral sounds of simians are essentially the same in contour and phonetic quality as certain sounds of human speech. Conspicuous among these are the basic sounds of deep "a", as in *war*; short "a", as in *hat*; long "u", as in *blue*; short "u", as in *but*; short "o", as in *cot*; occasionally long "o", as in *move*; and the diphthong "eu", as in the French *peu*. Every simian does not utter all of these sounds; but the chimpanzee does, and there are other sounds more obscure.

While it is impossible to represent most animal sounds by letters of the alphabet, all of the sounds here cited are cap-



Jim is aiding the research by making a phonograph record.

This is Jim's Expression after listening to his own record.

Jim listening critically to the sound of his own voice.

able of being articulated to consonant elements, or vocalized, as it is technically called ; and some of these, as uttered by the apes, actually carry in them incipient consonants, such as the initial and the vanishing sounds of the semi-vowels "w" and "y", together with perceptible gutturals and labials. These features suggest a transition state in the evolution of speech and warrant the assertion that the phonetics of the ape are about as nearly like those of man as the physical type of the ape is to that of man.

The next item is that certain oral sounds of simians are recognized by other monkeys of the same kind, and their meaning is sufficiently definite to evoke a uniformity of response that justifies the assumption that those particular sounds have a meaning that serves the purpose of the animal, just as human speech serves that of man ; that the same sound usually produces the same effect upon those that hear it, and that certain other sounds uniformly produce certain other effects upon them.

Note also the fact that the sounds are habitually addressed to some particular individual or group with the evident purpose of evoking a response from the object addressed as must be inferred from the speaker repeating the sound until a response is elicited ; and it is apparent that the speaker is conscious of a definite meaning to the sound he utters since observation proves that no simian habitually utters those sounds when alone.

The accuracy with which a monkey regulates the loudness, pitch and quality of tone shows that he is aware of the values of speech sounds as a means of communication ; and this fact implies that he possesses both the instinct and the faculty of speech.

It has been shown that all simians recognize and apparently understand the



Susie laughing and threatening to tickle Dr. Garner, who had just tickled her. Her laugh sounds very much like the chuckle of a human being.

vocal sounds peculiar to their own race when those sounds are imitated by the phonograph and other mechanical agencies. These facts show that the sound alone is the medium of conveying the concept.

The vocabulary of every race of animals is measured by its actual, normal need. It consists of a few single sounds of categorical meaning, which are not qualified by any auxiliary terms or united into sentences. The paucity of words does not lessen their reality as speech. A word is the smallest



Susie in her own kindergarten, where she studied colours, geometrical forms, and numbers. With the bell on the table she would summon her keeper whenever she needed his attention.

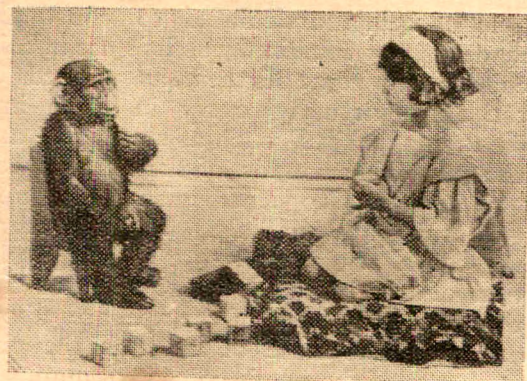
unit of expression, but it is speech—just as a single drop of water is as real water as a tubful. All data focus upon the conclusion that every simian has the faculty of speech sufficiently developed to express any desire, need or mental process as clearly as he is capable of conceiving it.

It is believed, concluded Dr. Garner, that man himself is evolved from a simian prototype. Why may not his speech likewise be evolved from the same source? If, as my research shows, the sounds uttered by simians perform the same functions in simian economy as human speech does for man, in what respect is it not speech?

It is next to impossible to express animal speech—by symbols, but Dr. Garner set down as nearly as possible some words from the monkey vocabulary.

Weuh means "What's that?" Said less softly it implies a request. *Ki-uh* means "I want." *Kri-i?* means "Where?" *Ahr-r-r* means danger. *Qhui* expresses want. *Our-h* means "Where are you?" *Eu-nh* means "Here." *Khi-iu* means "Look out!" *Khi-iu-hou* orders a retreat. *Chu-h* means "Hark."

Garner's favourites were the Chimpanzees. He believed that they possessed the most extensive ape vocabulary. He really seemed to understand the chimps. He would stop before their cages. Perhaps all of them would be napping, lying on their backs with a covering of straw and a



Susie learning to spell. She could assemble three letters of her name, but had no idea of what she was doing.

super-blacksmith-like forearm covering their eyes in a decidedly human attitude. Professor Garner would utter a chimp "word"—the nearest phonetic spelling of it is u-g-h, a sort of grunt. He would say, "ugh, ugh, ugh," and instantly all the chimps would arouse and come to the bars of their cage and reply, at the same time observing him with deep curiosity.

In his book, "Apes and Monkeys", Garner told of his efforts to teach his pet young chimp, Moses, to utter human words. He tried the animal on "mama", a word that is almost universal among the peoples of the earth; the German word "wie" and the French word for fire "feu". Moses, according to Garner, learned to say "feu", but his "f" had a "v" sound. He tells in his book of holding the little

feature on his lap hours on end, day after day, and saying again and again, "feu", at the same time pointing to a lighted match or some other bit of fire. Finally, he says, his patience was rewarded, and Moses could say "feu" every time he saw a match lighted or encountered any kind of fire. Garner cited this as an example of the chimpanzee's ability to acquire new speech-sounds. He firmly believed that had Moses lived to maturity he would have taught him to utter English words with a sense of their meaning.

If Satan, as is sometimes reported, actually did make the monkey as "a parody on the masterpiece of creation," he certainly succeeded in making it a fair imitation of the original in more ways than one.

In fairness to other animals we should conclude by saying that all animal life has some method of communication. In some cases it isn't vocal, but it satisfies the same need.

SPRINGTIDE

I have hearkened to the Wise Men of the East
 And the Swift Ones of the West ;
 I have communed with them that find in their hearts
 Beginning and End of things.
 But look you ! my feet go deep in piny fragrance,
 And over my roof the willow-cherry waves,
 And all the gods of the garden shrines and the woodlands
 Are laughing as of old ; and I, too, see
 Gold that was hidden from the keenest eyes,
 And hear the secret music.

Who will come
 Fully awake with me into the mountains
 And sing unto the stars !

E. E. SPEIGHT.

SYRIA'S SELF-DETERMINATION

WHEN Prince Faysal, son of King Hussein of Hejaz, "his conquering banner shook from Syria" on March 8, 1920, and was proclaimed the country's first constitutional king, incidentally joined the ranks of those in various parts of the world who bewail the "extinction" of President Wilson's "fourteen points." In a speech before the National Committee at Damascus, preceding his coronation, he referred to his journey to Europe, whither he had been led by the Allies, and, as quoted in *al-Haki*—a Beirut Arabic newspaper, he said that he

had declared to the Allies that "the Arabs do not aspire for war and conquest, but seek rather their independence, which is their inviolable right. They seek to revive their ancient civilization, to which the magnificent remains of Andalusia still testify." But how America's defection from treaty proceedings affected King Faysal's conduct may be judged from the following avowal :

"Alas, that America, whose assistance we yearned for—America, which entered the arena of war on the stipulation that secret treaties

be abolished—has withdrawn, and with its withdrawal the foundations of modern diplomacy have been shaken!

When I heard of the agreement between Mr. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, which was arrived at on September 13 last, it became evident to me that our nation was in danger of being subjugated; it was also evident to me that what the nation demanded, and what I declared to you and the world about Syria, is just, and that if the nation does not stand now for its rights, it will be in danger of division and enslavement."

Another proof of the integrity of Syrian peace intentions is found by Syrian editors in King Faysal's letter to President Wilson on April 7, in which he appealed for the recognition of Syria under his rule. From the letter a Nationalist newspaper of Damascus, *ad-Difa*, cites the following:

"And as we demand nothing but a natural right consecrated by our sacrifices in the Great War, and established by our history, we hope that the Allied governments will welcome our new government with a sense of relief, and assist us by removing the stumbling-blocks in the way of our progress. Our only desire is to live in security and peace under the flag of universal peace."

King Faysal's chief adviser in foreign affairs, the Syrian Brigadier-General J. Haddad, resents a question asked in the House of Commons regarding the "self-appointed King of Syria," and tells the story of the King's elevation in a letter to the *London Morning Post*, from which we quote in part:

"King Faysal occupies his position by the best of titles: the will of the people.

That will was expressed through the Syrian Congress, an elected body, chosen, as far as the

unsettled condition of the country permitted, on the old Ottoman franchise, which in certain

cases was enlarged to remedy inequalities in representation. And the reason why the choice of the Syrian people lighted on the Emir Faysal is easy to understand. He has been throughout his public career the leader of the Arab National movement in Syria. Naturally, much of that work before the war had to be done in secret, and it was not until his father, King Hussein, entered the war, on the side of the Allies, that the Emir Faysal was able to throw off the mask and stand off openly for the freeing of Syria from the Turk. It was not, therefore, due to the mere chance of war that the Emir Faysal, with the northern Arab Army, consisting of regular troops recruited from Syria and Mesopotamia, with a large number of irregular Bedouins from the Arabian and Syrian deserts, found himself at Damascus when the Turkish Power collapsed. He had all along been regarded, both by the people themselves and by the Powers who were constantly communicating with King Hussein about the future of Syria, as the only man capable of being at the head of the Syrian Government and of uniting all sects and creeds. True, King Faysal was not born in Syria, but Mr. Lloyd George was not born in England, yet I have not seen any of his critics bring this up as against him. King Faysal is an Arab, as is every Syrian, as every Welshman is also an Englishman. His Government consists of Syrians and Mesopotamians, and the only person from the Hejaz in Damascus holding an official capacity is his brother, the Emir Zeid."



KING FAYSAL I. OF SYRIA

America's withdrawal from the peace table, he says, obliged him to proclaim his kingdom to save Syria from division and enslavement. In his left hand he holds a dagger, the emblem, not the instrument, of authority.

The form of government, it is reported, will be a constitutional monarchy, with local autonomy for the various federated

states, and the Nationalist Damascus *al-'Ikab* describes the declaration of Syrian independence as "an accomplished fact which the conference of the Allied nations has either to accept or openly belie its accredited motive of friendship toward the Arabs."

But other journals in the Arabic press warn us against supposing that the "Syrian Independence" is agreed to by all the Syrians, for a considerable portion, notably the Lebanon people, vehemently oppose it. Following the

declaration of the ali-Syrian congress in Damascus, the Lebanon administrative council met and formally declared the independence of Lebanon. It is certain that the occupation of Syria and Palestine by the French and English has incensed the Mohammedan population and brought to the surface all the latent fanaticism and religious antagonism in the land of many religions and many sects.

—*The Literary Digest*

IS THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT SACROSANCT?

RECENTLY in a conference of the Bengal zemindars the Permanent Settlement has been declared 'sacrosanct' and a 'great charter'. Both the epithets seem to be hyperbolic and inappropriate in connection with the land system of Bengal.

The word sacrosanct means 'very sacred or inviolable'. Can the land system of Bengal, either from its etiology or from its utility, be rightly called 'sacred', that is, inviolable as holy, proceeding from God, dedicated to him, or religious? There is nothing in the etiology of the Permanent Settlement to show that it proceeded from God or in any other way holy in its origin; and there is a great deal of difference of opinion with regard to its usefulness. If judged from the nationalistic or humanitarian point of view the measure may be found neither to be of ennobling utility to mankind, nor of absolute necessity for the existence or perfection of a nationality. It is highly controversial that whether the Permanent Settlement has been beneficial to the Bengalee community as a whole or to all those Bengalees who are directly concerned in it or even to the majority of them. Finally the measure is not entitled to respect or veneration, either from its motive which was admittedly political and fiscal, and hardly social in the sense humanitarian.

Again the qualifying phrase 'great charter' has raised the Permanent Settlement to the same level as the Magna

Charta, and it baffles a scholar's intelligence to comprehend how the simple regulation of Lord Cornwallis for the convenient collection of the land revenue of Bengal is of the same species as the Magna Charta or the Charte of Louis XVIII.

But apart from the propriety of the use of the above epithets, the contention of the zemindars, that no attempt should be made to modify the principles and conditions of the prevalent land system of Bengal, may be considered as an interesting social problem, on its own merit.

It is a wellknown historical fact that more than a century ago Lord Cornwallis made the perpetual arrangement for the collection of land revenue of Bengal. At the time of its initiation there was much controversy over it in the official circles and the measure was hastily introduced without thorough consideration, necessary statistical study and proper assessment. However, afterwards for a long time there had been a strong opinion among the officials in favour of extending the system as it is or modified, to the other provinces of British India. Colonel Baird Smith, Sir John Lawrence, Sir W. Muir and others were great believers in the Permanent Settlement; and Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, in his despatch in 1862, 'resolved to sanction a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue throughout India.' But the policy was definitely rejected by another Secretary of State for India in 1883.

mainly on the ground of its possible injurious effects on the revenue of the country. Since that date the consensus of the official opinion has been against it, and during the administration of Lord Curzon, the last word from the official side has been spoken on it.

The non-official opinion has all along strongly supported it as a panacea for many economic evils and specially for famine. Mr. R. C. Dutt was an well known champion of the Permanent Settlement, and many other congress leaders pressed for its adoption throughout India, with some modification.

The literature favouring the Permanent Settlement, both official and non-official, strikes a student with the peculiar fact that the system has hardly been judged on its own merit. The non-official opinion has favoured the Permanent Settlement as a measure which helps the keeping of a large portion of the wealth of the country in the hands of its own people, and the officials have pronounced their judgment in favour of it as a better measure than the temporary settlements—ryotwari or mahalwari—prevalent in other parts of India.

But apart from the questions of comparative excellence and extraneous circumstances—distrust of Government expenditure—the Permanent Settlement may be studied on its own merit, and if found wanting, it may be further considered whether in view of the pledges given at the time of its adoption, it is possible to modify or abolish it.

The justification of a measure like the Permanent Settlement is to be searched for in its social utility; and its apologists have claimed for it such justification as a cure for famine, as bringing into existence a politically necessary aristocratic element in society, and as causing stability of land revenue and its easy realisation.

Historically it is doubtful that whether the Permanent Settlement is such an effective remedy for famine as has been described to be. Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt's pronouncement that 'in Bengal it has saved the nation from fatal and disastrous

famines' has been challenged by Lord Curzon as follows:—

"But neither these advantages nor the Permanent Settlement have availed to save Bengal. Omitting to notice the frequent earlier famines, the Behar famine of 1873-74, and the famine of 1897 (affected) the permanently settled districts of Bengal."

In fact the famine-resisting power of a community or territory can be strengthened only by increasing the production of wealth or its saving. The Permanent Settlement has benefited the zemindars, who are mostly absentee landlords living away from their zemindaries, on the labour of their tenants. The expectation that the grant of perpetual rights to them will lead to the improvement of land through investment of capital, has hardly been realised. Bengal lags behind the other provinces in irrigation works and other agricultural facilities to a considerable degree. The Permanent Settlement, neither from its very nature, nor from the manner of its working, can be attributed with the virtue of creating the magic of property in the Bengal cultivators and turning them into thrifty, enterprising and industrious, peasant proprietors. Rather at its initiation the system has caused a grave injustice to the Bengal peasants by depriving them of their immemorial proprietary rights; and in its continuation, the legal claims of the zemindars and their illegal exactions and oppressions in many cases have taken away the heart of the tenants from improving their holdings.

During the Moghal period Bengal was regarded as one of the richest of the Subahs; and from all historical evidences it is found that, people there lived in plenty and health. But now the unhealthiness and poverty of the Presidency are notorious; and in comparison with an industrial Presidency like Bombay, it must be admitted, that in spite of the existence of the Permanent Settlement, both the accumulation of wealth and individual income are much less in Bengal. The cause of this may be found in the undue land-hunger that has been created by the Permanent Settlement not only through its economic advantages to the landlord class but also through the false prestige, artificial

status and illegal but actual enjoyment of domain rights over their ignorant and powerless tenantry by many of the Bengal zemindars. Every successful lawyer or business man in Bengal has for his ambition to be a zemindar, and thus the community loses her best brains in her industrial field, and the dearth of entrepreneurship has stood as much in the way of diversity of industry in Bengal as the dearth of capital; and both these may be attributed at least partially to the Permanent Settlement.

Thus neither from the actual working of the land system of Bengal, nor from the analysis of its nature, it follows that it has been or can be a remedy for famine.

As to the political good of creating a leisured class who were expected to be the leaders of public opinion and representatives of the people in the Council of State, it may be asserted that, in spite of the claims of the zemindars who call themselves the natural leaders of the tenantry and the model of aristocratic virtues, they have in the past done more political harm than good to the country by their indolent conservatism, if not selfish sycophancy, and at present are giving rise to complicated problems in connection with the progress towards a democratic constitution. The claims of the Bengal zemindars to be the moderating aristocracy in Bengal is ridiculously false from the very nature of their origin which is contractual and economic, and neither military nor administrative. They are certainly not a hereditary aristocracy as there is neither primogeniture nor much facility of entailment. At the time of the Permanent Settlement many new houses sprang up. Since then in the words of historian Mill "other families mostly the descendants of the Calcutta money-dealers now come to occupy their place." Thus neither from heredity nor from tradition, aristocratic virtues can be expected to be found in most of the Bengal zemindars. They cannot be expected to possess the stamina of the sturdy middle class patriots whose experience with adversity, familiarity with sacrifice and broad fellow-feeling, eminently befit them for political

leadership at the disregard of personal comfort or preference. Moreover since the passing of the last Parliament Act the faith in the necessity of the retention of an aristocracy in the interests of the body politic, has been rudely shaken even in England, the last stronghold of aristocracy. In future the political effect of the Permanent Settlement may cause constant friction between the people who are sure to tend more and more towards democratic ideals, and the landholder class who, from interested motives or ignorant dullness to follow the inevitable course of events in the country, may be bent upon maintaining and demanding class privileges. Such sectional politics may be dangerous to the country in giving rise to revolutionary insurrections unless the remedy comes timely through evolution. Thus the Permanent Settlement is as much an evil with regard to its political effects as with regard to its economic effects.

With regard to its fiscal effects it must be admitted that the Permanent Settlement has really secured the stability of land revenue and has made its realisation easy in the permanently settled tracts. But at what enormous cost to the community?

From the annual amount of the Road and the other public cesses it may be gathered that the rental of Bengal is about 12·5 crores, while the land revenue of the presidency is only a little above 2 crores. Thus while at the time of the introduction of the Permanent Settlement only 10 p.c. of the collection was allotted to the zemindars and 90 p.c. retained by the Government, today, the zemindars appropriate more than 80 p.c. of the land tax. It is monstrously ridiculous to defend the fiscal efficacy of a measure which entails on the community a cost of 10 crores for collecting revenue of 2 crores.

It may be asserted that there would have been no necessity for the salt tax, no financial difficulty about the University reforms, free primary education or anti-malarial campaign in Bengal, but for the Permanent Settlement.

Above all, the social effects of the Permanent Settlement have been disastrous. It has brought a class of "useless drones" into

existence, some of whom are fond of playing the feudal lords of the Medieval Europe by stealthily arrogating some criminal and civil functions in their taluks. The lucrative profession of realising fines for petty offences has given rise to a class of very clever and unscrupulous people, known by the generic name of the *amlas* of the zemindars who are necessary to some zemindars at least for terrorising their tenantry through physical coercion and perjury and forgery in law courts. They are nominally paid by their employers but really billeted on the tenants to take out their paltry monthly stipend by exactions, abwabs and commissions as agent *provocateurs* among the villagers. This predatory class is a veritable social pest; and if any one will read that section of the Bengali literature which deals about the zemindars, or the survey settlement reports, he will painfully realise what a powerful machine has come into existence along with the Permanent Settlement to crush the spirit of the rayats of Bengal.

The tenants in many places can hardly understand that they are under the pan Britannica. The Bhadraklok classes in many of the small villages are either to submit to the illegal authority of the zemindars at the cost of self-respect and spirit of liberty, or to shift for safety and peace of life to the nearest district headquarters or a similar other place where the zemindar's influence, for obvious reasons, is not so strong. Thus the land system of Bengal has been responsible for generating a deplorable feature in the Bengalee character which is the eagerness to avoid troubles even at the cost of self-respect. There is a strange contrast in this respect between the sturdy upcountry man and the meek Bengalee peasant.

The loss of sturdiness of character has been the gravest injury to the Bengalees from the Permanent Settlement, but there are other evils of equally grave consequences. In the local councils,—the District Boards, the Municipalities, the Local Unions,—the landed interests have been directly or indirectly all-powerful, as the ignorant and timid peasantry cannot but do as their zemindars bid them.

Thus judging the Permanent Settlement

on its own merits it may be found that the system, economically, is not encouraging to the cultivators; politically, obstructive to the free relation between the rulers and the ruled; fiscally, conducive to a great and progressive loss of revenue to the community; and socially, demoralising to the people.

Can Bengal demand for a commission to enquire into the working of its land system even on mere suspicion of the existence of the above evils?

It is true that the settlement was solemnly declared by the Government as permanent. But can any government give away the rights of the people to a section of community, binding the unborn posterity eternally? According to Austin no sovereign power can bind itself by its own law; according to the social contract theory of Rousseau, the sovereign people can change the fundamental laws of the body politic. In fact, the British Parliament which is the supreme legislature on the Indian affairs, is omnipotent in its each new session; it can make fundamental changes at home and in India, and in other parts of the empire; for example can abolish the House of Lords, alter the constitution of the Government of India, deprive an Indian prince of his hereditary throne; but only cannot modify or even discuss a particular land revenue system, admittedly introduced in unwise haste, and suspected of cumulative injurious effects on the community in diverse ways! Private property in lands is being growingly unpopular along with the progress of democracy everywhere; only in Bengal no cry can be raised or should be listened to, against the Permanent Settlement!

The contract of 1793 imposed certain terms upon the zemindars, such as "to conduct themselves with good faith and moderation towards their rayats," and reserved powers in the Government to interfere on behalf of the rayats. The subsequent land acts, of Bengal and specially that of 1885, indicate that the reservation of the rights by the Government was not a dead letter. The great rent case of 1865 decided that the zemindars were not absolute owners of their

land under the Permanent Settlement. Thus in theory as in practice the re-opening of the question is not altogether untenable; and such re-opening may be morally as well as legally justifiable.

But the justification of a Governmental act is to be found much more in its social consequences than in its correctness by the tests of legal or moral formulas. In the case of the revocation of the Permanent Settlement there would be much discontent and opposition from the Zemindars, and some shock to confidence of the people in general, in the pledged words of the Government, but much satisfaction in the tenantry of Bengal. The thinking people of the other provinces and the growing opinion in Bengal will welcome the extra revenue which may, under the increasing pressure of public opinion, be devoted to improve sanitation, to spread education or to reduce taxation. The opposition of the Zemindars would be

socially immoral if their present interests be not infringed and only the future unearned increment be secured to the society, and in spite of their hold and influence on the Bengal Press, their discontent will not bring any embarrassment to the powerful government which will gradually get the loyal support of the 80 p. c. of the people of Bengal, if not more. The shock to the confidence in the Government for breaking their pledged words, would only be temporary and vanish with the spread of the truth of the case which is expected to be efficiently done by a newborn section of the press which is surely to be a powerful organ, in the near future, of the long oppressed tenantry.

Under the circumstances one may be excused for raising the question—

Is the Permanent Settlement Sacred or sacrilegious?

A STUDENT OF INDIAN ECONOMICS.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN INDIA

I WAS led to enquire into the past and present condition of the labouring classes of India by what I saw and studied in Yorkshire and Lancashire. By a comparison of the conditions prevailing in this country with those of India, one is sure to reach the conclusion that there is an insurmountable gulf separating the manual workers of the two countries. The Indian labourer lives, moves and has his being in an atmosphere which, compared to the English, is at once nauseating, because it is stinking with destitution and degradation, disease and deterioration, starvation and suffering. It is extremely painful, even briefly, to depict the deplorable condition of the Bombay and Calcutta mill workers, of the coal-fields of Bengal and Bihar, of the indentured labour of the Assam tea-plantations, Khost coal mines and the Burmah tungsten mines, or of the helpless and almost naked agricultural labourer of the United Provinces. It is not necessary to remind the reader how the under-fed, under-

clothed and underhoused labourers work in the Bombay mills for twelve hours a day from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., get up early at 4 o'clock, prepare their meals and run to the mills for more than two miles in many cases to save a penny for their starving children and in the evening plod their weary way to the dark, dingy, dirty and densely crowded tenements for rest, where no rest can be had. If one were to visit those tenements where the factory workers have been doomed to live, he would see eight or nine persons living in a single room. Persons of all ages and both sexes, married as well as unmarried, are huddled in one room, which is to serve the purpose of a parlour, a kitchen, a bedroom, as well as a bath room, dining and drawing rooms! Can it be denied that this unnatural huddling together extinguishes the divine in man, debases him to the level of the brute and serves as a rich source of disease and death. But the condition of the indentured labour-

in Assam and Burmah is worse still. Men and women are allured to sign bonds of serving for stated periods at stated wages on the tea plantations and in certain mines of Burmah and the coal mines of Khost (Biluchistan). However hard and unbearable the work and unsuitable the place, none can break that bond without subjecting himself to all the penalties and punishments attached to its violation. During the stipulated period, however pressing the family circumstances may be, there is no escape from those places but by death, and death too is not cruel in prolonging the miseries of some innocent and ignorant beings. With all these things passing before our very eyes, many of us look upon the labour problems in India with an indifference, not to say, heartlessness and callousness that is little short of criminal; others look upon them with a grim satisfac-

tion that passes belief. It is, therefore, necessary to represent the picture of the poverty of the poor and thus to tear off the veil that has so long concealed from public view the prostration and prostitution of the poverty-stricken millions.

In the study of wages—nominal and real, we will base our enquiry on the Prices and Wages Report, 1919. The first table (Pp. 160—161) details the average monthly wages of skilled labour in certain Indian States for a period of 44 years. *Skilled labour* is represented by "mason, carpenter or blacksmith" and *unskilled* by "agricultural labourers and horsekeepers." Below we reproduce the various ranges in actual earnings and their average wages in the two years of 1873 and 1913 and also calculate the nominal rise in money wages during these forty years.

	Rajputana		1873		1913		40 Years'
	Range		Av.		Range	Av.	Rise
Agricultural Labourer	4 Rs.		4 Rs.		5-8 Rs.	6 Rs.	59 per cent
Horsekeeper	5-5.5 "		5.2 "		4.75-7 "	5.6 "	7 "
Skilled Labourer	11.5-12.5 "		12 "		14.75-22.5 "	18 "	50 "
Central India							
	1873				1913		
Agr. Labourer	4.5-5 Rs.		4.74		8.33 "	8.33	78 per cent
Horsekeeper	5.5-6 "		5.73		6.5-8 "	7.14	25 "
Skilled Lab.	12-12.5 "		12.22		16.75-22.5	19.2	57 "
Hyderabad							
Agr. Labourer	5.13-8 Rs.		6.2		8-11	9	45 per cent
Horsekeeper	5.98-7 "		6.4		8-12	9.6	50 "
Skilled Lab.	12.83-15 "		13.8		20-25	22.2	60 "
Mysore							
	1873				1913		
Agr. Labourer	5.75-7.75		6.5		9.5	9.5	46.5 per cent
Horsekeeper	5.12-6.12		5.6		9.0	9.0	60 "
Skilled Lab.	14.66-18.75		16		17.5-22.5	19.7	23 "

RISE IN PRICES.

To calculate the percentage rise in prices prevailing in those four States, we have taken the retail prices of rice, wheat, barley, jaggery, gram, maize, millet, marua, arhar dal, salt, as given in the same report. The increase in prices in the various States during these forty years is as below :—

- Rajputana—41 per cent,
- Central India—18 per cent,
- Hyderabad—47 per cent,
- Mysore—73 per cent.

The preceding figures of wages and prices do not lend themselves to any general conclusions. However, it is clear that in Central India the increase in wages has far outstripped the rise in prices and the labourers—both

skilled and unskilled—have profited immensely, although the horsekeeper's wages have not kept pace with those of other workers. In Rajputana horsekeepers suffered most, while the agricultural labourer in Hyderabad had his standard of living reduced a little. But the condition of labour in Mysore was very deplorable—wages did not keep pace with the rise in prices and consequently all the three classes of labourers severely suffered by the rise in the cost of living.

We now proceed to show the results of the two censuses of wages taken in the Central Provinces and Berar in 1910 and 1917.

RURAL WAGES IN CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The *daily rural* wages of skilled workers

Let us now turn our attention to the study of the rise in prices of the necessary articles during the same period. The average retail prices of rice, wheat, jawar, gram, dal, and salt, prevailing in the Central Provinces and Berar are given in the Prices and Wages Report from pages 72 to 149. The retail prices in the rural areas are not available, they must be somewhat lower than in the towns, but at the same time, the prices of salt, sugar,

clothes, kerosene oil, must be higher in rural areas. Hence both these groups together fairly represent the prices of the rural as well as the urban areas.

As the retail prices of sugar, kerosene oil and cotton goods are not supplied in the Report, we have taken the wholesale import prices of these articles at the ports of Calcutta and Bombay.

Working out the average rise for all these nine commodities which enter largely into our workmen's budgets, we find that the average rise in 1917 was 45 per cent as compared with 1910.

Setting this rise of 45 per cent against 28, 36 and 58 per cent, rise in wages, we are evidently led to conclude that in the twenty-two districts of the Central Provinces and Berar the *condition of labourers and masons, had on the average, grown worse during these seven years, while carpenters were slightly better off in 1917 than they were in the year 1910.*

VARIATIONS IN URBAN WAGES.

The next table No. 20 (1) gives the actual daily wages in the urban areas of the Central Provinces and Berar during the years 1910 to 1917. Here we will only compare the wages of the two years, leaving the course of wages during that period for more detailed study.

	Range 1909-10	Average	Range 1916-17	Av.	Rise per cent.
1. Common labourers	2½-6 as.	4 as.	2½-8 as.*	5¼ as.	31
2. Workers in iron and hardware	6—Re. 1-4 as.	12 "	8 as.—Re. 1¼†	15 "	25
3. Brass, copper and bell-metal workers	5-12 as.‡	9¾ "	6 as.—Re. 1½	13¾ "	41
4. Carpenters	6 as.—1 Re.	11½ "	8 as.—" 1¼	15 "	31.5
5. Masons and builders	" as.—§	6½ "	" "—	14¼ "	24
6. Cotton-Weavers (hand industry)	4 as.—12 as.¶	6½ "	4 as. Re. 1	8 "	23

It will have been evident that the rise in the wages of the six groups of urban workers of the 28 towns of the two provinces under consideration has been 31, 25, 41, 31½, 24, 23 per cent against at least 45 per cent rise in prices. *These operatives were consequently leading a lower standard of living after the lapse of seven years as compared to 1910.* These facts are an eloquent commentary upon the so-called growing prosperity of these provinces. They cannot but give a rude shock to our vague ideas about the material development of the country. In the face of these

naked truths, it seems to be the paramount duty of the State, but more so of the educated classes to check this backward plunge into the slough of penury, poverty and pauperization.

B. I. S. NAVIGATION Co.

The Table No. 22 (6) gives percentile variations in the monthly wages paid by the British India Steam Navigation Company to carpenters, serangs, and lascars in Bombay and Calcutta, the wages for 1873 being taken as 100. We have taken rice and jawar, which form the principal and sometimes the sole item of the meal of the labouring population of Calcutta and Bombay, to represent the

* In the district of Akola the wage was Re. 1-2-0.

† " " " -4-0.
† I Re. 4 as. in Nagpur.

1 Re. 2 as. in Nagpur and $1\frac{1}{4}$ Re. in Akola.

at 5 miles in Gadaruwara and 200 in Bilaswara.

* 12 as. in Amraoti and Khairgaon.

variations in prices. A cursory glance will show how the position of the workers was affected by the different rates of variations in the two items compared.

Year	Carpenters, Calcutta.		Bombay.	
	Wages	Prices	Wages	Prices
1873	100	100	100	100
1893	111	121	111	146
1916	111	203	111	172
1917	156	175	178	203
1918	200	(not available)	200	(not available).

Year	Deck Serangs, Calcutta.		Bombay.	
	Wages	Prices	Wages	Prices
1873	100	100	100	100
1893	100	121	100	146
1914	100	203	100	172
1915	100	175	106	203
1918	100	...	106	...

Year	Lascars.			
	Wages	Prices	Wages	Prices
1873	100	100	100	100
1893	111	121	100	146
1914	111	203	100	172
1915	111	175	113	203
1918	111	...	113	...

With almost stationary wages for forty-five years in the case of the three groups of workers of the Steam Navigation Company whose wages have been detailed in the Prices and Wages Report against high soaring prices, the workmen should have sunk deeper and deeper in the morass of penury and misery is the one indubitable conclusion of these figures. That such a state of things has been allowed to continue is due to the apathy of the public, and the Laissez Faire policy of the State and particularly to the non-existence of any Labour organizations to protect their interests.

LEATHER WORKERS.

Table 21 (9) tells a most appalling story of the workers of the Harness and Saddlery Factory at Cawnpur. *The wages of 15 groups of operatives and 27 grades of Labour are quoted there, but it is a striking revelation that their wages did not increase from 1894 to 1918, and in some cases, even from the year 1880.* For instance, the wages of sirdars, lascars and stokers remained constant for the period of 38 years from 1880 to 1918, with the exception of the stokers, whose wages are not given since 1904. The earnings of carpenters, tanners, workmen and engine-drivers did not rise since 1904, nor

did the incomes of mistries, carriers and saddlers vary since 1897-8.

Is there a part of the civilised world where in the times that we live, earnings of workmen should not have risen for the past 20, 25 or 38 years? It will be readily admitted by all that the constant wage against rapidly rising prices cannot but lower the standard of living. At the same time, it should not be ignored that the preceding table records the wages paid in a leather factory wherein prodigious profits have been and are being appropriated by the proprietors. These things furnish sufficient proofs of the degradation of Indian labourers. It is, therefore, high time that immediate steps should be taken for the emancipation of the wage-slaves of India.

AN ENGINEERING WORKSHOP.

The scale and variation of the daily wages of skilled and unskilled labourers at an Engineering workshop in the Meerut Division of the United Provinces offer interesting data for reflection.

Year	Actual Daily Wages in Rs.			
	1873	1893	1913	1918
Skilled	.31	.29	.45	.45
Unskilled	.15	.16	.25	.26

Year	Variation.			
	1873	1893	1913	1918
Skilled	100	94	145	145
Unskilled	100	107	167	167

It is evident that during the first twenty years from 1873 to 1893, the wages of skilled labour decreased by 6% but at the end of another twenty years they increased by 45% as compared to 1873 and then remained constant up to 1918. There has, on the contrary, been an appreciable rise of 67% in the wages of unskilled labour during the forty years, from 1873 to 1913; but even then, the actual amount earned was deplorably low and extremely inadequate for healthy human life. An income of two shillings a week in 1913 and of two shillings and a penny in 1918 for an unskilled labourer and of three shillings and seven pence a week in 1913 and in 1918 for a skilled worker cannot but starve and terribly dehumanize them.

WOOLLEN WORKERS.

The monthly wages of unskilled labour in a Woollen Mill in Northern India given in Table 22(12) show an almost constant and significant advance from Rs. 4.87 in 1893 to

8.51 in 1913 and 8.65 in 1918 ; i. e., a rise of 75 per cent in 1913 and 78 per cent in 1918 as compared to 1893.

As the name of the town is not given, we cannot find the rise of prices and thus show the real amount of improvement in the standard of living of these workers. But can you imagine that a *monthly wage of 13 shillings* can be sufficient for healthy existence of the worker and his children ?

WAGES IN A JUTE MILL.

An examination of the figures in Table 22(17) shows that the nine groups of workmen working in a jute mill in Bengal were during a period of twenty years from 1893 to 1913, given increases in wages after every three or four years, so that in 1913 the *percentage increases* during those twenty years in the various grades were as below :—

Carders	50 per cent	Beamers	85 per cent.
Rovers	63 "	Weavers	18 "
Spinners	53 "	Mistries	33 "
Shifters	33 "	Coolies	53 "
Winders	54 "		

But the percentage rise does not represent the actual conditions of labour. The actual money wages of these workers in 1913 or *in fact in 1918, since after 1913 there was no increase in the next five years, afford a deplorable picture* of some of the labouring population in Bengal.

Carders	2sh.	8d.	per week.
Spinners	4	7	"
Winders	4	8	"
Weavers	7	5½	"
Rovers	4	5½	"
Shifters	2	4	"
Beamers	6	2	"
Mistries	1	4	per day
Coolies		7d.	"

It is a wonder to me and it can be no less a wonder to you that with wages as low as 2s. 4d. or 2s. 8d. per week, shifters and carders should be able to keep their body and soul together and also bring up their families in the year 1918.

RICE MILL AT RANGOON.

The last table of the monthly wages of eight groups of operatives working in a rice mill at Rangoon, is no less important in indicating the tendencies of the labour world. The following summary is eloquent enough and needs no comment.

Workers	Years	Monthly wages
Mill Tindal	1893-1905	60 Rs.
	1906-1908	70 "
	1909-1918	75 "
Carpenter	1893-1906	60. "
	1907-1919	70 "
Mistry	1893-1913	55 "
	1914-1918	40 "
Engine Driver	1893-1918	55 "
Head Blacksmith	1893-1908	55 "
	1909-1918	50 "
Turner	1893-1918	50 "
Fitter	1893-1906	50 "
	1907-1918	55 "
Coolies	1893-1913	15 "
	1914-1911	14 "

WAGES OF COAL MINERS.

The actual earnings of coal cutters of the collieries of a company at Ranigunge are given in tables (22. 7-8) from the year 1893 to 1918. If these wages be taken to represent the actual condition of the whole coal mining industry, we can then get a glimpse of the low standard of living of the Bengal colliers. The average daily earnings of a miner for digging a ton of coal remained constant at .54 rupee during the sixteen years from 1893 to 1908 ; in the next year they rose to .7 rupee but again there was no change till January 1918, which is the last figure given in the latest report.

The quantity of coal cut in one day in 1893 was 568 and in 1914 was 576 ; but in subsequent years the wages per day remained constant, while the quantity of coal dug by the miner went on increasing as follow :—

1915	.622	tons per day
1916	.725	"
1917	.792	"
1918	.813	"

(Page 983, Prices Report).

The average total earnings per month with slight variations oscillated between Rs. 6.82 in 1893 to Rs. 5.94 in 1908—the year of very high prices owing to a severe famine in India. Then the wages began to rise on account of the increase in the remuneration for digging a ton of coal and working for more days than formerly. The course of actual wages was as below :—

Year	Wages	Year	Wages
1893-1908	6.6 Rs.	1914	11.2 Rs.
1909	8.4 "	1915	12.47 "
1910	10.36 "	1916	12.5 "
1911	9.72 "	1917	13.5 "
1912	" "	1918	13.5 "
1913	11.2 "		

PREVENT PROFITEERING.

The constancy of the remuneration for digging a ton of coal in the face of rising prices is a fruitful source of profiteering. In such a case it is the imperative duty of the State to fix a minimum standard wage adequate for healthy living, and to check profiteering and exploitation of Indian workmen. A good deal of light is thrown upon this question by studying a few facts of the British coal industry. The value at pithead per ton of coal raised in the United Kingdom rose sharply during the years of war, but in India the rise was comparatively small. The prices of coal at pithead were as below :—

	U. Kingdom.	India.
1914	9s. 11.79d.	4s. 7d.
1915	12s. 5.60d.	
1916	15s. 7.24d.	
1917	16s. 8.69d.	4s. 11d.
1918	22s. 4.00d.	

Out of these prices the wages-cost per ton in England was 6s. 4d. in 1913 (average of 5 years to 1913), 12s. 2d. in the first six months of 1918 and 14s. 4½d. in the second period of six months, that is, it had more than doubled in 1918.

On the contrary, the daily earnings per ton in India from 1900 to 1918 January (up to which statistics are available in the latest report) remained constant at .7 of a rupee. (P. 183, Prices and Wages Report.)

Again in 1918 (Nov.) for all the districts of Great Britain the *adult miner's earnings per shift of 8½ hours were 16s. 4d. on the average. In India, however, a collier was getting 8d. per day from 1916 to 1918 January; or ¼ of his compeer in Great Britain.* In England with a decreasing output, the wages increased from 8s. 5d. in 1914 to 16s. 4d. in 1918, but in India with an increasing output from .576 in 1914 to .813 in 1918, the daily earnings rose from 6.4 to 8s. only. There is yet another important distinction. The Indian collier works for more than eleven hours per day against 8½ hours in England, and also he works for TWENTY-SEVEN days in one month, while the English miner works for nineteen days out of four weeks. Yet the English collier gets 15-11-2 for his nineteen days' work and the Bengal miner earns only 12s. 8d. during the same period. With such a vast difference in the conditions of the workers in the two countries, can any one expect human and healthy life to

be led by the Indian collier? Is it not a wonder that an English miner, cutting about 2½ times as much coal as an Indian miner does, should get twenty-four times as much wage as his unfortunate brother in India does? Yet this high wage is looked upon as inadequate in England, so far so, that the coal miners are demanding an increase of 3s. per day for adults and 1s. 6d. for boys, and the Government after much altercation has very nearly conceded the demand. In India the Government has proceeded to fix the price of coal at Rs. 12 per ton for export, so that with a low price of coal the wages will be kept as low as they were before. It should not be overlooked that little coal is used for domestic purposes in India. It is used in railways, steamships and factories. With an unprecedented boom in industries and unparalleled profits in railway, marine and factory concerns, the miner is being exploited and kept in a brutal state for the big profits of his exploiters. This serious situation calls for an immediate interference by the educated classes in the cause of labour. Unless the press, the platform, priests and politicians all speedily put forth a united effort in improving the status of the worker, the day of vengeance and retribution will soon be forthcoming.

WAGES OF TEXTILE WORKERS.

The monthly wages of the various groups of workers in a wellknown and high-class factory at Bombay are given in Table 22 (13). They cannot be representative of the wages earned by the workers of other mills, because in such an establishment the wages generally remain above the average. The actual wages of the various groups of textile workers at the Maneckjee Petit Cotton Mills, Bombay, in 1918 were as below :—

Monthly Wages in Bombay.

1. Card room workers	12½ Rs. = 16.8 s.	(Average for 12 groups of workers.)
2. Ring throstle room	14 = 18.8	(Av. for 3 groups.)
3. Reelers	11½ = 15.4	
4. Bundling room	17½ = £1.3.4	(Av. for 2 groups.)
5. Winders	9.5 to 17 = 12.8 to £1.2.8	
6. Drawers	20 to 33 = £1.6.8 to £2.4.0	
7. Warpers	25 to 38 = £1.13.4 to £2.10.8	
8. Sizers	38 to 55 = £2.10.8 to £3.13.4	
9. Weavers	18 to 60 = £1.4.0 to £4.0.0	

In addition to these wages an all round increase of 15 per cent was granted as war allowance. The ranges of the wages given above are so wide in groups 5-9, that to express them in any general averages will be simply unjust.

WAGES IN LANCASHIRE.

We can never form an adequate idea of the depth of the penury and degradation of these workers, unless we compare their wages with those of the similar workers in England. There is no official information regarding the actual earnings of these classes of workers in England, because they are working on a piece work basis and there has been no census of production in recent years.

I made an attempt to see several factories and enquire into the earnings of adult men and women working there. Then I had a talk with a few employers and the secretary of the Trade Union Society at Padiham. All these enquiries show that the average wages of the various workers in the county of Lancashire can be safely expressed as below :—

Weekly Wages in Lancashire.

Weaving.

1. Winders	...	£2-10
2. Warpers	...	£2-10
3. Slashers	...	£5-0
4. Drawers in and twistors	...	£4-10
5. Weavers	...	£3-0

Spinning.

6. Workers in the opening room	...	£3-0
7. Workers in the carding room	...	£3-0
8. Rovers and drawers	...	£2-15
9. Ring spinners	...	£3-0
10. Mule spinners	...	£6-0

There are factories where the wages of workmen go much higher. In Hyam and Reeds some of the workers are getting 26 shillings per loom, and slashers are earning £9 per week; while on the other hand, weavers of coarse cloth in some parts of the county are getting 11 shillings per loom a week. A weaver—male or female—generally tends four looms at a time, hence their earnings seem to vary from £2-4s. to £5-4s. per week. The same variation naturally prevails in other departments.

COMPARATIVE POSITION.

The striking difference between the earnings of the Lancashire and Bombay textile

workers is full of eloquent testimony as to the very low status of the latter. Taking into consideration the 15 per cent allowance to all workers, we find that

(1) the monthly earnings of the first, second and third groups of Bombay workers are about one-thirteenth of the Lancashire workers,

(2) the *highest monthly wages* of winders and drawers of a high-class mill at Bombay are one-half of the *average weekly wage* in Lancashire,

(3) the *highest monthly wages* of warpers are one-fourth, and of sizers or slashers are one-fifth of those prevailing in Lancashire,

(4) and the *highest earnings* of weavers in the said Bombay mill are a little less than one-third of those in Lancashire *on the average*.

WEALTHY WEAVERS' INCOMES OVER 10,000 RUPEES A YEAR.

But the operatives in England are dissatisfied with these high earnings. They have demanded an advance of 60 per cent on current wages, which means a total advance of 292 per cent on the pre-war rates. The existing increases amount to 145 per cent on least prices. By reason of the boom in the cotton industry the employers too are ready to raise the wages to 200 per cent above pre-war level and there is every prospect of peacefully settling the claims of the textile operatives. If, however, a 60 per cent increase be granted, hundreds of families will have incomes of £1000 a year. A male weaver will easily earn £4-15s., his wife and three children £4-10s. each, and the fourth girl, say about 15 years old, will earn £3 off three looms. Thus this family will have a matter of £25 per week or 25 × 40 weeks = £1000 at least a year coming into the family exchequer. On the other hand, the Indian textile mill operative has been granted a 10 per cent increase in wages, no reduction in the hours of labour and no promise for his material and moral advancements! May we know how many rich families even in India can get a yearly income of Ten Thousand Rupees with only eight hours work a day and with complete rest, play and pleasure for about twelve weeks in one year?

TEA PLANTATIONS.

Table No. 22 (16) furnishes figures of the

actual wages earned by the Act and Non-Act Labourers in the Tea Gardens in Assam during the years 1913-14 to 1917-18. They are the average monthly cash wages calculated on the wages earned by the total number of coolies on the books during the months of September and March, including ticca, diet, rations, subsistence allowance and bonus per head. As tea plantations form the chief industry of the province and the table covers figures for fifteen districts, hence the wages paid in these gardens can be taken as representative of all other industries in the province. It will appear from the following that the rise during these five years in the wages of the Non-Act coolies has been a little over 3 per cent, but the wages of the Act coolies did show a satisfactory increase of 36.5 per cent.

Percentage variation in the Monthly Wages.

Act Labourers.

	Men	Women	Av. Rise.
1913-14	100	100	100
1914-15	106	108	107
1915-16	101	105	103
1916-17	126	109	107½
1917-18	132	141	136½

Non-Act Labourers.

	Men	Women	Children	Av. Rise.
1913-14	100	100	100	100
1914-15	99.1	98.5	100	99.2
1915-16	"	109	101	103
1916-17	99.6	111	106	105.5
1917-18	103	107	100	103.3

But the Table is extremely valuable for affording a real picture of a labouring family in Assam. We can assume a family of six consuming and four earning members, consisting of husband and wife, two earning children above twelve and two consuming but non-earning children below twelve years.

The total monthly income of such a family of four earning members working in the tea gardens of Assam, in 1917-18, was 21½ Rs. for Act Labourers and Rs. 17 for Non-Act Labourers.

Let us now see what things can be provided with this income. To calculate the expenses of the family we have taken the retail prices of Assam given on pages 70-71 of the Report.

Family Budget.

One lb. of rice	150*lbs.	
per head daily	per mensem	8.61 Rs.
¼ " Dal "	37½ "	2.23
Salt, pepper, haldi	"	.5
Vegetables		1.0
Oil		2.0
Sugar, fuel, house rent or house repairs		2.5

16.64 Rs.

According to this rough calculation, all the income of the Non-Act coolie is swallowed up by these primitive necessities. There is no money for the supply of milk, meat, fish, eggs, and clothing, lighting, furniture, crockery, soap, tobacco, medicine, amusements, charity, fares, funeral service, marriage ceremony and other sundry and incidental expenses. Just think of a family leading a human life without clothing, light, medicine, a family deprived of every kind of amusement. If, however, some money is to be spent on these necessary items, the rice, dal and oil allowances must be cut short, so that the family must remain under-fed all through, and yet work for twelve hours a day!

Sir Leo Ch. Money has pointed out that a family consisting of man and wife and three children living on the twentieth century poverty line in England had to spend £2.5s. a week in 1914, but £5.3s. a week in January 1920. In other words, in England a family of two adults and three children, after spending twenty-two pounds a month, cannot enjoy a decent standard of living; but in India, a family of two adults and four children and possibly some old or widowed member to support also, could get about twenty-two shillings in 1918, that is, it could afford to spend THREE SHILLINGS AND EIGHT PENCE PER HEAD A MONTH, or A PENNY AND A HALF PER DIEM PER HEAD.

These are some of the facts and figures of the abject slavery of the wage-slaves of India. Do they not reveal stagnation, depression, pauperization and starvation indelibly written in letters bold and black on the face of those people who, in theory, are made in the image of God but, in act, are so many deformed mummies of humanity? Shall they be allowed to continue their miserable existence in it? Or shall the State, the people and the intelligent working classes in England, come

* The two children below twelve have been taken to be equal to one adult member in their consuming capacity.

forward to relieve their sufferings and sorrows, and lift them to the level of healthy human existence ?

The working classes of civilized countries, being comparatively comfortable and educated, have risen against their masters. They are attempting to prevent the continuance of profiteering and exploitation by their employers, both by means of passive and active resistance. But the workers in India being uneducated, unorganized and steeped in poverty and dense ignorance of the liberating

forces—economic and political, of the world need the active and constant sympathy and assistance of the workers of other countries. The State, too, ought to give up its stolid indifference, should sweep away all criminal opposition to the just demands of labour, fix a minimum wage for every branch of industry, save more than eighty million men, women, and children from under-feeding, ill-breeding and social injustice and thus restore them to freedom, comfort and culture.

BAL KRISHNA.

RHYMED VERSIONS FROM "THE CRESCENT MOON"

[The following rhymed versions from 'The Crescent Moon' were sent to the Poet from Liverpool by a poor, working girl, who was deeply moved by the beauty of the Poet's own translation. I have received her permission to publish these in the "Modern Review". C. F. A.]

BABY'S WORLD.

Little baby, baby mine,
What does thy tiny soul define
In this new world ?

Do the stars hold speech with thee,
And the baby clouds, so swift and free ?

A wonder world is my baby's mind,
It has visions that I can never find,—
To which my world-worn eyes are blind.

But he can see !

'Tis a realm of kings unfound,
Where all dear baby things abound,
And from the magic ground
Springs new delight ;

There Reason has elastic laws,
And Fact has never any flaws,
And Truth wins wild applause,
In baby's world.

WHEN AND WHY.

That love's sweet summer flowers
May perfume all your infant hours,
I bring these colours in your toys,—
Little childish, painted joys,—
That every tint may win your sight,
As colours in a rainbow bright,
Making your day one perfect light,
That all life's colours may control
The freshness of your soul.

And when I sing, my gathered tone
Shall make your spirit dimly own
The music in the swaying trees
And the faint whisper in the breeze.
The wistful waves along the shore
Will make you listen and understand,
When my voice is heard no more.

The wild waved heart of the waters,
Caressing the listening earth,
Shall supplement your childish mirth.

To your baby lips I hold
The cup of life's pure gold,
Filled to the brim and o'er the rim,
Till Death's angel dim
Shall call me after a while.

I kiss your tiny brow,—
Ah 'tis the dawn of morning now !
I gaze and bow
To your sweet tender smile.

THE BEGINNING.

"Where did I come from, Mother dear,
Along the worlds, till I got here ?"

The mother clasped her darling boy
"Desire of my heart, my love, my joy !"
She said.

"You were hidden deep in my heart's desire
You were the flame of my own life's fire ;
With little dolls I used to play
And with tiny play-things made of clay ;
The little Baby Christ, enshrined,
So purified my heart and mind,
That as I knelt before heaven's shrine,
My trembling soul could scarce define,
God's ultimate, divine
Sweet will,
Until
You came to me, my child !

The Virgin Mother's salutation
 Thrilled through my life's probation
 Through all the years,
 Bringing sweet hopes, sweet fears.
 Welcome as the dawn,
 Your little life in me was born,
 And you floated down the stream
 Of all my virgin dream,
 Until reaching
 My beseeching
 Soul,
 You gained the portal fair of birth
 On this all-welcoming earth.

"As I gaze upon your face,
 Little hero of the race,
 I scarcely know what I should do,—
 Is there fear of losing you?
 Ah! I press you closely to my breast,
 God knows all things best,
 Little baby mine,
 In this great world!"

THE RECALL.

On a dark dark night,
 When all were sleeping,
 And I was alone, awake and weeping,
 My baby's soul took its angel flight
 Far away to the land of light.

The fixed stars were shining then,
 Tonight they shine again.
 She died when the buds were nearly rife,
 With busy palpitating life,
 And she is dead.

Now all the beautiful flowers
 Bedeck the summer hours.
 And children scatter in their play
 So many petals along the way
 To that bright land,
 Where you alone can understand
 My hearts grief.

All the scented petals' dust
 It must, it must,
 Your baby soul recall.
 Ah, could I but see beneath the pall
 Of sullen Death!
 So much of life around is wasted,—
 Your little soul had hardly tasted
 Earth's sweet inter-play
 When you were taken far away
 Out of the light of our common day,
 Leaving me desolate.

My longing soul can ask but this,
 Give me one baby kiss,

Tonight.

M. M. EVANS.

Liverpool.

WRONG DIET AND WRONG HYGIENE AS SECONDARY CAUSES OF OUR PHYSICAL DEGENERATION

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B. SC. (LONDON)

IMPOVERISHMENT leading to dearth of proper aliment is one of the primary causes of the increasing ill health of the multitude. But it cannot be operative in the case of the small class of fairly prosperous Neo-Indians consisting of well-to-do officials, lawyers, doctors, &c. The noxious effects of the other primary causes—obstruction of drainage offered by railways, raised roads, embankments of canals, &c., and mental strain—no doubt have their influence on them as on others. But it might not unreasonably be expected to be counteracted to some extent by proper diet and hygiene. There appears to be but little indication of that, however.

Until lately, the diet of the upper class Hindus consisted of cereals, pulses, fresh

vegetables, fruits, and milk and its products. Since the Vedic period, at least, they have mostly abstained from fish and flesh except in Bengal, where also meat was but occasionally partaken of. The diet was the result of untold centuries of experiment, and that it was well suited to their constitution is attested by the splendid physique and the mental vigour of those who still adhere to it, especially among the Brahmans of southern and western India. The properties of all its ingredients had been thoroughly studied, their physiological effects were well known, and they were skilfully combined into dishes highly palatable, easily digestible and serving all the purposes of nutrition in a tropical or subtropical climate. In Bengal, for in-

stance, where rice is the staple cereal, the deficiency of its fat and proteid contents was made up for by clarified butter, pulses, fish, milk and various milk products of which *Chhana* (generally taken in the form of *Sandesh*, *Rasogolla*, &c.) is the most important. Curdled milk (*dahi*), whether entire or diluted and churned, the virtues of which have been recently celebrated by Metchnikoff, formed an invariable adjunct of the principal meal during the day all over India.

As in everything else, in games, in music, in medicine, in apparel, &c., so also in diet, there is a well marked tendency in new India now to reform it on English lines. That there is room for reform I fully admit. For instance, among the upper middle class utility is often sacrificed to æsthetics, or to undue gratification of the palate. The use of polished, white rice from which the outer coating containing phosphorus, &c., has been rubbed away has been considered by some authorities to favour *beri-beri*, and is otherwise condemnable. Then, again, the method of boiling rice, in which the water used in boiling is thrown away, is wasteful, as a good amount of its nutrient principle is thus lost. It has been estimated that in the present method of husking, polishing and cooking the rice in vogue among the upper classes, nearly half the amount of the nourishing part of the grain is lost. As in the case of rice so in that of flour, it is taken very fine devoid of a good portion of its wholesomeness and nourishing principle. Then, again, condiments are sometimes used too freely especially chillies. If reforms in these and similar directions were effected, the indigenous diet would be as good as one could desire. But instead of that, the tendency now is to bring it into line with the English by introducing various courses of meat. The Indian system is usually not abandoned altogether, but the English is added to it. The result is generally highly detrimental, if not positively disastrous, to health.

I shall not here enter into a discussion of the question whether man is designed to live upon vegetable or flesh food. The

characters of his teeth and digestive organs show that in the earlier stages of the long course of his development he subsisted upon products of the vegetable kingdom. Subsequently, however, he gradually became omnivorous. Broadly speaking, the main condition that has governed his choice of food is climate. In tropical and subtropical countries, he subsists chiefly upon the products of the vegetable kingdom. In temperate and cold climates, animal food is in favour. But whatever the aliment used, it would appear to affect the constitution, and as in the case of the individual, so in that of the nation, it cannot be suddenly changed without prejudice to health, and the saying "what is one man's meat is another man's poison" holds true in the case of both. The English constitution differs in some important respects from the Indian, and the food of the one would generally be ill-suited to the other. The following analyses by Dr. McCay* show how markedly the Bengali constitution differs from the European.

I Urine.			
	European		Bengali
Quantity	... 1440 c. c.	...	1200 c. c.
Sp. gr.	... 1020	...	1013

I Urine.			
Components	European		Bengali
Urea	... 35 gm.	...	13 gm.
Nitrogen	... 18 "	...	6 "
Chlorides	... 15 "	...	10 "
Phosphates	... 3.5 "	...	0.918 "
Uric acid	... 0.75 "	...	0.452 "
Sulphates	... 2.5 "	...	1.880 "

II Blood.			
Components	European		Bengali
Red corpuscles	... 5 millions	...	5½ millions
White corpuscles	... 8000	...	9000
Hæmoglobin	... 100 p. c.	...	81 p. c.
Sp. gr.	... 1057	...	1058
Proteid	... 19 p. c.	...	18 "
Total solids	... 21 p. c.	...	20 "
Salts	... 0.78 p. c.	...	1.06 "
Chloride in serum	0.55 p. c.	...	0.72 "
Coagulation	... 4 minutes	...	2 minutes
Blood pressure	... 130 m. m.	...	105 m. m.

* Quoted from Dr. I. M. Mallik's "Food and Cooking", pp. 13-14.

The stomach used to a certain kind of food in a certain climate would take some time to accommodate itself to a radical change in the same climate, how long it is difficult to say. No experiments, so far as I am aware, have been conducted on a sufficiently large scale, to justify even approximate generalisations. Indians, who visit England, take to English food there without any apparent injury to health. But, however, it may be in England, English meat diet for Indians in India appears, from what observations I have been able to make on the subject, to be detrimental to health. There is often a tendency towards excess. There is such a tendency even in England where centuries of experience must have taught moderation. "There is no doubt," says Sir Henry Thomson, "that the obvious and admitted value of a highly nitrogenous food, of which meat is a concentrated form, to the labouring man, has occasioned the almost universal belief that such meat, of which let beef and mutton be the type, is the most desirable food staple for all. If you wish to be strong eat plenty of meat; if you are feeling weak, eat more meat, and at every meal: such are the well known articles of a creed which is deeply graven in the popular mind. Nevertheless, few statements relating to diet can be more misleading, and this is, as already intimated, one which gives rise to much serious ill health."* "Flesh foods," observes Dr. Bryce, "are still the most favoured articles of diet for supplying the body with building material or protein, and herein lies a great danger, because on account of their attractive character there is a tendency to consume considerably more than is required for the purpose of nutrition. Numbers of the middle classes eat $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of meat or its allies per head per week, while those of the upper classes eat close upon 6lb.† I am afraid there are numbers of Neo-Indian families whose consumption of meat is not less, and that too in a climate which forbids hard physical exercise, and by people who are usually averse to it. It

should be borne in mind, that the dangers of meat in a climate like ours are further aggravated by the fact that it is liable to quick putrefaction and thus become a fruitful source of various diseases. Numerous hotels and refreshment rooms have sprung up, which cater for our more or less impecunious middle class. They have even made their way into villages. On revisiting my native village after some years, I was struck by the advance it had made in "civilization", though it was being depopulated by malaria. One of the things that proclaimed it, was a hotel with a prominent signboard in the Bazar. A resident friend who accompanied me, informed me that our villages had been making remarkable "progress", that I would get any quantity of chops and cutlets, but that I would have to search the bazar closely for such a primitive comestible as *Muri* (inflated rice). These chops and cutlets which are so freely partaken of now-a-days, like the famous sausages of Europe and America, are prepared out of nobody knows what sort of meat and cooked with nobody knows what sort of ingredient. The supersession of such articles as *Muri*, *Chira* (beaten rice), cocoanut kernel, *Khoi* (fried paddy cleared of the shell, by itself or in the form of *Murki*), *Chhana* (curdled milk), or *Sandesh* by bread, biscuits, pastry chops, cutlets, &c., has been a change decidedly for the worse, at least, for the great majority of our middle class gentry. The former are quite as palatable as the latter, and quite as nutritious, especially *Chhana* or *Sandesh*, and have the great advantage of not lending themselves to adulteration. To be wholesome, chops, cutlets, pastry, &c., would be far too expensive for the majority of our people. Even in railway refreshment rooms, where the charges are very high, the meals supplied are often far from wholesome. I have but little doubt that they would be positively dangerous in the cheap refreshment rooms where the charges are much lower.

The nutrient principles of meat in the indigenous dietary of our gentry are mainly derived from the various products of milk. It appears to me to be hardly rational to

* "Food and Feeding," p. 33.

† "Dietetics" p. 59.

replace the latter to which the Indian constitution has been accustomed for thousands of years by the former to which some time must elapse before that constitution can be expected to be properly adapted, if it ever gets adapted at all. The good of the change is highly problematical, the evil immediate and certain. One reason adduced for it is that the adoption of English diet would infuse in us the energy and fighting capacity of Englishmen. There is, I am afraid, no warrant for such expectation. The Japanese, whose staple food is rice have shown themselves to be not inferior to the English in fighting capacity. In our country also, there are communities who abstain from flesh food, but who possess that capacity to an equal extent. Rice is the staple food of the Khasias and various other hill tribes living on high altitudes. But they are physically far superior to the rice-eating people of the plains. That the nature of the climate affects the physique of a community is certain. But it is questionable whether the nature of the aliment has any influence on it, so long as it is wholesome, and furnishes the needful nutrition.

There is some plausible excuse for the adoption of the English meat diet, as it furnishes proteid in a much more concentrated form than the indigenous diet. The principal objections against meat as a fundamental item of Indian dietary from the point of view of health, apart from humanitarian and economic considerations, are that ill health must ensue before the Indian stomach can be adapted to it, that it is too stimulating in a climate like that of India, that in a hot climate like ours it is liable to be a fruitful source of various diseases, and that it is unwise to make an experiment the result of which cannot be predicted.

There is, however, no excuse whatever for the introduction of several other articles which not only do not afford any nutrition whatever, but are positively noxious. Chief among these are spirituous liquors and tea. In India, at least since the Vedic period, our upper classes have been total abstainers. In the earlier years of English education, indulgence in alcoholic drinks

was regarded in Neo-Indian society as a sign of enlightenment and "progress". Happily, it is no longer so considered, but the idea has not died out altogether. The drink evil among the upper classes, however, is confined within a small section. But tea being cheap and exhilarating is becoming a very popular beverage among all classes, among the rich as well as the poor, among men and women and even among children. It is doing incalculable mischief, especially as Indian tea is generally strong, and its mode of preparation is such as to extract all its strength, it being boiled in many households and the red decoction taken with great gusto. Dyspepsia is the root cause of various ailments, and, I am fully persuaded that in many cases, one of its main causes is the habit of drinking strong tea. In England the popularisation of tea has done some good, as it has weaned many from the much more pernicious habit of indulgence in alcoholic liquors. There tea is a counter-attraction to the much more baneful alcohol. In this country, it is taking the place of the innocent water and *Sharbat*.

Adulteration, which was almost unknown half a century ago, is another potent cause of declining health. Even those who can afford it find it extremely difficult to procure unadulterated ghee, mustard oil, flour, milk, &c. Formerly the cow was an institution in almost every well-to-do family, and owing to the veneration entertained for it, was carefully tended. Now even men rolling in wealth have generally to depend upon the *Gowala* for milk-supply, which, even under the best of conditions, can never be so satisfactory as milk from one's own cow. There was hardly any middle class family that had not its handmill, and the flour, dal, &c., consumed were quite fresh and wholesome. Now they are procured from the bazar, and the flour, especially, prepared in power mills is, I am informed, seldom available unadulterated and wholesome.

The Westerners and Westernized Indians often ascribe our increased ill health to our ignorance of hygiene. This is adding

insult to injury, "sprinkling salt over a festering sore." The essence of hygiene is cleanliness, and the Hindus, especially the higher castes, have long been noted for it. Even Englishmen were struck by it in the earlier years of the English rule. "The cleanliness of the Hindus," observed Elphinstone, "is proverbial." The truth is, that so far as our increased ill health is due to hygiene at all, it is due more to its recent "progress" than to lack of it, more to wrong hygiene than to no hygiene. The "progress", as in good many other things, being on English lines, its results have been in many, if not in most cases, far from salutary. The hygiene of a civilized community is to a large extent determined by its climate. The English people naturally are afraid of chills, and are, therefore, averse to the use of water especially of cold water. Our hygienic "advancement" has imbued us with the same dread of chills and similar aversion to cold water. The tendency among my Neo-Indian friends now is not to get out of bed after, and sometimes, long after sunrise, a habit which deprives them of the inestimable benefit of the cool, fresh, bracing morning breeze in a tropical climate. In imitation of a rather common English practice in India some of them swallow a cup of tea or coffee in bed, or immediately after getting out of it, with perhaps some biscuits or toast, before washing their mouths. Instead of cleaning the teeth with fresh twigs, preferably of Nim tree, they have taken to the far less beneficial practice of using tooth brushes. No dentist is needed in old India. He is, however, gradually establishing a good practice in new India. Influenced by hygienic "progress" on English lines, my Neo-Indian brethren avoid exposing their body and feet to fresh air, but wrap themselves and their children up from head to foot, and with warm clothing, when there is the remotest apprehension of a possible chill. There are some who even so protected would dread a draught, as they do in England, even in summer. Knitting woollen garments for infants has become a favourite occupation of good many of our ladies, as it is with the ladies of

England. The use of too much clothing and hosiery, and of close fitting shoes and boots from infancy in imitation of the English practice, cannot but be detrimental to health in a climate like ours. Various ailments, diarrhoea, dysentery, fever, &c. are attributed to chill. Every precaution must, therefore, be taken against it. Bathing in streams, in fact, out in the open, is not to be thought of; the operation must be performed in air-tight rooms. There is such a horror of a cold bath that there are many who would not have it even during seasons when it would be refreshing and beneficial. I have myself been a victim of "advanced" hygiene for sometime past. But I am trying to liberate myself from its thralldom. My latest effort in this direction was in the beginning of the last rainy season. Rainfall in Ranchi, the town I live in, which is at an elevation of 2000 feet, is fairly high and the temperature during the rains is very variable. Apprehensive of chills, during previous rainy seasons, I could never bring myself to have cold baths without some admixture, however small, of hot water, and to do without some warm under-clothing when there is a considerable fall of temperature, during spells of heavy downpour and strong gale. The last rainy season, when it so happened the rainfall was exceptionally high, some twenty-five inches in excess, I screwed up my courage so far as to have untempered cold baths and to do not only without warm underwear, but practically without warm clothing in any shape. And I am happy to say that not only nothing untoward happened, but I was singularly free from colds and affections of the throat to which I was subject in previous years.

A distinguished English physician of considerable Indian experience told a friend of mine, that one reason why tuberculosis is spreading so widely in our country is the replacement of *Catcha* houses, which were in vogue before, by *Pucca* houses with glazed doors and windows. This sounded like a paradox to me. But the explanation of the doctor removed its paradoxical character. He said that in *Catcha* houses there was free ventilation, and cow-dung

mixed with earth used to be frequently applied to walls and floors which were thus kept free from dust and dirt ; that the white-washing of pucca houses is renewed at long intervals, and their floors, especially, I may add, when they are matted, are but seldom cleaned properly; and that the fear of chills due to the substitution of the hygiene of a cold climate for that of a hot climate, induces their occupants, when there is the slightest apprehension of a chill, to shut the glazed doors and windows so as to stop all ventilation.

In a cold climate like that of England, rinsing out the mouth after every meal is inconvenient and unpleasant. Englishmen, therefore, content themselves with washing their hands and mouth in a finger-bowl. The same practice is being largely adopted by the more advanced of my Neo-Indian brethren to the detriment of their teeth and therefore of their health.

There are various other ways in which the neglect of indigenous hygiene and hygienic "progress" after the English fashion has affected our health. Formerly every Hindu household had Tulsi plants which were greatly venerated and carefully watered and preserved. But in Neo-Indian household there is a super-abundance of season flowers, but I have seldom noticed a single Tulsi plant. It has handsome foliage; its leaves are sweet-scented and possess valuable medicinal properties; and it has been recently shown to be antimalarious. But all this does not appear to make up for its great disqualification of being indigenous and of being held in superstitious veneration by the mass of the Hindus. In old India the Nim tree enjoys the reputation of purifying the air passing through it. Dr. Watts wrote about it thirty-four years ago :—"Many Europeans even believe in this, especially in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and frequently cite villages surrounded with Nim trees as proverbially free from fever while adjoining villages have suffered severely."* The foliage of Nim is by no means ungraceful. But though there are all sorts of

ornamental trees, among them some rare and exotic, in the grounds of my Neo-Indian friends, Nim is usually conspicuous by its absence. I may here observe, in passing, that the recent practice of ornamenting verandas and porticoes with pot plants, in imitation of the English practice, is, in many cases, carried to such excess that they tend to obstruct ventilation, produce dampness, favour the accumulation of dirt, and afford an excellent refuge for mosquitoes.

Five or six decades ago even in well-to-do families ladies used to do the cooking themselves or have it done under very close supervision. The kitchen was a pattern of cleanliness, and the food cooked and prepared was pure and toothsome. Owing to the gradual dissolution of joint family and various other causes, cooking now, even in families that can hardly afford it, is becoming a vanishing art and is left to servants who care as much for the well-being of their masters as for that of the man in the moon. The class from which they are usually recruited is not noted for honesty and cleanliness. Besides, the modern relationship between master and servant, being one of mere contract, there being hardly any sentiment concerned on either side, the cooks, so long as the dishes served are presentable, do not generally care about the conditions and the way in which they are prepared.* To begin with, some at least of the articles used for cooking are adulterated. They

* The following account of the way in which even highly paid servants prepare dishes is taken from Kishorilal Sarkar's "A Dying Race, How Dying," pp. 83-84.

"An uncle of a friend of mine held a high office in the government *toshakhana* in Lord Northbrook's time. His Excellency was out on a tour and my friend's uncle accompanied the viceregal party. On one occasion by the side of a tent Buddhu, the Khan-sama of the good Viceroy, was seen by the Hindu gentleman dressing a dish for the Viceroy's dinner. A pestilential ditch with filthy water was close at hand. Buddhu in dressing the Viceroy's dish was dipping his hands into the ditch, and with the moisture of the pernicious ditch was smoothing the dish for the Viceroy. Said my friend's uncle, 'Buddhu, what is that you are doing?' Buddhu answered with a smile, 'Sir, the Lat Sahib should be thankful for what I am doing. Why should I take the trouble of going to a distance to fetch good water for the purpose?'"

* "Economic Products of India", part V., p. 79.

undergo a further process of adulteration in the hands of the cooks. Several cooks within my own experience, one of them an old and otherwise a good servant, have been detected stealing the *ghee* allowed for cooking, and using bazar fat instead. The detection in each case was accidental, and there is no knowing how long we had been imposed upon.

The evil effect of dependence upon servants for the most important function of our daily life, that on which health largely depends, is not confined to deleterious food. The loss of mental equilibrium which is caused by their laches and peccadilloes is also highly detrimental to health.

Then again, our cooking used to be done with wood fuel. Its replacement by coke or coal has prejudiced health, as food cooked with wood-fuel is more slowly and better cooked, and is, therefore, less liable to cause dyspepsia, and the smoke from coal is highly deleterious. The change from candles and lamps fed by vegetable oils to kerosene lamps and electric light has told on eyesight and general health. But the most pernicious of all the recent changes is the substitution of cigarette for *hooka* smoking. The latter is bad enough. That it is a vice was recognised. Young people would not indulge in it before their elders. But there is no such restraint on cigarette. It is doing incalculable mischief among young people including large numbers of students, specially as the facility for indulging in it while travelling or performing outdoor work is much greater than in the case of *hooka*. The more dangerous cocaine habit has also been spreading among certain sections of the community.

Physical exercises which are suited to the constitution of our people are being replaced by football and other games which are not so suited. The practice of bicycle-riding which has come into vogue among students is by no means commend-

able, nor is that of using tramcars in towns to the extent they are at present. Walking, perhaps the best, and certainly the cheapest, exercise one could take, is going out of fashion. The daily devotional practices of the Hindus in old India have their hygienic value in that they tend to steady and calm the mind and teach one to sit and breathe aright. The *Pranayama* * especially is a practice of considerable hygienic value. The abandonment of these practices in new India without any suitable substitute is condemnable on considerations of health, if on no other considerations. The hours for education and for the transaction of business which were in vogue in old India allowed one a leisurely midday meal and rest after it. The present hours necessitate a hurried meal and a hurried departure to school or office without the needful rest requisite for digestion.

From this cursory review of the changes which are taking place in our food, drink, clothing, games, and our daily habits and practices, it will, I trust, be apparent, that they are changes for the worse. Singly they may not do much harm, but their cumulative effect must be considerable and must seriously tell on health.

* Prof. Pramatha Nath Mukhopadhyaya has suggested a very ingenious explanation of the efficacy of *Pranayama*. "By the normal acts of respiration, incoming and outgoing breath," says the Professor, "the emanations evolved within the body and acting as independent and supplementary sources of activity, are cast off; by regulating respiration and stopping it for a while, *Kumbhaka* as it is called, the emanations are stored up, which means not merely conservation but augmentation of the proper radio-energy of the body; according to the principle explained above, the energy of the emanation not being allowed to dissipate by going out is added to the proper radio-energy of the body and further, we have the energy 'excited' by the emanations." Hence *Kumbhaka* secures radio-energy of all the three constituent kinds; whilst ordinary respiration results in partial dissipation of the atomic energy of the body, the most prolific source of energy hitherto known to us."—Matter and Its Value, I. Radio Activity, p. 21.

GLEANINGS

Chinese Plays, Real and False.

Very few of our countrymen know the famous May Lang Fong of China. May's popularity in China can possibly equal that of Mary Pickford in America. Indeed, one may say, she must be the prettiest girl, the most wonderful actress, the belle singer in China. Yes, May Lang Fong is, but only on the stage! Beyond the stage, May is prettier, more wonderful, better singer than the prettiest girl, the most wonderful actress, the belle singer, because May is a man! In fact, there is no actor in China, whose popularity is wide enough to compete with him.

May Lang Fong's success was rapid and surprising. Ten years ago he was scarcely heard of among the well-known actors, tho he had already taken important parts of plays. At the same time he was so dissatisfied with his knowledge of the theatrical art that he decided for himself to pursue higher and deeper study of the lines in which he was chiefly interested. He found two tutors in Peking, who were famous actors and singers. Meantime he practised on the stage. In a few years he succeeded so fast that his fame outran his tutors; as a Chinese proverb says, "Green abstracts from blue, but is prettier than blue." It has been said that his success was not entirely due to his tutors. It was due to his natural gift that he could acquire the secrets of theatrical art so rapidly. His natural voice of a soprano, his fair countenance, his cleverness to imitate the feminine characteristics, and his diligence in study made him bound to succeed quickly.

Now the reader will ask, what is the characteristic of May Lang Fong? It is very difficult to describe. In general it may be said that his characteristic is thoroughness and exactness. When he acts, he transforms his spirit into that of the one whom he imitates. Even a little bit of motion he may make on the stage fits with the character and nature of the one he impersonates. He never commits himself in the smallest degree to unfit and unnatural actions which ordinary actors and actresses often do. His music, tho ordinary in its form as each classical play accompanies its own music, has special taste, as having been so modified by him as to express the more exact feelings according to his interpretation of the play. The verses for the music are mostly revised by well-known poets for his exclusive uses, and therefore add to the value of his plays.

May Lang Fong has about twenty plays, the "most refined and beautiful in character

and plot" in which he assumes a female part. His favourites among them are "Burying Flowers" and "The Volunteer". The 'Burying Flowers' is reproduced from a chapter of a very famous and popular novel called 'The Dream of the Red Chamber' which contains twenty-four volumes, or one hundred and twenty chapters. It was written some two hundred



China's Greatest Actor. On the right, reading a book.

years ago by an unknown author. It has been considered one of the best novels in China. The story of the 'Burying Flowers' is quite sensational. *Tai Yu*, who is the principal girl in the novel, being affected by her unusual sensibility of a girl's fateful life in giving affection to one whom she loves, that is, *Pao Yu*, and also by the sorrow of the falling autumn, comes to bury the flowers that have faded and fallen on the ground. The best part of the play is the feeling that she expresses through acting and singing while burying them. The song is something like this:

Flowers fade and fly,
And flying fill the sky ;
Their bloom departs their perfume gone,
Yet who stands pitying by ?

'The Volunteer' is a girl by the name of *Moo Lan*, who disguised herself and volunteered to fight the Tartars in the Han dynasty, over two thousand years ago. It was when the Tartars invaded the borders, and the Han Government being unprepared, lost many regular armies. A contingent was called. *Moo Lan*, stirred by her patriotic feelings and filled with the desire to do the son's duty as she had no brother, dressed in her father's armour and took his spear and offered herself to the contingent. Her disguise was not discovered. Due to her



Another Chinese Actor personating a female part.

wisdom and diligence, she was rapidly promoted from one rank to another. After twelve years of fearful experiences, she returned with overwhelming victory and found herself a general. She begged the Emperor to spare her from being rewarded and when her retirement was granted, she returned home at once and then revealed her real self.

The Chinese plays are mostly reproduced from history, legends, and classical novels. Only recently the modern play has been introduced to China, but it is not successful. It is true that the modern play is not so interesting

and instructive, either in plot or literature, as the classical ones. Even in America, one who has seen Shakespearian plays can hardly admire the popular modern plays, unless his interpretation of the theatrical plays is different from that which ought to be.

A play is created not only to amuse and entertain the public. There is a deeper purpose in it. It is to promote the education and morality of society. A play without this purpose is worthless to the public and even possibly harmful. The Chinese people are so accustomed to such plays that they cannot bear those which show the weakness of human minds and the defects of human actions, unless they find a reason, besides money-making, to present these features. They resent those that ridicule other peoples, exaggerate facts, and make unfair criticism.

The Chinese good actors and actresses never dare or care to take part in a play which is generally considered to be not high class. It is not that they are afraid to lose their fame, but they do not want to lower their personal integrity in acting a bad character. In China, if a theater firm ever asks a well-known actor to take the part of a less decent play, he would consider it an insult. Here the actors and actresses are much more broad-minded in this respect, but more stringent in money considerations. This does not mean that the Chinese actors and actresses do not care about their remunerations, but they care more what they act than what they take as compensation. Their psychology is that they cannot be bought to do something that would reflect upon their character.

May Lang Fong must be given credit for creating this practice. He was aware that there was a general prejudice against and contempt for actors and actresses in China. To crush this prejudice and contempt, he built up his own high character and morality as a model for others. His mission is, besides, to promote the Chinese theatrical arts, to manifest in the public the feeling that actors and actresses are as high in morality and education as any other people. To-day this general prejudice and contempt are gradually diminishing throughout the country due to his character and leadership.

Flowering the Lamp Posts.

Turning the street lamp-posts into things of beauty is the object of the authorities of Allentown, Pa.

In that city every lamp-post wears a hanging-garden effect from spring until late autumn. The flowers and decorative leaf-bearing plants are planted in urn-shaped globes which encircle the lamp-posts some distance below the light.

The city fathers who thought of and adopted the flowering lamp-post idea made a thorough job of beautifying the town by removing all



Flowering Lamp Posts.

of the overhead telephone and telegraph wires—at least, in the principal streets.

But Allentown can boast of use as well as beauty. It is the county seat of a farming section which ranks as one of the leading potato producers of the country.

Why Does a Cat Have Whiskers?

Why Does a Cat Have whiskers? This question comes under the larger one—what is the function of eye appendages? Mr. P. F. Swindle has investigated this subject very thoroughly, and he has formed some startling conclusions, which he reports in the *American Journal of Psychology*.

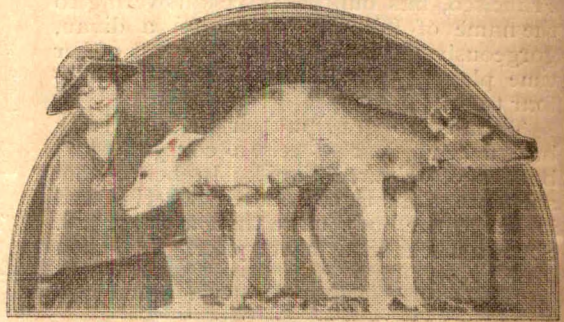
Most animals have eye appendages that seem to obstruct their vision. And many of those that haven't any use substitutes—the snake, for instance, continually thrusts out its tongue. But according to Mr. Swindle's investigations these obstructing appendages really aid the

eye. When an animal watches its prey or stares at a branch that it intends to land on, it wiggles its whiskers constantly and thereby rests its eyes. Thus, instead of becoming blurred in time, the object it watches is always sharply defined.

Mr. Swindle experimented with a tom-cat, watching him first with his whiskers on, and then watching him after the whiskers had been shaved off. Tommy soon changed from a fat, well-fed cat to a thin hungry one.

The Double Calf.

A most curious freak of nature is this double calf. It has two heads, two pairs of front legs,



The Double Calf.

and two bodies that join each other in an almost straight line. One pair of hind legs jut out from the point where the two bodies meet.

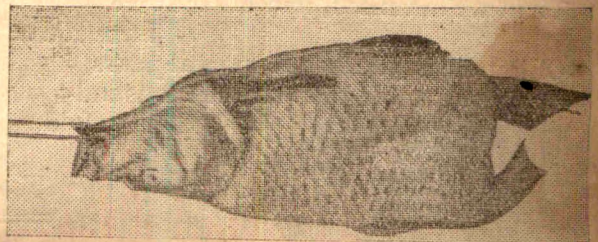
The calf lived and thrived for six months, but then it caught cold and died. The two perfect heads were quite independent of each other. The calf could eat with one or both at the same time, to suit itself.

It was born on a farm near Dayton, Ohio, and its parents were Jerseys. Although it was cared for most tenderly during its six months of life, it grew but little during that period.

As the lady in the picture patted one of its heads, we wonder if the other head was jealous.

A Fish Without Tail.

Poor fish! What constitutes a poor fish, anyway? Obviously the carp shown below is



A Fish Without Tail.

THE HISTORY OF PAPER-MAKING*

BY CHUNILAL BOSE, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S., RASAYANACHARYA.

PRESENT SCARCITY OF PAPER.

THERE has never been, within the memory of the oldest living person, the incidence of such a world-wide paper-famine as it is our misfortune to suffer from at the present moment. The terrible European War has not only made us feel acutely the pinch in respect of the every-day necessities of life but it has also considerably crippled our intellectual progress by making paper almost a rare commodity.

People all over the world are trying their best to ensure an increased supply of paper. India should not lag behind to participate in this world-wide movement. She should take her turn to employ her capital, her intellect, her energy and her vast natural resources towards the solution of this difficult problem. And this is my excuse for taking up this important subject in the course of my popular lectures in Chemistry this year.

India abounds in suitable raw materials which are used in the manufacture of paper. The art of paper-making, although in a somewhat crude form, has been in existence in this country for nearly 2400 years, and probably to India, as I shall show later on, belongs the credit of the invention of paper. The improved method of paper-making on modern lines has been introduced into India within the last 60 or 70 years, but the output falls far too short of her actual requirements. More than half the quantity of paper required for India is imported from Great Britain and other countries.

In Europe, wood-pulp is now-a-days extensively used for the manufacture of paper and most of the *pulp-wood* is sent out from Scandinavia which practically commands the monopoly of this supply. The following extract from a statement which recently appeared in an English paper, will show the dependence of England on Scandinavia for the supply of raw material for paper-making, and unless she could find some new source of supply within her own dominions, there is little chance of her getting paper cheaper and in sufficient quantity within the near future. The statement runs as follows :—

"The further the pulp-wood question is investigated, the gloomier is the situation revealed. Last November (1919), the price per ton in Scandinavia of mechanical pulp was 120 *kronen* (Scandinavian money). Today it is 330. So far as can be discovered, there is nothing to prevent the Scandinavian Association that virtually controls the market, from raising the price to 600, or even to 900 *kronen*, unless something is done quickly to take the monopoly out of their hands. Meanwhile, the profits made by the exporters are vast and grow-

ing, and the position of the importer becomes steadily more difficult, and the situation in the paper-trade at home more and more acute."

"An analysis of the Board of Trade returns for the past four months shows that the average price of mechanical pulp has risen in the course of six years from about £4.10s per ton to £24 per ton, and the higher grade pure sulphites (a chemical used in the manufacture of paper) from £10 to between £50 and £60 per ton. Seeing that the cost of all other raw materials and chemicals is double or treble what it was, and workers' wages are, reckoned according to the time worked, more than double, it is little wonder that pure white printings at 2d. per lb, the rate at which we used to get it before the European war, is a thing of the past and likely to be, so long as the generation lasts."

"Not until the supply of mechanical pulp-wood enormously increased will the position in the paper trade become easier, and the view held in the trade is that, that can be accomplished only by the consumer building his own mills and producing the pulp himself."

The writer suggests the tapping of the forests of Canada for the supply of wood for making paper-pulp. He says—"Only a fraction of the resources of Canada has been tapped yet. The vast region lying between Hamilton Inlet and Lake St. John holds a supply of the right sort of timber waiting only to be used, sufficient to supply the requirements of the country for years to come."

The "Indian Industries and Power", in a recent issue, observes that "the paper-shortage in the world is very real and genuine. The sooner India takes to the manufacture of paper on a large scale, the better for the printing and publishing trade of Hindustan. The House of Tata might have floated a plan of concern for the manufacture of paper from the raw materials available in India; they are in such a favorable position to supply power and water that the scheme would have appealed, we feel sure, to wholehearted industrial India in a highly satisfactory manner."

Must we sit down quietly in India leaving untapped her forests which possess an inexhaustible supply of raw materials of various kinds for the manufacture of paper?

SUBSTITUTES FOR PAPER BEFORE ITS INVENTION

Of all the agencies which have contributed to the progress of civilisation and to the intellectual advancement of man, the *printing press* has played an important part, but it could have done nothing without the invention of paper.

Before the invention of paper, other materials such as stone, bricks, earthenware, metal plates, ivory, chips of bamboo, leather, silken fabrics, barks and leaves of trees, etc., were used for recording the edicts

* A lecture delivered at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science on the 24th July, 1920.

of kings, codes of law, for writing sacred books, mandates of priests, notes and pictures of memorable events in the reigns of kings, descriptions of battles and deeds of gifts by our ancestors in different parts of the world. Such records are to be found on the walls of the pyramids in Egypt, on bricks, metal-plates, on the tombstones in Chaldea and on pieces of wood and earthenware vessels which have from time to time been unearthed during excavation of the ruins of many of the celebrated ancient cities of the world.

STONE AND BRICK.

In Chaldea, for instance, we find records of astronomical observations engraved on bricks and stones that have been dug out of the ruins there. Edicts of Asoka engraved on the sides of hills and on stone-pillars are to be found widely distributed all over India. Stone-inscriptions have been discovered in India whose origin has been traced to an age far beyond the Buddhistic period. Those discovered at Harapp in the Punjab and at Giribraja in Bihar, which have not yet been correctly deciphered, are believed to belong to an age preceding that of the edicts of Asoka, although the latter constitute the first authentic historical record of stone-inscriptions in India.

METAL.

The ancients made great use of the metals, then known to them, for recording laws, royal proclamations and important public events. In Italy, lead sheets were largely used for this purpose. The work of Hesiod were inscribed on a table made of sheets of lead. The Laws of the 12 Tables of Rome were engraved on a brass plate. It is said that about three thousand brass plates bearing inscriptions were destroyed by a disastrous fire that broke out in the reign of Emperor Vespasian. Dr. Buchanan has discovered six engraved plates of mixed metal in an ancient monastery in Syria. Copper-plates have been found in many places in India bearing inscriptions of royal orders, genealogy and history of the dynasties of kings, records of war and deeds of gift. The iron pillar in old Delhi bear writings in Brahme character which date back a few centuries before the Christian era.

WOOD AND IVORY.

Boards made of wood have been in use for writing and for engraving from very ancient times. Boards of convenient size were bound up together in the form of books and these went by the name of *Codex*. The Laws of Solon were recorded and preserved on wooden boards, and some on stones also. Ivory was also used in Greece for a similar purpose. Pieces of wood bearing inscriptions are still to be found in large number in China, Japan and in Burma where ivory was also used for engraved writing.

LEATHER AND PARCHMENT.

From a very early age, leather has been in use as a substitute for paper. It is stated that the Gospel of St. Mark was first written on sheep's skin, and long before this, the two celebrated Greek epics, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, were recorded on the soft skin of the abdomen of a certain species of snakes. Parchments made of animal skins were in general

use in the courts of kings for recording laws and royal orders; the best and finest parchment was known by the name of "Vellum".

SILK.

We find it recorded by Pliny that writing was done by the ancients on silken cloth also.

BARK.

The ancient Chaldeans used the barks of certain trees for writing purposes. Such barks were called *Leber* by which term we now understand books. The bark of *papyrus* tree was used from very early times in Egypt as a substitute for paper which derives its name from the Egyptian word *papyri* which was the prepared bark used for writing. Several thin pieces of the bark were pasted together by rubbing a little water on the edges which would make them sticky, and large sheets suitable for writing were thus obtained. There were two kinds of *papyri* made in Egypt; the best one was called by the Greeks the *Heretica*, which was used for writing sacred books and state orders. The secret of making *papyri* was long confined to the Egyptian priests, but the Romans and the Greeks subsequently managed to learn the art and began to manufacture *papyri* in their own countries. Some of these were named after the names of the Roman emperors and empresses.

In India, barks of trees have long been used for writing purposes. The bark of the Indian Birch (*Betula Utilis*) which grows in the Himalayas, commonly known as the *Bhurja-patra*, has long been used in this country as a substitute for paper. Sacred writings of the Hindus on *Bhurja-patra* are still to be seen. *Mantras* (incantations) written on bits of *Bhurja-patra* and enclosed in metal cases are still worn as talisman as a protection against the influence of evil spirits, against witch-craft or as cure for intractable diseases. The Indian birch bark is well-suited for writing purposes; such writing is not easily effaced. The bark, however, is very fragile, and when old, go to pieces unless very carefully handled. The oldest writing on *Bhurja-patra* preserved in India is said to be not more than 300 years old, but bark-manuscripts of the 3rd or 4th century A. D. have been discovered and preserved.

Certain aboriginal tribes of Assam still use the bark of Aguru tree (*Aquilaria Agallocha*) as a natural paper. Sir Edward Gait, the present Lt. Governor of Bihar and Orissa, was the Director of Land Records and Agriculture in Assam in 1894. In a paper communicated by him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he stated that Aguru bark was widely used as a writing material throughout Assam prior to the introduction of paper; its employment as such seemed to have escaped notice. Mill-made paper is still regarded by the priests in certain parts of Assam as impure for purposes of religious ceremonies and sacred writings and the Aguru bark is used instead. This bark is sometimes used as covers for binding books.

In Sumatra and Java, a kind of bark is still used by the natives as a substitute for paper.

LEAF.

Palm leaves have long been in use in India for writing purposes, and many old Sanskrit and Bengalee

manuscripts are to be seen in private houses and preserved in libraries and museums written on palm leaves. The oldest palm leaf manuscript discovered in Nepal belongs to the 9th century A. D. The leaves of the two species of Palm, *Corypha Umbra-culifera* and *Borassus Flabellifer*, were mostly used. The writing was done by scratches being made with a sharp iron needle and these were subsequently loaded with powdered charcoal or other kinds of pigment. Writing was also done by means of a specially prepared ink. Theret (*తెరెత్*) leaves (a variety of palm) were likewise used in India for the same purpose.

FIRST PAPER MADE IN INDIA FROM COTTON WOOL.

The art of making paper from vegetable fibres, such as cotton wool, was known to the Indian and the Chinese from very early times. When Confucius lived in China, thin strips of bamboo were used there as writing material in place of paper; the writing was made by scratching these pieces with a sharp style. It appears that the Chinese learnt the art of paper-making in the early part of the second century A. D.; some authorities fix the period to 105 A. D. The Chinese had even a paper-currency as early as the 7th or 8th century A. D. European authorities generally give to the Chinese the credit of the invention of paper. They maintain that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that the art of paper-making was known in India before the 14th or 15th century A. D. But this statement should be accepted with a certain amount of reserve. Babu Nagendra Nath Basu *Prachya-vidya-maharnava* in his celebrated Bengali Encyclopædia known as the *Viswakosha* states on good authority that when Alexander the Great invaded India in 327 B. C., his general Nearchus found a kind of thin, fine, glazed sheets which were made by felting cotton-wool, used for writing in the Punjab and this fact he has recorded in his writings. Evidently, this was some kind of paper but how it was manufactured was not described. This record by a Greek historian who visited India more than three centuries before the birth of Christ, is a strong evidence in favour of the existence of the knowledge of paper-making and of the use of paper in India long before the Chinese came to know it. The credit of the invention of paper and of its use as a writing material, therefore, rightly belongs to India in the light of the information we at present possess.

PAPER MAKING IN ASIA.

The Arabs appear to have learnt the art of paper-making from the Chinese. They founded a paper-manufactory at Samarkand in 706 A. D. In the middle ages, Damascus was famous for the manufacture of paper. The paper made in Damascus was known as "Charta Damascena"; it earned a far-reaching celebrity and obtained access to all countries in the East and the West. The oldest Arab manuscript on paper which is to be seen in the library of the Leyden University is dated 866 A. D.

The kind of hand-made paper made in India from cotton fibres, goes by the name *Tulat* (*तुलत* from Tula—cotton wool). At one time, all sacred writings, manuscripts, documents and accounts were used to be in such paper. There were two kinds of *tulat* paper made in India, the white and the yellow, preference being given to the latter. In later days

(about 3 to 4 hundred years ago), such paper was largely manufactured in Maldah in Bengal. The manufacturers of paper were principally Mahomedans and they formed a separate community known as the *Kagjees*. They made the pulp for paper by boiling waste paper and old cotton rags with *sax-mati* (impure Carbonate of Soda) and lime, mixed it with rice-starch, spread the pulp in thin layers of required size on perforated wooden trays made specially for the purpose, and got them dried by sun's rays. At one time, the trade in hand-made paper was in a flourishing condition in Bengal. It was exported to various places outside Bengal, and it is said, outside India also. The paper was strong, durable and did not soak.

Besides Maldah, hand-made paper was also manufactured on a smaller scale in Maiman in the district of Hoogly, in Dacca, Shahabad, Muzafferpur, Aurangabad, Doulatabad, Ahmedabad, Dharru and Kolapur. The Aurangabad paper was considered to be the best of the lot. In Doulatabad, a special kind of paper was manufactured which was beautifully decorated by mixing fine gold leaf with the pulp. This ornamental paper was called *Afsana* and was much in demand in the courts of Indian princes for state-purposes.

Purely hand-made paper is still being manufactured in India, Burma, China and Japan. The Chinese use almost any and every kind of fibre for the manufacture of paper. They were the first to make paper from silk. They prepare a kind of paper called *Ho-si* from straw which they use in place of firewood for burning dead bodies. Another paper called *Pis-fe* is made in China from the fibres of the mulberry tree and is used as a substitute for lint in surgical dressings. *Hapi-en*, *Tase*, *Chaag-se*, *Mapi-en*, *Lien-se* are the names of other kinds of paper made in China; some of these are used for packing purposes, others for writing and printing as art-paper. The Chinese prepare another kind of paper called *Lasi-en*, which is used as a substitute for wax-cloth. "India paper" was considered to be the best of all paper made in China for printing and drawing purposes. The Chinese prepare a kind of glue from fish-bones which they largely use for sizing and glazing paper.

The art of paper-making was long known in Thibet. It was generally made there from the fibres of the Daphne plant. Thibet paper at one time was exported into other countries.

The Japanese use mulberry fibres as well as those of *Papyvera Sativa* for the manufacture of paper made paper which they stiffen and glaze with rice starch. The Japanese are great adepts in the preparation of hand-made paper which they use not only for writing and printing purposes but also for the manufacture of a large number of articles in every-day life. Their furnitures are sometimes made of thick boards made of paper, and they make handkerchiefs, towels, shirts, head-gears, fans and umbrellas from papers of different strength and thickness. Paper is also used in Japan for making toys, for roofing and walling of dwelling houses, and for making wheels of carriages.

In Burma, a kind of writing slab (*Parabaik*) is made by pasting together several pieces of native hand-made paper painted black with charcoal. Soapstone is generally used for writing on these slabs.

Burmese also prepare a kind of water-proof paper for making their umbrellas.

In Nepal, hand-made paper is made from bamboo fibres as well as from the fibres of *Daphne Cannabina*. The Nepalese use wood-ash for making the pulp. Nepal paper is largely used for packing purposes. The paper is glazed by being rubbed hard with conch-shells.

In Bhutan, the native hand-made paper is made from the fibres of *rhea*.

At one time, Kashmir was famous for the manufacture of paper of excellent quality. The Kashmir papers were largely used in the courts of the Moghul emperors. Rags and hemp-fibres are used in Kashmir for making paper. It is believed that the art of paper-making was introduced into Kashmir from Samarkand.

Stein, during his recent excavation of Niya and other sites in Central Asia, has discovered many documents and letters which seemed to have belonged to the ancient state of Khotan. The materials used were specially prepared strips of wood, pieces of leather, various kinds of papers and also birch bark (*Betula patra*). It appears that during the latter part of the 3rd century A.D., paper found its way to Khotan from China which then held domination over this state in Central Asia. The papers discovered in the Khotan ruins have been examined and found to be made of *Daphne* fibres which are still used in large quantity in Thibet for paper-making. It is, therefore, surmised that paper found its way to Khotan from Thibet also in the early part of the Christian era.

The oldest Persian paper-document found by Stein dates from 718 A.D.

The earliest European record of the use of paper in India (save that made by Nearchus) is by Nicolo Conti who visited India in the early part of the 15th century and found the people of Cambay using a kind of paper for writing purposes. Abd-er-Razzak, who came to India in 1442 A.D., visited Vijaya-Nagar which he described as "the capital of the mightiest kingdom on earth" and he found the people of the place writing both on leaf and on a kind of paper with blackened surfaces, by means of a soft white stone.

PAPER INDUSTRY IN BENGAL.

The so-called "Serampore paper" was at one time used all over India. It owes its name to the paper-mill which was started in that city in the first half of the 19th century and which is believed to be the pioneer of paper-mills in Bengal. The actual date of the starting of this mill is not known, but Mr. Trail saw some of the rusty remains of this mill in Serampore during his visit there in 1864.

Before 1840, a large supply of paper for India was obtained from China. From that year, the trade in hand-made paper began to flourish and factories were started all over India. But it received a severe check during Sir Charles Wood's tenure of office as Secretary of State for India who passed an order that all the supplies of paper used by the Government of India should be purchased in Britain. This short-sighted and ill-considered policy dealt a heavy blow to the indigenous industry which began to decline from that time and the loss is to be regretted both on considerations of economy and art.

PAPER INDUSTRY IN EUROPE.

Paper seems to have come into use in Europe in

the 12th century A.D. The Moors had their factory in Valencia in Spain from which they supplied paper to other European countries. The oldest manuscript on paper in Europe is dated 1102 A.D.

The manufacture of paper in England does not go back earlier than the 16th century when an Englishman named Tait founded a paper manufactory at Hartford. He was followed by Spielman, a German, who established a factory for making paper at Dartford in 1558 A.D. Even in 1690, only coarse brown paper was made in England and all fine paper was imported from France and Holland. In 1770, good thin writing paper was first made in Kent. Up to 1801 all English paper was hand-made.

In 1798, Louis Robert, an employee in a paper-manufactory located near Paris, first invented a machine for making paper. In 1804, a firm named Fourdrinier & Co., started making machine-made paper in England which, at that time, was their monopoly. Their business, however, failed, but some of the members of the Fourdrinier family succeeded in obtaining a pension from the State.

Machine for making paper was first introduced into America in 1820.

Nowadays, most paper in use all over the world is machine-made. In the manufacture of the so-called *hand-made* paper of Europe, many of the processes are done by machine.

MATERIALS FOR PAPER-MAKING.

Paper is made from cellulose which is obtained from all kinds of vegetable fibres, forming the frame-work of all tissues of plants. These fibres are separated, purified and reduced to the condition of pulp by mechanical and chemical means. The pulp is then bleached, floated in water, allowed to settle over a wire-mould and the water drained off. Paper is thus formed by the felting of the fibres contained in the pulp. It is subsequently pressed, dried, and glazed, cut into required sizes and baled.

A very large number of vegetable fibres are used for making paper. Old cotton and linen rags which practically consist of pure cellulose, were at one time almost exclusively used for this purpose. Their use has, in recent years, been to a great extent limited, its place being taken up by certain kinds of grass and wood which are much cheaper. Old cotton rags form excellent material for paper-making. There are traders whose business it is to collect rags and send them to manufactories where they are turned into paper.

Substances of animal origin such as wool, silk and skin, and mineral substances such as asbestos have also been used for making certain kinds of paper.

Besides cotton and hemp, there is a large number of other fibres are utilised for making paper. The more important among them are the flax, jute, straw, stems of wheat, oat, plantain and sugar-cane plants, many varieties of grass, various kinds of wood, coconut fibres and bamboo. Certain kinds of grass (such as the *Eparto* in Europe and the *Sabui* and *Moonj* in India), wood-pulp, straw and rags at present form the principal raw materials for the manufacture of paper.

BAMBOO.

Recently, bamboo has been much extolled as an excellent material for making paper and it deserves a special notice here.

So early as 1875, Mr. Routledge who visited India, wrote in his valuable monograph on "Bamboo as a paper-making material" that "of all the fibre-yielding plants known to botanical science, there is not one so well-calculated to meet the pressing requirements of the paper-trade as bamboo, both as regards facility and economy of production, as well as the quantity of the "paper-stock" which can be manufactured therefrom. Grown under favorable conditions of climate and soil, there is no plant which will give so heavy a crop of available fibre to the acre, no plant which requires so little care for its cultivation and continuous production."

There are, however, certain practical difficulties regarding the employment of bamboo for paper-making which were not anticipated at the time when Mr. Routledge made the above observations. In the first place, the young shoots only of bamboo are suitable as raw material for paper, the older stems being too hard for this purpose. It is, however, always difficult to obtain a sufficient number of young shoots, because when these are wholly removed, the parent plants suffer severely, their growth becomes stunted and they are ultimately killed. Hence methodical working of bamboo jungles becomes essential, and that means considerable increase in the charges of collection and transport. Sir George King, as the result of his experiments, has noted that if all shoots are removed during three successive years, the bamboo plant is killed. Then there is the difficulty of getting labour to work bamboo jungles during the rains when the young shoots come out, and the freight and transport charges are calculated to be very heavy. Moreover, the hairs of scales and young leaves of bamboo are considered as drawbacks to its employment for making paper. It was also found that a larger quantity of chemicals is needed to make pulp from bamboo fibres than in the case of other fibres ordinarily used for making paper.

In spite of these difficulties, Mr. Hill has given a favorable opinion regarding the employment of bamboo as a paper-material. He wrote thus in 1905:—

"It is considered that the manufacture of paper-pulp (from bamboo) would be practicable from a commercial point of view; the prospects of an export trade for unbleached bamboo-pulp appear to be favorable, having regard to the excellent quality of the pulp prepared under favorable conditions. It is estimated that a ton of unbleached bamboo-pulp could be produced for £5-10s including manufacturing costs, interest and miscellaneous charges. The cost, supplemented by the freight to England and sundry dues, would be increased to £7-10s as the price delivered to London or Liverpool. Considering the quality of the pulp, a profit should be realised, since wood-pulp is valued at £8 to £9 a ton."

Now, this was written in 1905. The price of wood-pulp in Europe has since gone up enormously, specially after the War, and it is now about £24 per ton and likely to rise to a much higher figure. Bamboo has, therefore, a much better chance now as a cheap material for making paper of much higher quality than could be obtained from wood-pulp.

Other experts have also thought very favorably of bamboo. The late Sir Dietrich Brandis seemed to think that in spite of all the disadvantages, "bamboo has a future in India". He urged the necessity for a thorough enquiry into whether or not, by special culti-

vation, the plant could be induced to afford shoots more freely and for a longer period, without injury to the rhizome, and whether it would not be possible for mature culms to be used in the paper-making."

Recent experiments have gone a great way to fulfil the expectations of Sir Dietrich Brandis and it is hoped that this inexhaustible natural product of India would be fully utilised to meet not only all her own requirements of paper but raise her to the position of a supplier of first-class paper-material to countries beyond her shores.

OTHER INDIGENOUS PLANT.

I shall now very briefly refer to a list of more important plants other than cotton which are indigenous and which yield suitable fibres in good quantity for paper-making.

(1) Agave or the American Aloe plant—It was originally an American plant. Many species now grow extensively in India; the leaves and roots yield good fibres for paper-making.

(2) *Antiaris Toxicaria* (the Upas tree of Java)—It is a poisonous tree and grows in South India and Ceylon. The tree yields good fibres for paper.

(3) *Broussonetia Papyrifera* (Burmese—Malaing)—It grows in Burma and is used for fencing gardens. Both the Japanese and the Chinese prepare a large quantity of paper from the fibres of this plant.

(4) *Corchorus Olitorius* and *Corchorus Capsularis* (Bengali—*Pat*—*Jute*)—The cuttings are largely used in India and in Europe for making brown paper.

(5) *Crotalaria Juncea* (Hemp; Bengali—*San*)—It is used for making paper on a small scale. It is rather an expensive material for paper-making. Generally, old ropes and nets made of this fibre, are utilised for making paper.

(6) *Daphne Papyracea* and *Daphne Longifolia* (Hindi, Svet Barooa; Nepalese—Mahadeo ki phool)—It grows in the Himalayas. Stiff and durable paper is made from the fibres of both the species in Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet.

(7) *Edgeworthia Gardeneria* (Nepalese, *Arili* or *Kaguti*)—The plant grows wild in Manipur, in Burma and in the Himalayas. The best Nepalese paper is made from its fibres.

(8) *Hibiscus Isora* (Bengali—*Antmorha*)—The plant is found in Central and Western India. The fruits are used in Ayurvedic medicine. The fibres are used for making ropes and sacks. In the Dacca district, the fibres are used for making hand-made paper.

(9) *Hibiscus Cannabinus* (Bengali, *Mesta-pat*)—It is found wild in the Eastern and Western Ghats and also in the United Provinces and in the Punjab. The fibres are used for making ropes. In the Madras Presidency as well as in Dacca, a kind of hand-made paper is manufactured from the fibres of this plant.

(10) *Ischæmium Angustifolium* (Hindi—*Sabooi* or *Bhabar*; Bengali—*Babui*)—This grass grows in abundance in Bengal, in the U. P., in the Central Provinces and in the Madras Presidency. It is an excellent material for paper-making and is stated to be in no way inferior to esparto grass which is so extensively used in England for the manufacture of the best varieties of paper. In the Bengal paper-

mills, sabui is very largely used, either alone or mixed with rags, for paper-making.

(11) *Musa Sapientum* (Bengali—Kala, plantain tree)—Paper of good quality may be made from the fibres of plantain tree which grows in abundance in all parts of India. The ash of plantain tree contains a good quantity of alkali and is largely used in India for washing clothes in place of washing soda.

(12) *Opuntia Dillenii* (Bengali—Phani Mansa)—It grows wild in this country, specially in sea-coast places. Its fibres may be utilised for making paper.

(13) *Saccharum Sara*. (Bengali, *Sar*; Hindi, *Moong*)—This grass grows in Bengal and in the U. P. In Oudh, a kind of hand-made paper is made from its fibres. The fibres are considered as good as the *sabui* grass and largely used in the paper-mills in India.

(14) *Sauseveria Zeylanica* (Bengali, *Moorga* or *Moorgavi*)—It grows wild in sea-coast places in Bengal and in Madras. The fibres form a good material for paper.

(15) *Yucca Gloriosa* (Adam's needle)—It is an American plant which is cultivated in the Madras Presidency. Paper of good quality may be made from its fibres.

These are some of the more important plants mentioned by Sir George Watt, the fibres of which are either being used or may be utilised for the purpose of manufacturing paper in India.

MILL-MADE PAPER IN INDIA.

The following account of the paper-mills in India furnished by the Director of Statistics, Government of India, in his report for 1919 is of sufficient interest to warrant quotation here :—

"The number of paper-mills in India in 1917 was ten, four in the Bombay Presidency, three in Bengal, one in the United Provinces, one in the Travancore State, and one in the Gwalior State. The estimated authorised capital of these mills, as far as information is available, was about 52½ lakhs. The value of the output reported rose from Rs. 125 lakhs in 1916 to Rs. 188 lakhs in 1917 and was the highest on record."

"In 1913, the value of paper manufactured in India and that of imported paper were Rs. 80 lakhs and Rs. 159 lakhs respectively. In 1917, the corresponding figures were Rs. 188 lakhs and Rs. 203 lakhs, the value of the imports having increased in the mean time by 28 per cent, and the internal production by 134 per cent." The values of country-made and imported paper have thus risen from Rs. 80,37,000 and Rs. 1,37,00,000 respectively in 1913 to Rs. 1,59,86,000 and Rs. 2,03,00,000 in 1917. The increase in 1917, both in internal production and in imports, is noticeable.

The Director observes that owing to the war and the resulting absence of competition from the enemy-countries, the Indian paper-industry is comparatively prosperous, notwithstanding the increase in the prices of wood-pulp and chemicals required in the process of manufacture and the inability to secure new machinery.

The following table compiled from the Statistics of British India, Vol I. 1919, shows the number of paper-mills in the different provinces of India and the quantity, value and the kind of output produced by these mills.

TABLE I.
Showing the Statistics of Paper produced in India (Mill-made), 1917.

Name of the Mill and the Province in which it is situated	Year of Production.	estab-lish-ment.	Quan-tity in tons.	Value in Rupee.
I. Bengal.				
Titagarh No. I. Paper Mills, Titagarh (1)	1882	9,339	63,30,000	
Titagarh No. II. Paper Mills, Kakinara (2)	1903	10,264	59,84,000	
Bengal Paper Mills, Raneeganj (3)	1890	6,600	40,00,000	
		26,203	1,63,14,000	
II. U. P.				
Upper India Couper Paper Mills, Lucknow (4)	1879	3,163	12,31,158	
III. Bombay.				
Girgaum Paper Mill, Bombay (5)	1862	312	1,74,720	
D. Padamjee Paper Mills, Bombay (6)	1913	1,145	4,80,900	
Mahomedbhai Jamaludin Paper Mills, Surat (7)	1878	10	4,595	
Reay Paper Mills, Poona (8)	1885	540	3,13,087	
		2,007	9,73,302	
IV. Travancore State,				
Meenakshi Paper Mills. Punalur (9)	1914	110	66,000	
V. Gwalior State,				
Scindia Paper Mill (10)	1906	378	2,01,247	

Grand total for whole India 31,868 1,87,85,707
Kind of paper made in the above Mills.

(1) Blotting; white cartridge; E. S. and T. S. writings; coloured printing; *badami*, brown, and fine and deeper calendered printings and pulp-boards.

(2) Do.

(3) Writing, printing *badami*, brown papers, &c.

(4) Brown, *badami*, white printing; cream-laid; coloured; white cartridge and H. B. A. Government, white rough; Government water-marked paper; blotting; red casing, &c.

(5) Casing and top paper.

(6) White printing and writing paper; coloured and brown paper.

(7) Country white paper used for native account-books.

(8) Writing; printing; blotting; brown.

(9) Brown casing paper.

(10) Description of paper not stated.

I have given you a brief outline of the history of paper-making from the very early down to the present times. I propose to deal with the chemistry of paper-making in my next lecture.

I have on the table specimens of inscriptions on stone, brick, bamboo and copper plate, and also of Sanskrit, Arabian and Bengali manuscripts on palm leaves and on various kinds of hand-made paper made in India, Nepal and Thibet, of different dates, some from five to eight centuries old and others of much later date, for your inspection. The greater portion of these have been kindly lent to me by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, and some by the Sahitya Sabha, of Calcutta. To them, I offer my grateful thanks.

IMPENDING UNIVERSITY LEGISLATION IN INDIA

IN an article contributed by me to this periodical in its last issue, I set forth the reasons that justified the general public of Bengal in demanding that far-reaching and revolutionary changes such as those proposed for the re-construction of secondary and university education in that presidency, as foreshadowed in the Resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, should not be forced upon the people. It is not Bengal alone that is threatened with a serious danger. This will be patent to any one who may take the trouble to acquaint himself with the character and scope of the various measures that have been initiated quite lately in different parts of the country for the purpose of re-arranging the educational machinery before the Reform Act comes into operation.

Before I refer to the measures that have been undertaken in different provinces for re-shaping the present educational system, it may not be out of place to recall certain observations that His Excellency the Viceroy made while dealing with the Report of the Calcutta University Commission in his opening speech at the last September Session of the Imperial Legislative Council. His Excellency made it abundantly clear in that speech that the results of the enquiry made by the Commission would be used as data for educational reconstruction all over India. His Excellency said:

This report, like the Report of the London University Commission, though based on the conditions of one University, is full of suggestiveness on University problems as a whole. I, therefore, hope that the Universities throughout India will take it into consideration and will on their own initiative examine how far its recommendations may throw light on some of their own problems and suggest amendments of their own machinery. I trust, therefore, that this monumental Report will serve as a starting point for the re-examination of problems in the sphere of higher education throughout India.

The hint thrown out by the Viceroy was grasped with avidity by some of the Local Governments, and proposals for giving effect to the wishes of His Excellency were set on foot with the utmost celerity. In fact, within three or four months of His

Excellency's speech, the Government of India could formally acknowledge that in some provinces movements had already been started with the object of reorganising the local educational machinery. Repeating His Excellency's suggestion, the Resolution on the Report of the Calcutta University Commission said:

It is thought that an expression of views by the Government of India on certain points connected with the report may not be without use in provinces other than Bengal. For, though it is fully recognised that conditions elsewhere differ widely from those in that presidency, and though the Government of India have not naturally any desire to thrust upon other Local Governments and other Universities schemes which result from an investigation of affairs in Bengal and in Calcutta, nevertheless some of the recommendations made by the Commission are likely to be found valuable for wider application and it is understood that already in some provinces movements are on foot for some re-organisation of the local systems.

Is it to be understood that the measures adopted simultaneously by the different Local Governments for the purpose of readjusting their respective educational systems were undertaken by them of their own accord without any suggestion from any quarter? If the information at the disposal of the writer of the present article is correct, some of the Provincial Governments had begun to shape their educational organisation on lines similar to those laid down in the Resolution of the Government of India referred to above, long before the Report of the Calcutta University Commission had been published.

The difficulties with which Bengal and the other provinces are now confronted are not identical in every instance. While in Calcutta the existing University is proposed to be reconstituted, in some of the other provinces new universities are to be set up. The establishment of new universities in every case means the curtailment of the jurisdiction of existing universities, and, consequently, of the educational facilities afforded by them. The older universities are also going to be remodelled simultaneously. Proposals have already been set on foot for the reconstitution of the Allahabad, Patna,

and some other universities, on the lines laid down by the Government of India. As the conditions of University education in all the provinces are similar in almost every important matter, with some variations, the objections that have been set forth against hasty legislation in the case of Bengal apply to other provinces as well.

The demand has been repeatedly made in Bengal by some of the more important among the public bodies, by representative organs of public opinion and leading members of the Indian community and by numerous public meetings held in different parts of the province, that the necessary legislation for giving effect to the projected measures for the re-construction of the Calcutta University should not be undertaken before the reformed councils are brought into existence. Such a course of action has been insisted on, in view of the sweeping nature of the changes proposed; the heavy outlay that the scheme of reconstruction of secondary and collegiate education outlined by Government entails, and the inadequacy of funds at the disposal of the authorities; the absence of any guarantee that the requisite funds would be forthcoming, coupled with the fact that the readjustment of finances would make it extremely difficult for Bengal to carry on the administration of the province even according to the existing scale of expenditure; the present temper of the bureaucracy who have remained almost unmoved by the changes that have taken place in the political and other conditions of society, and appear to be untouched by the new ideas that the altered conditions have generated; the most arbitrary nature of the restrictions that the proposals are calculated to impose on the spread of high education; the deviations from the plan of the Calcutta University Commission, in some of its most vital aspects, that have been suggested in the scheme formulated by the Education Department of the Government of India; the unpopular and unrepresentative character of the Imperial Legislative Council; and the impending constitutional changes. It is difficult to conceive of a more formidable catalogue of arguments against any legislative proposal than that which has been put forward with reference to the plans of the Government of India for the reconstruction of the Calcutta University.

The Government of India had announced

their intention of undertaking legislation for the re-construction of the Calcutta University in the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council. But the Bill that has been drafted for the purpose has not yet seen the light of day, and it appears from the letter that the Government of India have recently addressed to the Calcutta University that they have abandoned the idea of proceeding with legislation in this particular matter in the present session of the Council. It is not wise, however, for us to assume that we are safe until we are completely out of the wood. It is rumoured that there is a proposal to bring the scheme of Government before the Imperial Legislative Council in the forthcoming session in some shape or form and to secure for it the approval of that body with a stipulation that the Bill is to come up before the reconstituted legislature for final legislative sanction. I do not know how this can be done: but there are no limits to the resources of a powerful bureaucracy. It is of imperative importance that the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council should be on the alert. They may be expected to oppose firmly, and put their foot down upon, any proposal or proposals that are calculated to strike at the root of educational expansion and progress in India.

It is stated by the authorities that action is now being taken in accordance with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. Anybody who has taken the trouble to compare the proposals of the Sadler Commission with the plans which have emerged from the Simla Secretariat, must have seen how widely divergent the latter are from the former. Principal Herambachandra Maitra in his article, entitled "The Shadow of Coming Events", which appeared in the May number of this periodical, has shown how fundamentally the proposals of Government differ from those of the Commission.

"The Government of India," Principal Maitra writes, "flings itself perversely athwart the scheme of the Commission in most essential things and, we are told, that it is that scheme which it proposes to carry out. Now it is absolutely clear that, whatever may be the merits of the policy chalked out in this announcement of the intentions of Government, it is not a carrying out of the schemes framed by the Commissioners. It is in sharp conflict with their plan of operation, not in minor things, but in matters vitally affecting our educational interest." "The most generous proposals of the Commission," he adds, "are set aside

the degree of caution and the sympathy and consideration they show for existing institutions is rejected as likely to do harm; and the utmost keenness is shown in the matter of giving effect to the most drastic recommendations of the Commission in a more 'expeditious manner, than the Commissioners have thought just and expedient. To declare that such a course is adopted for giving effect to the scheme of the Commission is to convey to the public mind a most erroneous impression as to the real intentions of Government."

It is believed that the scheme proposed by the Government of India for the reconstruction of the Calcutta University has been forwarded to Sir Michael Sadler for an expression of opinion. If that is so, and if in the case of the Calcutta University it has been found desirable to postpone the projected legislation, why should a different policy be followed in the case of the other provinces? There can absolutely be no justification for this differential treatment and for the unseemly hurry, on the part of the bureaucracy, to overhaul the entire educational organisation of the country, especially when in a few months education is going to be transferred to popular Indian ministers for purposes of administration. The question with which we are confronted is one in which all provinces are vitally concerned. As it is a question of national importance, it claims the most serious attention of all patriotic Indians.

I will mention here a few facts to show how wide-embracing is the scope of the projects that Government have initiated simultaneously in different parts of the country. Take for instance the question of University education. Besides the Calcutta University Bill, drafts of which have been kept ready on the shelves of the Simla Secretariat, three Bills for bringing into existence three new universities are before the country at the present moment, namely, the Lucknow University Bill, the Muslim University Bill, and the Burma University Bill. Measures for the reconstruction of some of the existing Universities have, as I have already said, as also proposals for establishing two more new universities, one at Agra and the other at Nagpur, been initiated. In Madras the Local Government have put before the Provincial Legislative Council a measure for the promotion of elementary education. A feature of this Bill is a provision for the constitution of a District Education Council which divests the local bodies of almost all power of direction and administrative control that should

legitimately rest with those bodies. The Punjab Government have under consideration a scheme for the provincialisation of secondary schools in the Province. Vigorous efforts are being made all over India to bring technical education in all its stages under departmental control in spite of the fact that the Secretary of State has reserved further consideration of the question, whether the control of technical education should, or should not, be handed over to the Department of Industry. One cannot forget in this connection how loud has been the protest raised by some of the most prominent scientists in the United Kingdom against the encroachments made in that country by Government departments upon the field of technical and scientific education and research during the war.

An examination of some of the proposals to which reference has been made above cannot but intensify the suspicion that has been aroused in the public mind by the action of Government. As we have seen, one of these measures seeks to provide for the establishment of a university at Lucknow. The university will be of a unitary teaching and residential type and will be modelled after the proposed Dacca University. The Lucknow University Bill was introduced at the meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council, held on the 12th August, and referred to a select committee, who have been asked to submit their report by the 10th September. It seems desirable, says the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill, to make the University as autonomous as possible with regard to its internal affairs. I will show presently that this autonomy is of an entirely illusory nature. The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani very appropriately said, in the course of the discussion on the motion for leave to introduce the Bill, that the Bill would give a university, but not an autonomous one. The Governor of the United Provinces will be the Chancellor of the University. As Chancellor, he, but not the Local Government of which he is the head, will have almost unlimited power of intervention in the internal affairs of the University. The authorities have very wisely come to the conclusion that it is undesirable to insert any provision for communal representation. The measure, therefore, contains no sectarian provision. This is, undoubtedly, a very satisfactory feature of the Bill.

It is provided in the Lucknow University Bill that at any time after the passing of that measure, and until such time as the authority of the University shall have been duly constituted, teachers of the University shall be appointed by the Governor of the United Provinces, after considering the recommendations of an advisory committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, the Director of Public Instruction and such other person or persons, if any, as the Governor of the United Provinces thinks fit to associate with them. This is, of course, a transitory provision. But it shows that even in such a vitally important matter as the appointment of teachers the authorities are anxious to retain all power in their hands.

The provision for the constitution of committees of selection, both in India and England, is another retrograde feature of the Bill. Appointments to Professorships and Readerships shall be made on the nomination of committees of selection, constituted for the purpose in India as follows :—(i) the Vice-Chancellor ; (ii) one member of the Executive Council ; (iii) two members of the Academic Council selected by the Academic Council ; (iv) an officer of the Local Government appointed by the Local Government ; (v) three persons appointed by the Chancellor. The Committees of Selection shall report to the Executive Council which shall, if it accepts the nomination of the Committee, make the appointment to the post accordingly. If the Executive Council does not accept the nomination of the Committee, it shall refer the case to the Chancellor who shall do what he thinks fit. Of the Professorships and Readerships not less than one-third are to be filled on the nomination of committees of selection constituted for the purpose in the United Kingdom, or, if in the opinion of the Secretary of State for India exceptional circumstances justify such a course, by appointment by the Secretary of State for India. If the Executive Council does not accept the nomination of the Committee, it shall refer the case to the Chancellor, who may either appoint the person nominated by the Committee or refer the case to the Secretary of State for India ; and in such case the Secretary of State shall make such appointment as he thinks fit.

The committees of selection deprive the University of a very important power. To strip the University of any real power in the matter of the appointment of its teachers, and

then to talk of the desirability of making the University as autonomous as possible with regard to its internal affairs, as the United Provinces Government have done, is nothing less than a cruel mockery. The Executive Council, with the help of the Academic Council and the Faculties, should be empowered to take necessary steps for the selection of the best available men as teachers of the University. So long as this is not done, it is not fair to speak of the University as an autonomous body.

The Calcutta University Commission recommended that the Court should be a widely representative body. The Commission said :

We propose to set up a large and very representative body, to be known as the Court, which will perform the function of representing public opinion, and the various interests which the University has to serve, in a way which has never been possible to the existing Senate. We propose that the Court's assent should be required for fundamental legislative proposals, but not for the details of regulations ; that it should exercise a general supervision over the finance of the University ; and that the whole progress and work of the University should pass under its review and criticism.

At the same time, the Commission added, since a very large body of this kind cannot profitably meet very often and cannot advantageously discuss details, they proposed that it should elect a standing Committee of Reference to consult on various matters with the Executive Council, to which the details of administrative work are to be entrusted. There is no provision for a Committee of Reference in the Lucknow University Bill. The Court of the Lucknow University as proposed is more or less an ornamental body. The Senates of the existing Universities exercise larger powers and are invested with greater authority than those with which the Court of the Lucknow University is proposed to be endowed. The Court of the London University, according to the Report of the Haldane Commission, which has so frequently been cited by high authorities in India as containing within its pages the highest wisdom in matters of University reform, is a widely representative and the supreme governing body, and it exercises extensive powers over the internal management of the University. This is also the arrangement in the provincial Universities of England. The Court of the Lucknow University is neither a representative body nor a body with any very substantial powers. If the University

is to be an autonomous body, it is essentially important that the constitution of the Court should be considerably liberalised and it should, moreover, be given larger powers in legislative, financial and administrative matters. The recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission in the matter are not liberal enough. But if the authorities in India are not ready to go even so far as the Commission think they should, let them not confound and mislead the public by invoking the name and authority of that Commission in support of their action. There are other very serious defects in the scheme of the Lucknow University, which should be removed if it is to be an up-to-date, modern, autonomous University.

The Burma University Bill is an equally, if not more, inadequate measure. The object of the Bill is the establishment and incorporation of a centralised teaching and residential University at Rangoon. The teaching of the University will be mainly conducted in constituent colleges, namely, the Government College at Rangoon, which will henceforth be styled the University College, and the Judson College, run by the American Baptist Mission. The Select Committee on the Bill, who have just concluded their deliberations, propose the amalgamation, within five years of the Bill becoming law, of the University and Judson Colleges in the hope that by such amalgamation the University may take the form of a Uni-collegiate University. If no such amalgamation occurs, provision is to be made to declare any institution provided for studies in law or science to be a constituent college. The amended bill comes up before the meeting of the Burma Legislative Council to be held on the 28th August for final consideration.

The Muslim University Bill will be introduced at the forthcoming session of the Imperial Legislative Council and will possibly be passed by it. The University will be called the Aligarh Muslim University and will be of the teaching and residential type. It will not include Intermediate classes, but will have power to establish and maintain intermediate colleges and schools at Aligarh. The provisions of the Muslim University Bill are, of course, more liberal than those of the other two bills referred to above. There can, however, be no doubt that if the promoters of the Muslim University, who have waited so long, had waited a few months more, they

would have secured better and more liberal terms for it. Proposals for creating two more Universities, one at Agra and another at Nagpur, are also, as I have already said, pending at the present moment.

All the new Universities, it appears, are being modelled after the projected Dacca University. The public leaders and the press in the country made a great mistake in not endeavouring to liberalise the Dacca University Bill when it was published for public criticism. When that measure came up for consideration before the Imperial Legislative Council, it did not arouse anything more than lukewarm interest except perhaps in one or two members of the Imperial Legislative Council. The authorities appear now to have taken advantage of this public apathy and indifference and the want of foresight shown by Indian leaders in the matter. Anybody who will go through the provisions of the new measures, will find very little difficulty in perceiving how an attempt is being made to remove education from popular direction and control. Energetic and prompt efforts are needed to avert a most serious danger, with which the entire country is threatened.

The highest authorities in the country have often dwelt on the unwisdom of pursuing a uniform system in any matter in all parts of India and under all conditions. Government have, however, been found to act in contravention of this principle almost as often as they have declared their agreement with it. The Department of Education, under whose guidance the policy of Government with regard to University organisation is being reshaped at the present moment, in their Resolution on Local Self-Government, issued in April, 1915, observed :

Uniformity, even were it attainable, would be undesirable as tending to monotony, lifelessness and discouragement of new experiments. But, in fact, any attempt to exact uniformity would be foredoomed to failure.

It is variety, not uniformity, of experiments, which makes for progress everywhere. Why then should Government be so anxious now to set up the same type of University in different provinces, especially when the suitability of the type of University to the conditions of the country has not been properly tested? The authorities might have waited to see how the Dacca scheme worked, before wasting money and energy on similar schemes elsewhere?

Indians are frequently blamed for their partiality for literary studies to the utter neglect of scientific and practical studies. Here was a splendid opportunity for Government to show that they were sincere in their desire to advance scientific and technical education. When so many Universities are being established in different parts of the country, is it not possible for Government to secure the establishment of one with a bias for technical and scientific studies? In this connection one may very appropriately invite the attention of the authorities to certain observations that were made by the Royal Commission on Public Services. While referring to the practical exclusion of Indians from the higher scientific and technical services in India, the Commission said that there were no political grounds, whatsoever, for recruiting the superior staff in Europe. If, they added, the requisite training could be provided for in India, the necessity for indenting on Europe for qualified men would cease to exist. The Commission urged that "a determined and immediate effort" should be made to bring about conditions that would soon make it possible to meet the normal requirements of the services in India by appointing Indians. They recommended accordingly that existing institutions should be developed or new ones created and brought up to the level of the best European institutions, of a similar character. The Commission stated :

This will require an initial expenditure of a considerable sum of money, but not probably as much as would at first sight be expected. For instance, up-to-date institutions already exist at Pusa and Dehra Dun which can be utilised for the purposes of the agricultural and forest departments. Large railway workshops are also already in existence to supply the needs of the locomotive and carriage and wagon branches. It is only for the civil veterinary, geological survey.....departments that the existing provision is wholly inadequate. In any case the outlay would be more than repaid, not only by the additional facilities which such institutions would give to young men to qualify themselves for direct appointment to the higher branches of the public services, but by the contribution they would make to the industrial progress of the country.

The Indian Industrial Commission recommended the establishment of at least two imperial colleges, one to cover every branch of engineering and the other to be devoted mainly to metallurgy and mineral technology. But both in the case of the Royal Commission on Public Services and the Indian Industrial Commission, those proposals only are being

given effect to, which recommend the creation of fat berths for Englishmen or suggest additions to the emoluments, already high, of offices held by them. Proposals, which have for their object the real good of the country and its people, are being generally shelved or put aside. Thus while the very reasonable recommendation of the Royal Commission on Public Services, referred to above, is ignored, attempts are being made to give effect to proposals of a most retrograde character, which would have the effect of removing education from popular direction and control, dispossess Indians of many high appointments by making them a monopoly of Europeans and deprive them of the opportunities for acquiring efficiency, before the Reform Act comes into operation.

A wise Government would never have applied itself, on the eve of far-reaching constitutional changes, to a hurried re-organisation of the educational machinery, such as that in which the Government of India are now engaged. They should not have undertaken this most difficult and complex task at the present juncture in view of the suspicion that such a course of action is bound to arouse in the public mind, and, especially, in view of the fact that education will in a few months be transferred to Indian ministers. The anxiety shown by the officialdom, to secure the withdrawal of education, as far as possible, from popular control, cannot but cause very serious misgivings as to the future of education in the country. The Report of the London University Commission has often been described as a classic on problems of University reform. But is it not a fact, that steps have not yet been taken to give effect to the scheme of reform proposed by that Commission? The history of University reform in England shows how little is the disposition in that country to consider the views of educational experts, even though they might be the most distinguished, as always sacrosanct. Why should the whole country be bound by the decisions of the Sadler Commission? There was no adequate independent Indian element in the Commission and most of its members were very insufficiently acquainted with the condition of the country, its people and its problems?

University reform is no doubt a pressing problem, but the issues which the problem raises are so many and so complicated that further enquiry and consideration are im-

perative before any action is taken. In England at the present moment a very important Commission is engaged in devising measures for reorganising the Oxford and Cambridge Universities. This Commission includes some of the most distinguished educationists in the United Kingdom and is presided over by Mr. Asquith. Having regard to the fact that many of the problems of University education in both countries are similar, India should have the benefit of the advice of this Commission before she starts on any comprehensive scheme of University reform.

In the introduction of educational methods, said President McKinley with reference to the educational system of the Philippines, care should be taken that changes be not made too abruptly and the history and racial peculiarities of the inhabitants are given due weight. If Government were anxious to avoid mistakes in their educational policy they would not depart from this excellent rule. They should be prepared to hand over the control of education to Indians without any hesitation or delay. They should now, as Mr. Bertrand Russell says in his illuminating work, *Roads*

to *Freedom*, leave India to choose her own manner of education. Mr. Bertrand Russell says :

India has an ancient tradition, very different from that of Western Europe, a tradition highly valued by educated Hindus, but not loved by our schools and colleges. The Hindu Nationalist feels that his country has a type of culture containing elements of value that are absent or much less marked in the West; he wishes to be free to preserve this.....The belief of the European in his *Kultur* tends to be fanatical and ruthless, and for this reason as much as for any other the independence of extra-European civilisation is of real importance to the world, for it is not by a dead uniformity that the world as a whole is most enriched.

The British Government, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore said in the course of a speech that he delivered before the Bombay University sometime ago, had in the matter of education wholly ignored that Indians had a mind of their own. It cannot be said that there is no truth in this observation. The bureaucracy should no longer be allowed to continue the grievous injustice that they have so far done to India in the sphere of education.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[The Editor cannot undertake to review any and every publication sent to him for the purpose. The authors and publishers of pamphlets of ephemeral or of topical interest will kindly bear this in mind particularly.]

ENGLISH.

RAMMOHAN ROY AND HINDUISM—By Sukumar Haldar, Provincial Civil Service (retired). Published by Sanat Kumar Haldar at Samlong Farm, Ranchi. Pp. 40. Price not mentioned.

The tract is a defence of Hinduism and an adverse criticism of Brahmoism. And the Hinduism which is spiritedly defended is not what is called Higher Hinduism, but what is popularly known as Hinduism—that is, Idolatry.

The tract betrays a lamentable ignorance of the Science of Religion and of the Comparative History of Religion.

Our author says,—“What Rammohan Roy contemplated was that all classes of Hindus should adopt the Semitic form of worship.” In another place he remarks,—“What Rammohan Roy apparently failed to apprehend, was the essential difference in spirit between Semitic and Aryan Culture.” This shows that Mr. Haldar has not tried to understand Rammohan Roy, or

has thoroughly misunderstood him. “Congregational Worship” is not the differentia of Semitic Religions, as our author takes it to be. Vedic sacrifices (*Jajnas*), *Bhajans* and *Sauktans* are also congregational. The difference between the Semitic Religions and the highest form of Hinduism is to be sought not in their external forms, but in their internal spirit,—it is to be found in the idea of God and of His relation to man.

Our author says,—“The religious songs composed by Rammohan Roy and his friends are modelled on Christian hymns. The foreboding pessimistic tone of the lines—মনে কর শেবের সে ভয়ঙ্কর—are reminiscent of eternal damnation, the fire and brimstone of the Christian Hell. The songs which have hitherto been considered as purely national songs and have appealed to all sections of the Hindu community, are regarded by our author as being modelled on Christian hymns. How a man, born and brought up within the pale of Hindu society can pass such remarks—passes our understanding. Are *Santisatoks*

Vairagyasatakam,² *Mohamudgara*, *Prabodha-chandrodaya Natakam*, songs of *Kangal* or *Pikirchand*—are all these modelled on Christian songs and reminiscent of eternal damnation and of the fire and brimstone of the Christian Hell? But is it Christians alone that have monopolised the Hell? Do not our countrymen believe in the existence of hells? Do not our *Smritis* consider them as real places? Are not our *Puranas* full of the horrible description of such places? Has not our author read their vivid description in the *Ramayana* of *Krittivasa*? The Christians have one Hell and we have one and twenty (with 84,000 pits). But Rammohan Roy did not believe in local hells or heavens. His songs have nothing to do with them. His object was simply to awaken a spiritual sense in man.

The song—"তুমি কার কে তোমার, কারে বল রে আগুন" is considered to be an embodiment of a *Brahma* Spirit—the spirit of despair. But who wrote—"না তব কান্দা কল্লি ঘন"? Rammohan's well-known song—"মন এ কি জাতি তোমার" is condemned, but a similar song by Ramprasad—"মন তোমার এই আগুন না"—is eulogised. Comments are useless. Our author condemns Brahmoism, because "it has no distinct or authoritative theory as regards the origin of the universe, or as regards man's destiny; there is yet nothing like certainty as to the laws of marriage and succession governing its members. It is thus defective in essential particulars."

But has Hinduism any distinct or authoritative theory? What is this universe? Is it real or unreal? Then realities or unrealities have degrees. Is it a transformation (*বিকার*) of *Brahma* (*ব্রহ্ম*) or an illusion? Which theory is true—*Monism* (*ঐক্যবাদ*) or *Dualism* (*দ্বৈতবাদ*) or *Pluralistic Monism* (*দ্বৈতাদ্বৈত*)? Again, each of these has different forms—as *Monism* may be *Advaita* of *Sankara*, *Vishishtadvaita* (qualified *Monism*) of *Ramanuja*, *Shuddhadvaita* (pure *Monism*) of *Balabhacharyya*, etc. Are not each and all of these Hindu theory? Has not each of them been deduced from the Vedic mantras? What is the question? Are there not different theories in different scriptures? These theories are not only different, but sometimes contradictory. What is the Hindu theory of man's destiny? Does the emancipated soul lose its personality, or does it retain its consciousness? Is it then altogether separate entity or is it then a separate entity and still an organic part of God? Is there any definite and authoritative theory regarding all these points?

Now about marriage. At what age should a man become a wife? Above or below twelve? If above twelve, does it not contradict most of the *Smritis*? If below twelve, may not the husband run the risk of being criminally prosecuted?

What is the extent of consanguinity? Can a Bengal Hindu marry his sister's daughter as in some parts of the Deccan? Will a Hindu be allowed to marry the daughter of his father's sister? Did not Krishna himself marry Bhadra (মদ্রা) daughter of (স্রুতকীর্তি) *Srutakirti* who was his father's sister (vide *Bhagavat*. X. 58, 56)? Can a Hindu in Bengal marry his brother's widow as among certain good castes of Bihar and Orissa? Should there be any Vedic or any other religious ceremony at the time of marriage?

Is not an exchange of rosaries (কণ্ঠী বদল) enough and perfectly legal as among the *Vaishnavas*? Or should only the eldest brother marry and other brothers remain unmarried and practise promiscuity as in the Malabar coast? Or should the marriage system be altogether abolished to make room for Free Love, which was so highly eulogised by *Rishi Uddalaka* as *Sanatana Dharma* (vide *Mahabharata*, *Adiparva*. Chap. 122)? Or should a man altogether ignore the marriage system and follow the injunctions of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (VI. 4. 7) defying the sections 375 and 376 or 497 and 498 of the Indian Penal Code? Now about succession, should it be matriarchal as in some parts of India, or patriarchal as in the other parts? Which is more authoritative—the *Dayabhaga* or the *Mitakshara*? Why should the Bengalis be compelled to follow one and the Biharees the other? Are all laws binding? Are not many of the Hindu laws—both *Srauta* and *Smarta*—different and contrary and, many more, contradictory? Which is our authority—the Hindu *Sastras* or the Christian Government? Has not the Government abrogated many Hindu laws and substituted new ones in open defiance of the *Sastric* injunctions? Then we see that Hindu *Sastric* laws are either definite nor authoritative. Then why should the Brahmos be condemned? But the Brahmos have something to say about the origin of the universe and the destiny of man; and their marriage and succession are regulated by laws which are as authoritative and binding as the Hindu laws imposed by the Christian Government upon the Hindu nation.

But these are not the essence of Religion. The very allegation of the author shows that he has not been able to distinguish between the essentials and the non-essentials in a religion, and the idea has never crossed his mind that such a distinction should ever be made.

The Brahmos, especially those belonging to the New Dispensation Church, should ponder over the following allegation of our author (and many others): "The apotheosis of Keshab Chunder Sen is a recent example in our own country."

They should explain why this idea has gone abroad.

The spirit in which the tract has been written is not commendable. The author's attitude

towards Keshab Chandra is patronising and sarcastic. There was a time when many Brahmos used to disparage popular Hinduism, but the tables have been turned and it is now the Hindus who are the aggressors. Our author has commended the following counsel to the Brahmos :—

"Disparage not the faith thou dost not know. Lest to thy peril thou aby it dear." But why does he not commend it to his own self ?

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE—By *Ruth Young, B. Sc., M. B., Ch. B.*

In view of the fact that ignorance plays the most important part in the causation of Infant Mortality, that in Bengal alone more than half a million preventable deaths of children under ten years of age occur every year and that on the average at least 600 babies are needlessly sacrificed every day, any attempt at a diffusion of knowledge as regards the causation and prevention of infant mortality is welcome. With this laudable object Dr. Ruth Young's book has been published by the Association for the Provision of Health and Maternity Supervision. The author intends it for "Health Visitors, parents, and others in India." This appears to be a large order. Like the Holloway's pill curing all the diseases that the human flesh is heir to, the same standard of training cannot treat the different degrees of ignorance prevailing among the lay housewives, and the ignorant midwives and meet the requirements as well of "those training in Health Visitors' work." The book has been divided into three parts, *Part one* dealing with the Hygiene of Pregnancy and the Puerperum, *Part two* with Infant Welfare and, *Part three* with the work of Health Visitors. The author hopes this book will rouse the public conscience in matters of child welfare and appeal to the parents who are bringing up the present generation. It appears to have been published in haste in view of the approaching Delhi Exhibition, for some errors have been overlooked. Chief of these is the author's view of the process of menstruation. At the top and bottom of page 4 she enunciates the theory that the cessation of this function during pregnancy is *due to* the cessation of the discharge of blood and the lining membrane from the uterus. Students have been taught that the latter is rather a symptom than a cause of the former. The fact of the destruction of the lining membrane of the uterus during the monthly flow is, however, questionable. As regards the etiology, all physiologists agree that the function of menstruation depends on that of the ovary, absence of which owing to disease or operation stops it altogether. The most recent theory is that of the internal secretion as a regulating factor. In the paragraph on Preparations for the Infant, the omission of Crede's solution for the prevention of blindness

is regrettable. In the chapter on the Care of the Newborn Infant the author recommends for this purpose a drop of a 10 per cent. solution of Protargol which is considered too strong for a baby's eye. A 1 to 2 per cent solution is usually recommended. Omission of this simple precaution is responsible for a large amount of public burden in the shape of infirmities and infirmaries. The book is well got up and can be had of Messrs. Butterworth & Co.

M. B.

MODERN INDIAN WORTHIES—By *N. Narayana B. A., B.L., L.T. Illustrated. Macmillan & Co. Pp. 105. 1920.*

In this little book we have short accounts of the lives of fifteen Indian worthies—social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy who, in the words of an eminent American, "stood alone in single majesty of, I had almost said, perfect humanity" and B. Malabari; poets and artists like Tor Dutt and Ravi Varma; administrators and statesmen like Sir T. Madhava Rao and Sir Salar Jung, and R. C. Dutt who was better known perhaps as a man of letters; patriots like Gokhale and Naoroji; and captains of industry like J. N. Tata. The collection is thus representative in character, and though the name of the firm of publishers and the author's evident design to render the book suitable as a textbook for schools led to some misgivings in our mind when we took it up for review, we are glad to be able to say that too much has not been made of the passive virtue of loyalty, but the manlier and patriotic side of the character described has been given its just prominence and instead of a commonplace catalogue of virtues, here and there we find a live human touch which is likely to fire the imagination of our young hopefuls and stimulate some of them to senulation. Altogether, we recommend this little book with pleasure to all teachers and students.

THE ART OF STUDY—By *a Sympathiser. Mangalore. One anna. 8 pages.*

'A healthy mind in a healthy body' and the necessity for the development of memory by keeping the character pure,—this is the lesson preached to students in this leaflet.

CRITIC.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY—By *Robert H. Lowie, Ph. D., (Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920). Pp. 463.*

The volume before us is an attempt to place before laymen and students a brief summary of what is known regarding primitive social organization with special reference to America. The author advocates independent development of cultural or sociological trails from chance borrowings, and does not believe in laws regulating the independent reproduction of the same series of stages. He maintains that neither independent evolution from like causes nor con-

vergent evolution from unlike causes establish an innate law of social progress, but that culture develops mainly through the borrowings due to chance contact. With regard to the earliest beginnings of marriage and family, the author concludes (as Hartland and others have shown before him) that the theory of the former existence of a condition of sexual communism preceding the individual family composed of a husband and wife or wives must be rejected, and that the bilateral family is an absolutely universal unit of human society. In consonance with his general theory of the growth of cultures, the author holds that the social history of a particular people cannot be reconstructed from any generally valid scheme of evolution, but only in the light of its known and probable cultural relations with neighbouring peoples, and that there is no fixed succession of maternal and paternal descent. Tribes that do not possess any distinctions of clan or sect may pass directly into the matrilineal or the patrilineal condition; and if the highest civilizations emphasize the paternal side of the family, so do many of the lowest. The author cites instances to show that the popular opinion that woman's status is a sure index of cultural advancement, is not tenable, but that primitive woman is generally well treated and able to influence men's decision regardless of all theory as to inferiority or impurity, and that it is precisely among some of the rudest tribes that she enjoys practical equality with her mate. As for types of human association the author points out the immense variety of associational groups in the world, and declares that the search for all-embracing laws of their evolution on the model of Morgan's or Schurte's schemes is a wild-goose chase and that only an intensive ethnographic study in each cultural province can establish the actual sequence of stages for it. Civilization according to our author is a "planless hodge-podge", a thing of shreds and patches to which "its historian can no longer yield superstitious reverence."

Whether we agree with all the conclusions of our author or not, we must admit that several of his criticisms of current theories are illuminating though not final, and some are undeniably sound and generally admitted by present day anthropologists.

Whatever view we may take of the theoretical side of the book which generally represents the position of modern American anthropologists, the value of the book as an introductory statement of ethnographical phenomena relating to social organization cannot be ignored.

S. C. R.

"VERSES AND NOTHING ELSE"—By T. L. Cromlie: *Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.*

The choice of the title from the line of Robert Browning, "Verse and nothing else have I to give you" should not lead us to judge these

verses from the standard set by the greatest poet of the late 19th century. As a collection of smooth, easy flowing, unabstruse verses the book will attract many readers who would have been frightened away by more suggestive matter and by more complex sentiments. The poet takes up the commonest ideas and sets them before his reader in such a way as to be easily understood by them. This must not be considered a depreciation of the volume, for intricacy and complexity are not the essence of true poetry. The highest form of art has sometimes the commonest and simplest of subjects to which it "adds the gleam, the light that never was on sea or land." Whether the present writer has added the gleam or not, it is for each reader to judge for himself. To us lines like the "Day-dream" or "Together" are attractive in their simplicity, while "Strange Figures" with its charm of weirdness appears the most powerful, and "A softer veil" the most suggestive. Contemporary subjects have no wide appeal and the book would not have lost by the omission of the lines to "Mrs. Besant" and "The Order of Release."

BOLSHEVISM, THE DREAM AND THE FACT—By Edmund Candler. *Oxford University Press.*

The subject of the book is so attractive that it is bound to attract a large circle of readers. We hear so much about Bolshevism today, but very few of us have accurate ideas on the matter. The writer has analysed the genesis of Bolshevism in the first chapter which is well worth reading. He points out the idealism of the first Bolshevik leaders who advocated the abolition of private property and the organisation of all production by the workers for the benefit of the workers alone. They came to the hungry and distracted millions of Russia with the offer of the three things, Peace, Bread and Land, and they could not but attract followers. Lenin, according to the writer, is a single-minded fanatical idealist with an impracticable ideal. He succeeded in the destructive part of his mission, but failed hopelessly when he had to reconstruct society. He had three definite aims before him:

- (1) A world-revolution for the overthrow of capital.
- (2) The nationalisation of property, that is, a system by which nobody can own anything but in which everything belongs to the state.
- (3) The necessity of violence, terrorism and civil war to establish the universal brotherhood of labour.

This was the dream and it is no new vision but practically the same as that offered by the German socialist Marx. Only the ideal which Marx proposed to accomplish by slow development, as the result of long struggles, Lenin hoped to establish by violence in a day. But the ideal state, the communist Utopia of the Philosophers, if it is to endure, must be of slow

growth. It cannot be introduced by a resolution in council or the stroke of a pen,—much less by the massacres in the streets and tortures in prisons. So according to Mr. Candler, Bolshevism is Prussiaism inverted,—the tyranny coming from below, not from above. The writer proceeds to justify his thesis by unfolding a long tale of horror that one feels sick to go through. The "Red Terror" may or may not be a reality, but the writer has chiefly based his statements on the firsthand report of the Russian Commission and the letters of Mr. Shelley to the "Times". In looking forward to the future, the writer's conclusion is that the ideal of Bolshevism is unattainable outside a state of human perfection.

The book is intended mainly to convince the people of the East that Bolshevism has no place in a cultured world-system and the writer hopes that as the Bolsheviks preach a gospel of violence and the Hindus a Gospel of peace, the real and genuine thing as it has appeared in Russia, "the most hideous idol in the devil's Pantheon," will never find a place in the heart of the Indian people.

NIRMAL K. SIDDHANTA.

THE SYRIAN GODDESS.—A translation of Lucian's *DE DEA SYRIA* by Prof. Herbert A. Strong, M. A., LL. D., with Illustrations. London, Constable and Co. Ltd., 1913.

The Goddess of Syria,—is brimful of interest to the student of Oriental religions. It was written by Lucian, who lived in the second century after Christ, in the Ionic dialect, in imitation of Herodotus, to describe the cult and worship of the Goddess of Northern Syria at her sacred city Hierapolis, now called Mumbij. The book has been translated into English at the instance of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.

The description reveals the central cult as that of a divine pair, the male god symbolised by the Bull, the female by the Lion. This cult has been historically attributed by the Editor to the Hittites, the earliest known masters of the soil, and this God and Goddess of Hierapolis have been well illustrated from an ancient Syrian coin of the third century after Christ.

The Introduction begins with an observation that the dawn of history in all parts of Western Asia discloses the established worship of a nature-goddess in whom the productive powers of the Earth were personified. She is our Mother Earth, known otherwise as the Mother Goddess or Great Mother, called *Ishtar* among the Babylonians, and northern Semites; *Ashtoreth* in the Bible, *Astarte* in Phœnicia. In Syria her name was *Athar*; and at Hierapolis it appeared in later Aramic as *Atargatis*. She was recorded by a later Greek writer as *Ma*.

The origin and development of this worship have not however been discussed in the book.

The Goddess, in the primitive conception of her, had the power of self-reproduction, complete in herself. A male companion was none the less generally associated with her in mythology, which revealed him as her offspring,—the fruit of the Earth. Subsequently this youth was regarded as her favourite lover. In Asia Minor the sanctity of this Goddess was sought to be safeguarded by the supposed emasculation of this youth, and by the actual emasculation of her priesthood.

The Hittites are found in the fourteenth century before Christ as an already established constitutional power, extending its sway southward into Syria as far as Lebanon; eastward to the Euphrates, and at times into Mesopotamia; westward as far as Lydia, and probably to the sea-coast.



The Goddess of Syria in an ancient Syrian Coin.

Their chief deity was a god, with lightning in hand, who, in the north of Syria, was represented with trident and hammer,—the emblems of lightning and thunder. A sculpture at Malatia, on the eastern frontier, shows him standing on the back of a bull, the emblem of creative powers. The goddess, like her son, stands on the back of a lioness.

Lucian described the chief sanctuary of the Syrian temple at Hierapolis as containing the common shrine of Zeus and Hera. The central Hittite cult is that of this mated pair—"the Bull-god Zeus, and the Lion nature goddess." The central cult images of Hierapolis, as described by Lucian, are this Zeus seated on the Bull and his consort Hera on the Lion.

The affinities of this cult with that of the Indian Tantras are so transparent as to show beyond doubt that an investigation into the origin of this cult in Syria will not be without interest to the Indian student. Lucian, who actually saw the image of this Mother-goddess, described it thus,—“In one of her hands she holds a sceptre, in the other a distaff.....Gems

of great price adorn her.....There are many onyxes from Sardinia, and the jacinth and emeralds, the offerings of the Egyptians, and of the Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians."

Col. Chesney, in his book on the "Expedition to the Euphrates and Tigris," (Vol. I. pp. 420-421) noticed amidst the ruins of the temple, eleven arches from one side of a paved court, over which lay scattered "the shafts of columns and capitals displaying the lotus."

The Indian Tantrik cult of the Great Mother of Creation describes her as mother as well as wife of Siva. Her sanctity is safeguarded by representing Siva in *Urdha-linga*-style, signifying complete mastery over his passions, without the ugly indication of actual emasculation.

Time has now come for our Universities to inaugurate a closer study of these cults of the ancient world. Such study has a fascination of its own and a special one for us as it has already revealed some forgotten links in the long chains which bound our motherland with the East of Asia in the days of yore.

A. K. MAITRA.

Indo-English Literature.

1. *SAKUNTALA*. Prepared for the English Stage by Kedar Nath Das Gupta in a new version by Laurence Binyon, with an introductory essay by Rabindranath Tagore (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 7 s. 6 d. net.)

Since the 'discovery' of *Sakuntala* for the Western world by Sir William Jones, the masterpiece has received striking proofs of appreciation from that quarter. Goethe's eulogy is well-known and oft-quoted, and it was only the other day that Mr. W. B. Yeats was declaring that he could never begin to sketch a heroine without *Sakuntala* coming into his mind. Within the last few years successful attempts have been made in England to represent *Sakuntala* on the stage and here is a metrical version, specially suited to the purpose, much shorter than the original, but preserving most of its imperishable elements of genius. "Fidelity to what is Universal in Kalidasa has been sought for," says Laurence Binyon about this version, "rather than the reproduction of exotic beauties" and it is no ordinary compliment to the translator that this aim has been more than realised. Those familiar with Binyon's poetry will however confess to some slight sense of disappointment at the quality of the verse in this volume—he has undoubtedly done very much better elsewhere and the limitations of translation and adaptation have unfortunately tended to lower the level of poetic execution. Here is a passage, well-known in the original and unfortunately inviting comparison with it :

She is a flower whose perfume none has smelt ;
A spring shoot on the branch, unbruised,
unfingured ;

A jewel never chiselled, never pierced ;
Fresh honey that no lip has tasted of !
She is the uttermost reward of life
Perfected in the grace of its good-deeds.

Even less successful is another passage which will remind the reader of one of the most touching scenes in the play, the sage Kanva's farewell to the departing foster-daughter :

This very day Sakuntala departs :

At thought of it my heart is pierced with loss,
My voice breaks with suppression of its tears,
My very sight is numbed with trouble. If I,
Even I, a hermit schooled in the austere way,
Can suffer this through love, O, how much more
Must pangs of separation bitter be
To those that dwell in the kind household life.

The value of the book is considerably enhanced by an illuminating introduction on the inner meaning of *Sakuntala* by Rabindranath Tagore. It is lucid in its exposition, in spite of the philosophical analysis which seeks to read in it a deliberate and closely-reasoned embodiment of the truth that: "Beauty that goes hand in hand with Moral Law is eternal, that the calm, controlled, and beneficent form of Love is its best form, that beauty is truly charming under restraint and decays quickly when it gets wild and unfettered." If this strikes as too much of "reading into" the play, and bears some resemblance to the methods of German commentators on Shakespeare, who see an ethical purpose even in such innocent plays as *As You Like It* and *Mid-Summer Night's Dream*, it will be considered nevertheless to be in accord with the Hindu sentiment and outlook in the matter. It is interesting to note that the introduction is translated from the original Bengali by the eminent historian Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, turning thus to literary recreation in the midst of his historical labours.

2. *HUNGRY STONES AND OTHER STORIES*—By Rabindranath Tagore (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Indian Edition, 1 Re.)

When the time comes for a comprehensive estimate of the achievements of Rabindranath Tagore's genius, the critic is sure to be dazzled by the variety of literary forms he has practised, with almost equal success in each of them. If his reputation first burst upon the Western world with the soul-elevating lyrics of the *Gitanjali*, it is now perceiving his genius as a dramatist and also as a story writer. Readers of Rabindranath Tagore will feel grateful for this popular reissue in very cheap form of the stories which appeared translated for the first time into English some years ago under the curious title of *Hungry Stones and Other Stories*. In words effectively applied by Dryden to Chaucer's tales, we may say at the outset, "here is God's plenty"—the volume has a richness and variety in the portraiture of life and in the excitement of narrative, to serve as a

real companion and take an abiding place in literature. The careful workmanship of each unit is hardly less praiseworthy than the general profundity of spirit which stirs the depths of the most pathetic human tragedy, though the volume is relieved here and there by touches of humour. A passing reference to some of the stories should more than illustrate the observation. The story of *The Hungry Stones* is a romantic fantasy suddenly plunging us into an atmosphere of legend and superstition; *The Victory* is a tribute to the inspiration of true song; *The Home-Coming* is a pathetic tragedy of child-life and domestic affections; *The Kingdom of Cards* is a plea for more spacious social ideals; *The Vision* is an embodiment of ideal Hindu womanhood clinging to duty in the greatest sorrow; *The Babus of Nayanjore* with its humorous account of the frantic efforts of the last representative to keep up his ancestral dignity suddenly turns to seriousness; while *The Cabuliwallah* is a beautiful sermon, as it were, on the immortal truth, "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin." The Cabuliwallah with tears in his eyes taking out reverently from his loose robes the piece of paper containing the impression of his little child's palm in his distant Afghan home, is the worthy climax of a volume so full of the tenderest emotions of pity and sorrow. It is however difficult to say if there is not an air of improbability about some of the other stories, for instance, about *My Lord the Baby* in which a child disappears and another takes its place, both with surprising ease, and *Living or Dead* in which a Hindu lady comes back to life after being taken to the cremation ground as dead and has not only difficulty in mixing with people again, but develops a strange horror for herself. Such occasional dissatisfaction is probably inevitable in any volume of stories, and human credulity has been taxed in much greater measure by successful and popular story-writers of even this age of scepticism.

3. **BENGAL-PEASANT LIFE & FOLK-TALES OF BENGAL** by Rev. Lal Behari Dey (MacMillan & Co., Ltd.)

It must be a matter of satisfaction to educationalists all over India that English publishing firms catering to scholastic and collegiate needs in this country, have begun to produce books descriptive of Indian life. The two volumes under review are already favourites in literature of this class and we are glad to have them in such a cheap and handy form. The scenes of *Bengal-Peasant-Life* are put in narrative form, the hero being Govinda Samanta. It is obvious there must be an element of artificiality in trying to bring together into a single character's career all the varied aspects of the social life of the community, nor does it conduce to the naturalness and flow of the narrative, to intersperse it with descriptive

sketches of at least one social institution for each chapter. It must however be said to the credit of the author that he has minimised the evils inevitable to such a literary scheme and the book does not produce the impression of being particularly laboured. The first idea of those reading the *Folk-Tales of Bengal* will be about the similarity of the tales to those current in other parts of India, a striking commentary on the essential unity of Indian life and civilisation. For what we know, the same tales are being told to-day by old grandmothers to children crowding at their knees from the mountains of the North-West, to Cape Comorin in the South. The giantess masquerading in beautiful human form; life's secret being held in a mysterious golden-necklace; the magical cup showering sweets; and terrible Rakshasas being bearded in their own dens by budding princes—all these must be familiar to Indian readers even, before reading the *Folk-Tales of Bengal*. There has been considerable research in Western countries in the department of folklore, thanks to such organisations as the English Folk-Lore Society. May we suggest that there is almost a virgin field for Indian Scholars in similar investigations with regard to the folklore of this country? An attraction of the two books is the literary scholarship of the author of which we have glimpses almost throughout, in pleasant reminiscence as well as in actual quotation.

4. **POTANA** by D. A. Narasimham, M.A., L. T. (The Golden Press, Rajahmundry, Re. 1-4-0.)

It is probably not very complimentary to the conditions of education obtaining in India to-day that the graduates of our Universities should often know much more of European literatures than of the literatures in the great languages of our own country. In a few cases there is undoubtedly some knowledge of the literature in the mother-tongue, but how often has the literary vision of the educated Indian travelled to other provinces in the country? Thanks to the European attention roused by translations of Rabindranath Tagore in English, some little knowledge of Bengali literature has spread among the *litterateurs* elsewhere in India; but what about Hindi, Mahratti, Guzerati, Tamil and Telugu, the last two of which have been completely ignored as being beyond the orbit of Hindustan proper? Telugu is spoken by more than twenty millions of people, by a population about five times as large as that of Scotland, but how many, outside the Andhra country, are familiar with the life and work of the greatest poet of the language, Potana? Mr. Narasimham has done a very useful piece of service in writing this English brochure on the great Telugu poet and we hope it will soon be possible to read about other Telugu poets also in English. He has presented a critical and comprehensive esti-

mate of various aspects of the poet's work within the short compass of less than a hundred pages and the English translations in verse will enable genuine appreciation of the poet even on the part of the reader unacquainted with his work. Beyond an occasional touch of exaggerated praise, undoubtedly pardonable in one writing about his own mother-tongue, the work is done very well indeed.

5. AEOLIAN NOTES OF AN OVER-STRUNG LYRE by Elsa Kazi (*The Standard Printing Works, Hyderabad-Sindh*).

We congratulate Mrs. Elsa Kazi on the production of this little volume of delicious lyrics and hasten to welcome her as a person belonging to the small band of writers of good English verse in this country. The lyrics are mostly of love and embody beautiful emotion, sobered down to serene recollection here and bursting with passionate energy there, but always distinguished by genuine poetic feeling :

Love lay sleeping in a rose-bud
Rocked by morning air ;
Softly did I bend the petals—
Oh ! how love was fair !

Love had fled ; I saw him flutter
With blue butterflies ;
Saw him smile at crimson clover
And kiss daisy's eyes.

With the sun-beams Love was gleaming
Yet escaped me fast ;—
And I searched, I found him dreaming
In my heart at last.

There is enough evidence in the volume that he is there, and there can be no lack of poetic inspiration in those circumstances. It is the real poet's eye which has seen the spot beyond the bower :

Where high rushes grow
Around a star-lit lake with swans that sing,
And die, to rise with songs that sweeter ring,
There 'mongst the rushes lie the golden beds,
Of asphodel, and through night's violent shades
Flit glow-worms playing with dissolving charm.

The authoress herself will probably admit that the lyre is over-strung in some places and may be somewhat relaxed with great advantage in the next volume—there is a self-perception of the failing in the title itself, and as the lyre is being apparently blown upon in the Indian atmosphere and not amidst the haunts of Greece, it is desirable the notes should begin to acquire some more definite touch with India in the matter used for poetic expression.

6. DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI by N. K. Venkatesam, M. A., L. T., (*Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras*).

A laboured compilation of biographical and critical matter relating to the great Pre-Ra-

phaelite poet which will be read with some interest by students of literature.

6. SAVITRI by B. N. Saletore, B. A., (*Sharada Press, Mangalore*).

A successful attempt in English blank verse, at presenting the immortal story of Savitri, the Indian Laodamia.

8. LOVE AND MARRIAGE by K. Vaikunta Row, B. A., (*The Theistic Endeavour Society, Madras.*)

An inspiring and eloquent exposition, breathing the purest spirit, of the principles of true love.

P. SESHADRI.

THE UPANISHADS translated and commented by Swami Paramananda. Vol. I. Published by the Vedanta Centre, Boston.

The author has been the head of the Vedanta Centre, Boston, for more than ten years past. He has written a number of religious books and is a translator of the Bhagavadgita from the original Sanskrit. His present work contains three Upanishads, viz., Isa, Kena, and Katha. Besides the text in English there are a short commentary and a brief foreword before each Upanishad. It also contains a general introduction.

The translation seems to have been based on that by Max Muller, and so the Swami has unconsciously made some mistakes originally committed by the former. For instance, in the Katha Upanishad, I. 13, 15, the word अग्नि is taken by both of them to mean not the 'fire' but the 'fire-sacrifice'. But this meaning can in no way be supported, as is evident from even their own rendering of the word as the 'fire' in the 19th verse next. On the other hand, we have noticed that in some cases our author's translation excels that of Max Muller. We think the Peace Chant (शान्ति पाठ) in the beginning of the Katha Upanishad has utterly been misunderstood. Sometimes a few words of the text have been left out untranslated, as in the same work, I. 9. "सुखं मेऽस्तु" has not been translated. As regards the commentary he has written it in his own way not depending upon the knotty discussions of the ancient commentators. It is very simple. In spite of the defects noted above, the book can be recommended to general readers. The get-up is excellent.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, LALA LAJPAT RAI, AND VISHNU KRISHNA CHITLUNKAR. *Four Annas each.* G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

The publication of the third edition of the Biographical sketches, brought up to date, of Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai is very timely. These should find a large sale.

Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar was Tilak's friend and fellow-worker in his younger days. He occupies a very high rank among the pioneers of thought and the masters of the Marathi language that the Deccan produced during the last half century. In fact, from him may be said to date the class of publicists, who had decided upon private and independent careers as the only sure condition of effective public work in the cause of the country.

R. C.

SANSKRIT.

MIMAMSA PARIBHASHA-PARISHKARA—A Commentary on the Mimamsa Paribhasha by D. T. Tatacharya Siromani, Chief Professor of Mimamsa, Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, Tanjore, (Published by Tantrodyanam, Tiruvadi, Tanjore.) Pp. 103. Price—Re. 1-4.

The Mimamsa Paribhasha is a compendium of the Mimamsa Philosophy. Brahmasri Pandit Tirumalatatacharya has given the traditional interpretation of the text. The commentary is written in simple Sanskrit and is a useful publication.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

DASHAKUMARACHARITA edited by Pandit S. D. Gajendragadhar, Vyakarananishnata, Shastri, Elphinstone High School, Bombay, and A. B. Gopendragadhar, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Karnatak College, Dharwar. Karnataka Printing Works, Dharwar. Price—Rs. 3-8.

It contains in two parts the *Purvapithika* and the following two *Uchchhasas* of the *Dashakumara-charita*, the well-known prose Kavya of Dandin, together with a Sanskrit commentary, *Balabodhini*, by Pandit S. D. Gajendragadhar, and an Introduction, Notes (critical and explanatory) and four Appendices by Mr. A. B. Gopendragadhar giving the conventions of Sanskrit poets (कविप्रसिद्धि), a list of Panini's Sutas quoted and explained in the notes, and index to the important words interpreted in them and a list of proper names with their short accounts in the original text.

The book is intended mainly for University students. The Sanskrit commentary is simple and indulges neither in brevity nor prolixity, and so it deserves its title, *बालबोधिनी*. In some cases, however, it appears to be defective. The English notes are good and in several places they excel the Sanskrit commentary. But sometimes they step beyond the limit and give fanciful explanations. For instance, see the note on the opening

Shloka (p. 5): "First the word वैविक्रम... of three different men." See also the explanations on नियन्त्रिक (p. 227) which says "The word would also mean 'one who denies the authority of all books, especially the Vedas', hence Jain" (!). The Introduction is well-written and supplies valuable informations.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

A STUDY OF SRIMAD-BHAGAVATAM by T. Ramasubba Sastri, B.A., B.L., Munsiff, Trivandrum. Sridhara Power Press, Trivandrum.

The volume before us contains the original Sanskrit text of the eleventh Skandha of the *Srimad-Bhagavata*, which is too well known to require any introduction, together with an English translation by Mr. Sastri. In this portion of the foremost work of the *Bhaktimarga* the Supreme Bliss or emancipation is described both in brief and detail in thirty-one chapters pointing out the simple and direct path thereto illustrating it by several very interesting stories. It is said there that a follower of that path is never struck by any impediment, nor does he fall down, nor stumbles even if he run thereby shutting his eyes. Any believer in God, we believe, will derive immense benefit by its perusal.

The translation is not good. It is too free and sometimes it rather may be called the author's own explanation. It is specially written by the author in the hope that it will help the study of religion by our Hindu youths.

In the end of the book Mr. Sastri has added his two essays in vindication of Hinduism. He has mainly shown therein the advantages of and the evils produced by the Western civilisation which has principally been productive of materialism. He has also pointed out that according to him Hindu religion and Hindu philosophy are "no impediments for any educated Indian putting forth efforts towards material prosperity or working for social or political ideals." He admits, there are portions of our *Shastras* which are worn out and require overhauling and readjustment in reference to present condition. But he rightly says, it is possible "only when the educated Hindu takes the pains to understand his religion and philosophy." Explaining all these in his essays he concludes by saying that "the Hindu religion and the Hindu philosophy alone can save us from succumbing to the onslaught of the fierce materialism and mammonism of modern days."

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Upanishads.

In the *Arya* for June, Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh continuing his series on *The Defence of Indian Culture*, writes about the Upanishads :

This character of the Upanishads needs to be insisted upon with a strong emphasis, because it is ignored by foreign translators who seek to bring out the intellectual sense without feeling the life of thought, vision and the ecstasy of spiritual experience which made the ancient verses appear then and still make them to those who can enter into the element in which these utterances move, a revelation not to the intellect alone, but to the soul and the whole being, make of them in the old expressive word not intellectual thought and phrase, but *Sruti*, spiritual audience, an inspired Scripture..... The Upanishads have been the acknowledged source of numerous profound philosophies and religions that flowed from it in India like her great rivers from their Himalayan cradle fertilising the mind and life of the people and kept its soul alive through the long procession of the centuries, constantly returned to for light, never failing to give fresh illumination, a fountain of inexhaustible life-giving waters.

Mr. Ghosh mentions some of the Indian and foreign systems of philosophy which are indebted to the Upanishads.

Buddhism with all its developments was only a restatement, although from a new standpoint and with fresh terms of intellectual definition and reasoning, of one side of its experience and it carried it thus changed to form but hardly in substance over all Asia and westward towards Europe. The ideas of the Upanishads can be rediscovered in much of the thought of Pythagoras and Plato and form the profoundest part of Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism with all their considerable consequences to the philosophical thinking of the west, and Sufism only repeats them in another religious language. The larger part of German metaphysics is little more in substance than an intellectual development of great realities more spiritually seen in this ancient teaching, and modern thought is rapidly absorbing them with a closer, more living and intense receptiveness which promises a revolution both in philosophical and in religious thinking; here they are filtering in through many indirect influences, there slowly pouring through direct and open channels. There is hardly a main philosophical idea which cannot find an authority or a seed or indication in these antique writings.

The author describes the spiritual substance and the outward form of the Upanishads in the following brilliant and comprehensive passage :—

The Upanishads are the creation of a revelatory

and intuitive mind and its illumined experience, and all their substance, structure, phrase, imagery, movement are determined by and stamped with this original character. These supreme and all-embracing truths, these visions of oneness and self and a universal divine being are cast into brief and monumental phrases which bring them at once before the soul's eye and make them real and imperative to its aspiration and experience or are couched in poetic sentences full of revealing power and suggestive thought-colour that discover a whole infinite through a finite image. The One is there revealed, but also disclosed the many aspects, and each is given its whole significance by the amplitude of the expression and finds as if in a spontaneous self-discovery its place and its connection by the illumining justness of each word and all the phrase. The largest metaphysical truths and the subtlest subtleties of psychological experience are taken up into the inspired movement and made at once precise to the seeing mind and loaded with unending suggestion to the discovering spirit. There are separate phrases, single couplets, brief passages which contain each in itself the substance of a vast philosophy and yet each is only thrown out as a side, an aspect, a portion of the infinite self-knowledge. All here is a packed and pregnant and yet perfectly lucid and luminous brevity and an immeasurable completeness. A thought of this kind cannot follow the tardy, careful and diffuse development of the logical intelligence. The passage, the sentence, the couplet, the line, even the half line follows the one that precedes with a certain interval full of an unexpressed thought, an echoing silence between them, a thought which is carried in the total suggestion and implied in the step itself, but which the mind is left to work out for its own profit, and these intervals of pregnant silence are large, the steps of this thought are like the paces of a Titan striding from rock to distant rock across infinite waters. There is a perfect totality, a comprehensive connection of harmonious parts in the structure of each Upanishad; but it is done in the way of a mind that sees masses of truth at a time and stops to bring only the needed word out of a filled silence.

The correspondence of the form to the substance is thus brought out :

The rhythm in verse or cadenced prose corresponds to the sculpture of the thought and the phrase. The metrical forms of the Upanishads are made up of four half lines each clearly cut, the lines mostly complete in themselves and integral in sense, the half lines presenting two thoughts or distinct parts of a thought that are wedded to and complete each other, and the sound movement follows a corresponding principle, each step brief and marked off by the distinctness of its pause, full of echoing cadences that remain long vibrating in the inner hearing : each is as if a wave of the infinite that carries in it the whole voice and rumour of the ocean. It is a kind of poetry—word of vision, rhythm of the spirit,—that has not been written before or after.

Future Poetry.

As a conclusion to his series of articles on 'The Future Poetry', Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh writes in the July number of *Arya* :

The world is making itself anew under a great spiritual pressure, the old things are passing away and the new things ready to come into being, and it may be that some of the old nations that have been the leaders of the past and the old literatures that have been hitherto the chosen vehicles of strong poetic creation may prove incapable of holding the greater breath of the new spirit and be condemned to fall into decadence. It may be that we shall have to look for the future creation to new poetical literatures that are not yet born or are yet in their youth and first making or, though they have done something in the past, have still to reach their greatest voice and compass.

The reasons for the apprehended incapacity of the old literatures are stated thus :

A language passes through its cycle and grows aged and decays by many maladies ; it stagnates perhaps by the attachment of its life to a past tradition and mould of excellence from which it cannot get away without danger to its principle of existence or a straining and breaking of its possibilities and a highly coloured decadence ; or, exhausted in its creative vigour, it passes into that attractive but dangerous phase of art for art's sake which makes of poetry no longer a high and fine outpouring of the soul and the life but a hedonistic indulgence and dilettantism of the intelligence. These and other signs of age are not absent from the greater European literary tongues, and at such a stage it becomes a difficult and a critical experiment to attempt at once a transformation of spirit and of the inner cast of poetic language.

Nevertheless there is hope for the rejuvenescence of the old literatures.

There is yet in the present ferment and travail a compelling force of new potentiality, a saving element in the power that is at the root of the call to change, the power of the spirit ever strong to transmute life and mind and make all young again, and once this magical force can be accepted in its completeness and provided there is no long-continued floundering among perverted inspirations or half motives, the old literatures may enter rejuvenated into a new creative cycle.

What is the condition of the completeness of the coming poetry ?

The pouring of a new and greater self-vision of man and Nature and existence into the idea and the life is the condition of the completeness of the coming poetry. It is a large setting and movement of life opening a considerable expansion to the human soul and mind that has been in the great ages of literature the supreme creative stimulus. The discovery of a fresh intellectual or aesthetic motive of the kind that was common in the last century initiates only an ephemeral ripple on the surface and seldom creates work of the very first order. The real inspiration enters with a more complete movement, an enlarged horizon of life, a widening of the fields of the idea, a

heightening of the flight of the spirit. The change that is at present coming over the mind of the race began with a wider cosmic vision.....

Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh explains what he means by this 'wider cosmic vision,' as follows :

It is a realising of the godhead in the world and in man, of his divine possibilities as well of the greatness of the power that manifests in what he is, a spiritualised uplifting of his thought and feeling and sense and action, a more developed psychic mind and heart, a truer and a deeper insight into his nature and the meaning of the world, a calling of divine potentialities and more spiritual values into the intention and structure of his life that is the call upon humanity, the prospect offered to it by the slowly unfolding and now more clearly disclosed Self of the universe.

And predicts :

The nations that most include and make real these things in their life and culture are the nations of the coming dawn and the poets of whatever tongue and race who most completely see with this vision and speak with the inspiration of its utterance are those who shall be the creators of the poetry of the future.

Japan's Economic Progress.

In the *Hindustan Review* Mr. K. K. Kawakami writes that the transformation of Japan from a hermit nation, 'slumbering in seclusion, to a great trading power, whose manufactures are carried into all parts of the world by a great merchant marine flying its own flag, has taken place in a short period of fifty years.

Half a century ago Japan had no foreign trade to speak of. To-day her imports total 1,948,000,000 yen and her exports 1,822,000,000 yen.

When Commodore Perry knocked at Japan's doors, she had neither ships of war nor ocean-going vessels of commerce. To-day she has a merchant marine totaling almost two million tons.

Of Japan's foreign trade Mr. Kawakami writes :

While Japan's merchant marine and her shipbuilding industry have made phenomenal progress, her foreign trade advanced apace. Nor is this surprising. Japan, small in area and congested with population, must perforce become a trading and manufacturing nation. To opulent nations, such as Great Britain and America, occupying, possessing or controlling vast territories storing enormous resources, the stimulus of foreign commerce is simply a means of increasing their wealth, already great. To Japan it is a question of life or death.

In the opinion of the Japanese, the first step Japan had to build factories, in steel, cotton, silk, etc.

When Japan began to build factories, she first took up the filature plant and spinning and weaving.

Europe looked askance and even deplored that she should abandon the century-old handicrafts indigenous to her soil. The fact is that Japan simply had to abandon at least some of them and adopt in their stead a modern system of industry, if she was to withstand the political and economic pressure that had inevitably followed her entrance into the maelstrom of international rivalry. She had to recognize that the profits from the minor arts and crafts, for which she had justly been celebrated, fell far short of supplying her needs in the modern competitive world into which she had willy-nilly been introduced through the good offices of Western powers, and especially the American Government. Only by manufacturing staple commodities on a large scale could she hope to exist as an independent and thriving nation.

Indian Colonisation of Java.

In the *Hindustan Review* Mr. Phanindranath Bose, M.A., gives linguistic proofs of the Indian colonisation of Java. He shows that in the *Kawi* (Kavi—poetic), i.e., the ancient Javanese language, the names of the days of the week, of the ten numerals, of the four cardinal points, and various other words are the same as in Sanskrit.

Trade Union Organisation in India.

Many people, says Dr. Gilbert Slater, in the *Indian Review*, are disposed to think that the mere existence of Trade Unions in India is an undesirable superfluity. He does not think so. On the contrary, he congratulates Madras on being the province which has taken the lead in the organisation of permanent unions, with definite objects and rules, and in the recognition by Government of labour organisation as an important factor in local industry. In Dr. Slater's opinion,

(1) In these days of big businesses, owned by joint-stock companies, it is manifestly unfair that the employees shall be deprived of all voice with regard to those aspects of the business which specially affect them. The shareholders may say, "It is our business, if the employees do not like the conditions they may go elsewhere," but, as a matter of fact, it is usually much easier for a shareholder to sell out his stock in one company and buy stock in another, than it is for the worker to "go elsewhere." Particularly in the case of an artisan with specialised skill and ability, the loss of his job may mean ruin to his family. (2) Frequently employers are prevented from doing what they would like for their workers by the selfishness of the workers among themselves. In many trades employers pay much higher wages than competing employers in the same city, it must put up its prices and in consequence be in danger of bankruptcy. The freedom the employers enjoy in the absence of Trade Unionism may mean in practice

that the whole body of employers in a particular industry is coerced by the worst employer.

(3) Although there has been much dispute over the matter among economists, I do not think there is any doubt that effective and wisely conducted Trade Unionism raises wages, and elevates the whole standard of life, not only among Trade Unionists themselves, but also in the whole labouring community of which they are part. My own pre-war estimate in England was that something like half the wage received by the British manual worker was the result of Trade Unionism, or in other words, average wages for purely manual labour were about twice as high in Great Britain in 1910 as they would have been if no unions had ever been organised. I fancy that observers in Madras will generally agree that, in spite of some ill-advised and disastrous strikes, Madras Trade Unionism has, on the whole, operated in the direction of increase of wages. And we are no doubt all agreed that the poverty of the South Indian manual worker has been, and is still, extreme and deplorable.

(4) Ultimately the intellectual stimulus and training in organisation which is supplied when the manual workers themselves manage their own unions can hardly be over-valued.

Shorter Hours of Work.

In an article on shorter hours of work contributed by Mr. K. S. Abhyankar, B.A., to *Commerce and Industries*, it is stated that the conditions of labour in India being different from those in most Western countries, the Washington Conference, while recommending generally an eight hours' day or forty-eight hours' week for the Western countries, recommended a ten hours' day or a sixty hours' week for countries such as India.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, who was nominated by the Indian Government to represent Indian labour at the conference while personally favouring an eight hours day did not press for it, as he saw no chance of its being acceptable, either to the Indian Government or to the Indian capitalists or even to the Indian public in general, who are jealous of the competition of foreign countries.

Mr. Abhyankar's article contains some of the reasons why employers of labour in India favour long hours.

Some employers are afraid that the proposed reduction of the hours of work will mean a reduction in output. They complain of the loitering tendency of the Indian workman. Mr. D. M. Wadia, for example, says, "It is not too much to say that a man supposed to work 12 hours in a factory is not actually employed for more than half that time. Dawdling is ingrained in the habits of the people, and a good part of the day the factory hand lounges about the compound, chatting and smoking bidis." The Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in deprecating any tinkering with the hours of work in Indian industries, urged that the Indian labourer prefers a leisurely

manner of doing his day's toil to a more exacting if shorter day. His Excellency the Viceroy complained of the inability of Indian labour to concentrate effort over a shorter working period. Witnesses before the Industrial Commission made the same complaint. One or two prominent factory owners stated that the operatives did not actually work for more than 8 hours out of the 12 at present permitted by the factory law; and some witnesses said that even if the hours of work were reduced, workmen would still waste so much time as seriously to reduce the present rate of production.

As against the above, the writer sets forth some of the advantages of shorter hours.

As acknowledged by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, this *loitering tendency is due partly to excessive hours of work*; and the remedy lies in reducing the hours and giving the workmen more time for rest, repose and recreation. The housing conditions in industrial cities, the want of any inclination for healthy recreation as a result of fagging brought on by over-work, the insanitary conditions of work in factories, the drinking habit which is also a result of fagging, and the low standard of life, all these are responsible for the lack of energy of the workman. To make him more efficient, his conditions of work must be improved. These wretched conditions are also to a great extent responsible for the migratory habits of the Indian workman. "Good housing and shorter hours," said Mr. N. N. Wadia at the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, "will enable us to build up a permanent class of labour in Bombay and throughout India from which our operatives can be locally recruited." In other countries, as the Industrial Commission point out, shorter factory hours have exercised an important effect in the direction of improving the standard of living of factory hands; why should not the same effect follow from the same cause in this country? Another advantage of shorter hours pointed out by the Commission is that they help in diminishing the congestion of labourers' dwellings, by giving time for employees to come in from areas situated at a little distance from their work.

Shorter hours do not necessarily mean reduced output.

The Burmese Oil Company tried the experiment of reducing the hours of work, and it proved successful. Last year they reduced the working hours at the Syrium refineries from eleven and a half (including the hour and a half allowed for meals) to ten hours (including two hours for meals). It is reported that this has resulted in a decided improvement in the quality of the work and in a greater contentment among the workers.

The proper reduction of working hours does not in the long run mean a reduction of output. The General Federation of Labour, has summarized the demands of the working people in the formula, "Maximum production in minimum time for maximum wages." It thus recognizes the truth that shorter hours must not be accompanied by a reduction in output.

A further advantage of shorter hours is thus pointed out.

One advantage of shorter hours is that they allow

machinery to be worked for a longer time with a double shift for the workmen. In these days when machinery gets out of date in a few years, it is an economy to keep it idle during, say, twelve hours every day. With an eight hours day and with a double shift it can be worked for sixteen hours. Moreover, machinery that cannot be profitably introduced for ten or a twelve hours day can at times be introduced for a sixteen hours day. In the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, for example, the plant and machinery is kept going on for twentyfour hours a day in three shifts of eight hours each. It is, however, reported that owing probably to lack of an adequate supply of trained labourers, the workmen there have many times to work for sixteen hours and occasionally even for twentyfour hours at a stretch in the absence of any of their number owing to illness or some other cause.

Humanitarianism, Nationalism, and Provincialism.

In the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* for August, we read;—

In India of the past, her great sons Buddha, Sakya, Chaitanya breaking through all the narrow barriers of provincialism and caste preached their respective noble doctrines, broad-cast throughout the length and breadth of India, thereby instilling in their adherents that India was all one. And this idea of India's oneness is further exemplified in the homage that pilgrims are called upon to pay to the holy places of pilgrimage irrespective of their provincial aspect as to where those places may be situated. Behind the doctrines of those great religious teachers, there was the composite all-embracing love, all-Indian patriotism.

The writer could have gone further and stated without being guilty of inaccuracy that these greater teachers taught for all mankind.

The writer adds:

The patriotism which is taught to the people through our National Congress is not narrow. It is an all-India affair and the old builders of the Congress were absolutely correct in laying its foundation as they did. And from its platform we remember the late Mr. Gokhale telling us that we must think ourselves to be Indians first and then think ourselves to be Bengalees, Madrasies, Bombayites, Punjabies or whatever our individual provincial colouring may be. Everybody remembers how Bengal suffered owing to the Partition of Bengal and how it was made into an all-India question because the patriotism of the other parts of India had transcended all narrowness, and sympathy flowed towards Bengal from all parts of India. Recent Jiluwala Bagh affair is another illustration in point. It is an all-India question.

In view of all these facts, we are pained to find that our influential Bengalee Contemporary the Narayan, in its Sravan number, contains a paper under the title of '*Banglar Pran*' (Bengal's Life) from the pen of Mr. Barindra Kumar Ghosh, wherein he has preached the reverse doctrine of a narrow insular 'Bengalese' patriotism as being quite the fit and proper thing for a Bengalee to adhere to in preference

to the all-India patriotism toward which our people have been steadily progressing.

If Mr. Ghose's doctrine was accepted as correct in principle and carried out, will it not isolate Bengal from the sympathy of the rest of India and can that be possibly good for Bengal? We ask a plain question.

The Value of English as a Foreign Language.

Recently Mr. Alfred E. Hayes, General Secretary of the English Language Union, read a paper at the Royal Society of Arts, London. *Indian Education* summarises parts of the paper.

In the course of his paper, Mr. Hayes stated that the English language is more widely spoken than any other. More than half the newspapers, magazines and books of the world are printed in the English tongue. As regards newspapers, etc., this is a sweeping statement and one would like to see evidence and statistics in support of it. The main effect of Mr. Hayes' paper is to show conclusively that the use of the English language is spreading in Europe and in Asia. He quotes Mr. Barnes, the English labour leader, with regard to the use of English at the International Labour Conference of last year, which met at Washington. At this conference English and French were the official languages. "In the case of India, Japan, China, Siam and Persia, all their delegates spoke English, many of them fluently."

Outside English-speaking countries, English will always be valuable as a foreign language. It must be so, for commercial reasons, so long as the quality of British and American goods is maintained.

There are further reasons for the wide use of English.

For instance, a scientific man naturally wants to have his researches made widely known. Naturally also, other scientific workers in the same line want to know about his work: they want to know because the work may be of positive help to them and also in order that they may not spend their time in vain by doing again what has already been done. Hence the great bulk of scientific work is published in German, English and French. English is the language in which some scientific work is published in Holland and in Japan. Publication of scientific work in English has the advantage of making the work accessible to workers throughout the British Empire and the United States of America.

Against Kissing of Babies.

The Social Reformer of Jaffna, Ceylon, summarises some medical opinions on indiscriminate kissing. Dr. Harry Roberts, lecturer on Analytic Chemistry in the London University, writing on the subject in the June number of the *Strand Magazine*, says:

Kissing between lovers is perfectly natural and

entirely desirable. In a lesser degree the same is true of mother and infant. In the court of æsthetics and common sense every other kiss should be a capital offence. All the customary kissing by actresses and aunts is merely silly, for, generally it gives no pleasure to either parties. "To kiss a child against its will should certainly be a penal offence."

Dr. Robert Bell, F.R.F.P.S., Vice-President of the International Cancer Research Society, writing on this subject, says:—

"No doubt kissing, as a testimony of affection of the right sort is excusable when the kisser and kissed are well-known to each other and are also known to be healthy. But promiscuous kissing should be avoided as one would avoid taking poison, seeing it is liable in many instances, to convey a poison in the shape of disease. Especially it is the duty of mothers and kind nurses to prevent babies being fondled and kissed by outsiders, and even by their intimate friends, if there is the least doubt of their being perfectly healthy persons. For it goes without saying that disease may readily be, and doubtless is, not infrequently conveyed to infants by the rapturous mode of giving expression to pseudo-affection.

As for kissing dogs and cats, from my standpoint it is most revolting, for they are known to be frequent carriers of disease germs in their fur. Moreover the vermin with which they are more or less infested also are disease-carriers. Therefore, children, who as a rule are fond of animals, should be forbidden to fondle them."

Dr. Romme, the famous French physician, expresses the same opinion "regarding the dangerous results of kissing, especially cats and dogs, and also of indiscriminate kissing of babies by strangers."

The Ideal Teacher.

Mr. P. L. Narasimham puts forward a high ideal of the teaching profession, in the *Educational Review* of Madras. Says he:—

Preceptors are always on a par with priests. What the latter do for the soul, that the former do for the mind. While the moral side of a nation is in the hands of the priests, the mental or the intellectual side is in the hands of the preceptors. In all climes and countries the imparting of education is considered to be sacred and holy. Nothing is more worthy of reverence and respect than to be a member of the community, the end and aim of which is to dispel the darkness of ignorance and shed a halo of light and lustre. In ancient India the Guru was highly revered by the people. In those golden days the disciples considered their wealth, health, nay life, as nothing and parted with them very freely, if they were in the least found to be useful to their Guru. In these days when the spirit of democracy pervades through the veins of even country rustics, the village master is looked upon with esteem by the peasants and farmers. In larger places education is merely reduced to shopping.

And, in the writer's opinion, that is because teachers are falling short of the ideal.

Many are labouring under the wrong notion that any man and every man can be a teacher, teaching does not require any systematic work and the teachers are the most leisurely people in the world. This erroneous notion is solely due to the lack of insight into the work to be turned out by a conscientious teacher. Many are to be the merits of an ideal teacher and if anyone in the line tries to exert himself and come up to the level, he will know for certain whether the profession is after all so easy-going as is generally thought to be.

The ideal of the teacher may be summarised from the article as follows :—

In the first place every teacher should try to be a walking bundle of regular and steady habits. Secondly, the teacher should fill the greater part of his leisure time with study. Thirdly, the teacher should take physical exercise regularly every day. Fourthly, every teacher ought to respect the dignity of labour. Manual labour is looked down upon by many teachers and students, so much so that carpentry, clay-modelling do not find place in many a school. Fifthly, as far as his school work is concerned, he should daily make a conscientious preparation of the lessons he has to teach in class. Sixthly, a teacher should attempt at a clear, lucid and skilful exposition of the matter he wants his pupils to carry. Seventhly, at the close of every lesson there should be recapitulation. Lastly he should make provision for a number of periodical examinations when he is to examine the pupils only on portions done after the previous examination.

Another article in the *Educational Review* shows that the most capable men are not attracted to the profession of teaching because of the poor pay and prospects which it offers.

The White Man as a Crushing Burden.

According to the *Collegian*,

A book of great interest is the semi-anthropological semi-romantic *White Shadows in the South Seas* (Century Co., N. Y. 1919) by F. O'Brien. "Hundred years ago," writes the author, "there were 160,000 Marquesans in these Islands. To-day their total number does not reach 2,100." O'Brien describes the detrimental effects of Christianity on the life of these "savages". For he believes that the so-called "superstitions" of these races had a tremendous vitalizing influence. Their dancing, their tattooing, their religious rites, their chanting, and their warfare gave them a zest in life. But to-day "all Polynesians from Hawaii to Tahiti are dying because of the suppression of the play-instinct that had its expression in most of their customs and occupations." Deprived of their old spiritual life owing to the compulsion by the whites to adopt alien customs these islanders are now "nothing but joyless machines", and are "tired of life". Disease, of course, is the weapon that kills them; but it "finds its victims unguarded by hope or desire to

live, willing to meet death halfway, the grave a haven."

Asoka's Mining Department.

Commerce has been publishing a series of useful and interesting articles on India's Hidden Wealth, written by Mr. A. Merry Smith, M. I. M. M. (London). From the second article of the series, we learn that

Chinese travellers in India mention that in Asoka's (the great Buddhist Emperor of India) time (B.C. 250) there was a well-established Mining Department with mining engineers, mine inspectors, laboratories, etc. The Portuguese Jesuit fathers (16th Century A.D.) writing of Chinese travel in very early time mention the existence of Chinese writings in the library at Hankow which give an account of Asoka's Mining Department and of a book of instructions to his officers engaged in this work. Recent research has brought to light a copy of this work and the epigraphists of the Mysore Government are at present engaged in making a translation of it. Mention is made of the seaport of Puri in Orissa as a place of call for Chinese merchants who exchanged their silver for gold, mined in the neighbouring districts. The rate of exchange was twelve of silver to one of gold.

How Bengal Zemindars Can Help The Ryots.

Rai Lalit K. Mitra writes in the *Bengal Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* :—

It is an undisputed fact that the provision of credit to the Ryots by itself will not solve the problem either of rural indebtedness or of the poverty of the people. The Physiocratic doctrine that agriculture is the only productive industry does not seem to us to be entirely fallacious. For the real material progress of any country depends on its self-sufficiency as regards its agricultural products. The increase in the agricultural wealth of a country is a sure index of national prosperity than the statistics about foreign trade.

India is mainly an agricultural country. The Indian Ryots, like their brothers elsewhere, are heavily involved in debt, and are rather averse to changing their time-honoured method of agricultural production. Since the advent of Co-operation more than 20,000 *Credit Societies* have been started in India. The Ryot has been given facilities for borrowing, but he has not been taught how the borrowed money is to be utilised in increasing the productive capacity of his land. It is here that the Zemindars can come to the aid of the helpless Ryots by organising among the Ryots, Co-operative Production Societies, and by introducing among the members of such societies labour-saving and productivity-increasing machines like Tractors. The advantages of using this kind of Tractor are diverse in kind.

All kinds of work involved in agriculture, such as ploughing, harrowing, seeding, harvesting, hatching

etc., can be done by the use of Tractors more expensively and more economically.

Mr. Mitra gives tables to show

That the expenses of agricultural work will be reduced by half by the introduction of Tractors, while the outturn will be increased by about 10 Mds. per Bigha or 30 Mds. per Acre. It will require greater space than we can command to bring home the manifold advantages to be derived from the Tractor when applied to the work of agriculture. It can work on every kind of soil, sandy, wet, hard, soft, heavy or light; and on every plot of land whether large or small (the minimum area required being one Bigha or one third of an Acre). The Tractors pump water for irrigation purposes and this is no mean advantage to agricultural production in many parts of India; by its belt-pulley the Tractor may also work the majority of farm machines, such as, winnowers, chaff-cutters, threshers, circular-saws and the like.

Another remarkable fact about these Tractors is that they cost nothing when they remain idle. With the cessation of their work the expenses also cease, and the bullocks and cows which were used in cultivating land could be put to other economic uses. Their power is generated by the use of cheap kerosene, whereas cattle require for their maintenance such dear food-stuffs as corn, oilcakes, grass, etc.

The Zemindar should himself purchase the above Tractor, cultivate his *Khas* lands (if he has any) with it, and loan it out to the members of the Co-operative Society at a reasonable rent.

But the mere formation of such societies will not do.

If the agricultural products of the members of the society have to be sold at a loss to the *Mahajans* and the middlemen, the Ryots will scarcely derive any benefit. To give the Ryots the full benefit of the use of the scientific mechanical methods of production, the Zemindars may usefully buy out the agricultural products of the society. If the individual members of the society, *i. e.*, the Ryots sell their surplus products to the Zemindars, it will put an end to the pernicious system under which the *Mahajans*, who advance money to the Ryots as *Dadans*, throttle the poor peasants by compelling them to dispose of their crops at costs much below those obtaining in the market. And these products may be sent to the Wholesale Society about which Prof. P. Mookerji moved a resolution at the recent meeting of the Board of the Bengal Agricultural Department.

Leprosy in India.

According to Mr. T. S. Krishnamurthi, who has contributed an article on Leprosy in India to the *Social Service Quarterly* we owe it to the active efforts of the Mission to the Lepers to arouse the conscience of the State and the public that an amendment to the Indian Leper Act has already been brought forward in the Imperial Legislative Council.

The amendment to the Act contains three provisions: (1) widening the definition of the term leprosy so as to include all manifestations of it, as suggested by the Conference; (2) empowering Local Governments to build asylums or establish colonies; and (3) appointing special officers in addition to the Police for taking charge of pauper lepers. The proposed amendments, though useful in themselves, do not, however, go far enough. Indeed, considering that action should have been taken long ago, the Government would not be running any risk of arousing public displeasure or evoking popular opposition if they introduced more radical and vigorous amendments, for the country is generally ripe for any stringent measures they might take for the eradication of leprosy. So far as the definition of a leper is concerned, the present amendment will cover all cases not only of open sores but even cases of not outwardly visible ulceration, which are capable of contagion by means of nasal and other discharges. At any rate, we hope there will be no loop-hole for any pauper leper to escape the enforcement of the clauses relating to segregation. But, the Bill falls short of the expectations of those who have given thought to the subject in that it does not contain any provision for the separation of the sexes and for the separation of the children; in most cases untainted, from the parents. The Leper Conference has asserted definitely that "segregation of the lepers should be maintained", and that "children born of infected parents, shall be separated from them." These may be questions of detail, perhaps to be carried out by the authorities of the asylums or colonies; but it will be possible for them to enforce vigorously the separation of the sexes and the separation of the children from the parents, only if they have the backing of the legislature.

Mr. Krishnamurthi rightly points out that

It is further a great drawback in the Bill that there is no provision for prohibiting lepers from pursuing certain callings such as the preparing, handling, or selling of eatables or other articles of common use. This is a point which all sanitarians and health authorities should press on the attention of the Government. As it is not practicable to segregate all lepers, it is enough for the present if, as suggested in the proposed amendment, all pauper lepers are segregated. Public opinion too is certainly not ripe for putting well-to-do lepers on the same plane as pauper lepers. Our people have not yet developed the mentality which made it possible for the complete extinction of the disease in the West. But they will certainly not be averse to any action which aims at controlling the free movements of lepers. If it is put to the people that the interests of public health and sanitation require such a control even of well-to-do lepers, they will begin to appreciate and support such action. Knowing full well that the eradication of the disease is possible only by removing all sources of contagion, there is no reason why these lepers should not be put under some kind of restraint even in their own homes, that they may not handle eatables, may not use or frequent and thus contaminate tanks and rivers and public places of worship or markets. Since the adoption of a provision of the nature will not involve much hardship or entail much expense it is to be hoped that an amendment to that effect will be

incorporated in the Bill. The Conference referred to above has rightly laid stress on "the grave danger to the community of unrestricted association with lepers", and this view, coming as it does from experts, should strengthen the case for action. There is no reason why the Government, directed as it is mostly by

Westerners, who make a fetish of food and milk being untouched by hand, or water unpolluted or uncontaminated by any the slightest trace of infection, should hesitate to adopt the most elementary safeguards in matters of health.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Unrest in Africa.

The Living Age writes:—

Native unrest is manifesting itself through Northern Africa. The Italians have recently suffered serious reverses and lost some garrisons in Tripoli. Now that the colored troops are returning from the war, the French discover new discontent among the subject races in Algiers and Tunis; so that the political situation there has become a matter of some concern and comment in the French press. *L'Humanite* naturally looks at the question from an anti-Imperialist viewpoint, and comments as follows:

"Their hereditary hostility is finding new sources of support. Native soldiers who have returned from France manifest a new spirit of independence and criticism. They debate and protest even in public, and are less ready than formerly to recognize the absolute authority of those who used to rule like demigods.....At Algiers and Oran, the Arabic candidates opposed to the government have been elected by crushing majorities."

The People versus the Profiteers.

High prices and profiteers appear to be the order of the day all over the civilised world. The overall movement in the United States and Great Britain is a sign of the times. Of France and Spain the *Living Age* says:—

In some rural districts of France the people have boycotted all kinds of lighting except candles,—not necessarily much of a change,—have begun to sow more flax, and are resorting to the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom to provide their own clothing. In some cities societies have been formed of men who agree not to wear collars and cuffs. It is even proposed to abstain entirely from the use of meat, especially veal, lamb, and chicken. In Spain the most prominent single movement is to substitute Catalan sandals, which are a traditional form of foot-wear used by peasants and laborers in that province, in place of shoes.

Bolshevism in Persia.

According to the *Living Age*, the London *Morning Post*, in an alarmist article upon the

Bolshevist advance in Persia, alludes to 'the notorious Kuchi Khan,' who was formerly the chief figure in a society formed in North Persia by Persian students of extreme socialist principles, known as the 'Brotherhood of the Forest.'

This organization is still active, and its members are now called 'Janglis'. The latter are not a tribe, as stated in certain books about that country. Kuchi Khan was for a time a provincial governor, and in 1917 declared for the Turks. Later he came to terms with the British, but more recently has been a refugee.

Avanti, the official organ of the Italian Socialists, quotes extensive evidence of the rapid propagation of Bolshevist doctrines in Mohammedan Asia. A leading local paper, *Iran*, has published a series of articles showing that Bolshevist teaching incorporates the purest evangel of Islam, and is but a modern and political version of all that Mohammed taught of religion in the Koran. Even polygamy and freedom of divorce are cited in support of this argument. The Bolsheviks are represented as the spiritual allies of the Persians, and their providential saviors from the English. Another newspaper published at Teheran, *Saday*, after tracing a parallel between Mohammed and Lenin, devoted itself to a virulent attack upon England, which it accused of trying to make Persia another Egypt or Afghanistan. All the larger cities of Persia are said to have been the scene recently of violent uprisings, which have been ruthlessly suppressed. However, insurrection remains practically unchecked throughout the country regions.

Manual Work and Work with the Brains.

Hitherto the manual labourer has been undervalued and underpaid, if not also despised. Now in countries where the labour movement is in the ascendant and particularly in those under Bolshevist influence, those who work with the brains seem to be looked upon as idlers and undervalued in consequence. But, without trying to fix the relative worth of bodily labour and mental labour, it may be said that both are necessary and honorable and neither can be

without the other. *L' Illustration*, the Paris illustrated literary weekly, has something very opposite to say on the subject. It asks: "Is the locomotive a driver is about to start, which is the tool of his trade, a product of his own labour?" No. Then the study of the locomotive is continued.

It was constructed by hand-workers—but after whose design? After plans invented by other workers, men who worked with their brains. But going still further back, it was necessary first to explore the laws of mechanics, and who did that? Scientists and scholars bent over abstruse mathematical calculations and complex laboratory apparatus—men who hardly ever used their hands in direct production. These scientists and scholars, and their colleagues, the physicists, chemists, and geologists,—for all the sciences co-operate in every invention,—how were they produced? Where did they study? In universities. And who founded and endowed such institutions? Possibly princes and high officials and noblemen, or wealthy men of the middle class. In some degree innumerable beneficent impulses and efforts have contributed to create these complex instruments of production. All these contributors have added something to the output of the workingman, whose service they have rendered possible. They retain a right of ownership in that service. Enter a factory, descend into a mine, visit a studio—all the people there employed, whatever they may be doing or thinking or planning, are consciously or unconsciously participants in some joint service. This universal co-operation makes the particular trade of each worker possible. To repudiate that co-operation is to commit social suicide. Men are prisoners within this system, but at the same time its beneficiaries.

Satanism and the World Order.

Professor Gilbert Murray's Adamson lecture, entitled "Satanism and the World Order," recently delivered in Manchester, has appeared in full in the *Century* in a revised form. The gist of what he means to say will appear from the extracts we are going to make. He writes:—

An appalling literature of hatred is in existence, dating at least from the eighth century B. C., in which unwilling subjects have sung and exulted over the downfall of the various great empires, or at least poured out the delirious, though often beautiful, visions of their long-deferred hope. The burden of Nineveh, the burden of Tyre, the burden of Babylon—these are recorded in some of the finest poetry of the world. The fall of Rome, the rise of her own vile sons against her, the plunging of the scarlet woman in the lake of eternal torture and the slaying of the three quarters of mankind who bowed down to her, form one of the most eloquent and imaginative parts of the canonical Apocalypse. The cry of oppressed peoples against the Turk and the Russian is written in many languages and renewed in many centuries.

What makes this sort of literature so appalling is, first, that it is inspired by hatred; next, that the hatred is at least in part just; and, thirdly, the knowledge that we ourselves are now sitting in the throne once occupied by the objects of these execrations. Perhaps most of us are so accustomed to think of Babylon and Nineveh and Tyre and even Rome as seats of mere tyranny and corruption that we miss the real meaning and warning of their history. These imperial cities mostly rose to empire not because of their faults, but because of their virtues; because they were strong and competent and trustworthy, and, within their borders and among their own people were mostly models of effective justice. And we think of them as mere types of corruption! The hate they inspired among their subjects has utterly swamped, in the memory of mankind, the benefits of their good government or the contented and peaceful lives which they made possible to their own peoples. It is an awe-inspiring thought for us who now stand in their place.

The spirit that I have called Satanism, the spirit of unmixt hatred toward the existing world order, the spirit which rejoices in any widespread disaster which is also a disaster to the world's rulers, is perhaps more rife to-day than it has been for over a thousand years. It is felt to some extent against all ordered governments, but chiefly against all imperial governments, and it is directed more widely and intensely against Great Britain than against any other power. I think we may add that, while everywhere dangerous, it is capable of more profound world wreckage by its action against us than by any other form that it is now taking.

The following is his description of the manifestations of this spirit of hatred in some countries:

All through the Turkish Empire, through great parts of Persia, through Afghanistan, from one end of the Moslem world to the other, there are "mullahs" and holy men seeing visions and uttering oracles about the downfall of another scarlet woman who has filled the world "with the wine of the wrath of her abominations," and who is our own Roma Dea, our British commonwealth, which we look upon as the great agent of peace and freedom for mankind.

Scattered among our own fellow-subjects in India the same prophecies are current; they are ringing through Egypt. Men in many parts of the world—some even as close to us as Ireland—are daily giving up their lives to the sacred cause of hatred, even a hopeless hatred, against us and the world order which we embody. I have read lately two long memoranda about Africa, written independently by two people of great experience, but of utterly different political opinions and habits of thought; both agreed that symptoms in Africa pointed toward a movement of union among all the native races against their white governors; and both agreed that apart from particular oppressions and grievances, the uniting forces were the two great religions, Christianity and Islam, because both religions taught a doctrine utterly at variance with the whole method and spirit of the European dominion—the doctrine that men are immortal beings, and their souls equal in the sight of God.

As to the causes of this state of things he expresses the opinion that—

This state of things is in part the creation of the war. In part it consists of previously latent tendencies brought out and made conspicuous by the war. In part, the war has suggested to susceptible minds its own primitive method—the method of healing all wrong by hitting or killing somebody. And, for us British in particular, the war has left us, or revealed us, as the supreme type and example of the determination of the white man to rule men of all other breeds on the ground that he is their superior.

The professor then dwells briefly on the difficulty of a democracy to rule an empire.

There is a memorable chapter in Thucydides beginning with the words, "*Not now for the first time have I seen that it is impossible for a democracy to govern an empire.*" It may not be impossible, but it is extraordinarily difficult. It is so difficult to assert in uncritical and unmeasured language the sanctity of freedom at home, and systematically to modify or regulate freedom abroad. It is so difficult to make the government at home constantly more sympathetic, more humane, more scrupulous in avoiding the infliction of injustice or even inconvenience upon the governed British voters and to tolerate the sort of incident that, especially in the atmosphere of war, is apt to occur in the government of voteless subjects abroad.

Referring to incidents like those that took place last year in Amritsar and other places in India, he observes :

Now, my own view is that all these actions in their different degrees were wrong ; all were blunders ; all were utterly exceptional and not typical ; and further that no action like them or remotely approaching them is normally necessary for the maintenance of the empire. I am too confirmed a Liberal to take the opposite view. But suppose we had to take it. Suppose we were convinced by argument that all these actions were right and necessary, and that severities and injustices of this sort are part of the natural machinery by which empire is maintained ; that the rule of the white man over the colored man, the Christian over the Moslem, the civilized over the uncivilized, cannot be carried on except at the cost of these bloody incidents and the worldwide passion of hatred which they involve, I think the conclusion would be inevitable, not that such acts were right, for they cannot be right, but simply that humanity will not for very long endure the continuance of this form of world order.

As regards any possible remedy, Professor Murray says :

If you ask me what possible remedy I see, from the point of view of the British Commonwealth, against these evils I have described, I would answer simply that we must first think carefully what our principles are and not overstate them ; next we must sincerely carry them out. These principles are not unknown things. They have been laid down by the great men of the last century, by Cobden and Macaulay and John Stuart Mill, even to a great extent by Lord Salisbury and Gladstone. We hold our empire as a

trust for the governed, not as an estate to be exploited. We govern backward races that they may be able to govern themselves ; we do not hold them down for our own profit or glory, nor in order to use them as food for cannon if our own population fails. Above all in our government and our administration of justice we try to act without fear or favor, treating the poor man with as much respect as the rich man, the colored man as the white, the alien as the Englishman. We have had the principles laid down again and again, they are mostly embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations, on sale everywhere for a penny. We must live up to them.

He thinks nations ought to be penitent, though he sees "few signs so far of a change of heart in public things in any nation in the world, few signs of any rise in the standard of public life and a great many signs of its lowering."

Some actions of great blindness and wickedness, the sort of actions which leave one wondering whether modern civilization has any spiritual content at all, to differentiate us from savages, have been done during the war, but since the war was over. Yet I am convinced that, though it has not yet prevailed in places of power, there is a real desire for change of heart in the minds of millions.

He adds :

I believe the desire for a change of heart is a genuine longing, and, furthermore, I believe firmly that unless the world order is affected by this change of heart, the world order is doomed. Unless it abstains utterly from war and the causes of war, the next war will destroy it. Unless it can seek earnestly the spirit of brotherhood and sobriety at home, Bolshevism will destroy it. Unless it can keep its rule over subject peoples quite free from the spirit of commercial exploitation and the spirit of slavery, and make it like the rule of a good citizen over his fellows, it will be shattered by the wide-spread hatred of those whom it rules.

He concludes his lecture by dwelling on the wonderful opportunity which the present world order has, and the disaster which would result if it were not properly utilised.

The present world order, if it survives the present economic crisis, has a wonderful opportunity, such an opportunity as has never been granted to any previous order in the history of recorded time. Our material wealth, our organization, our store of knowledge, our engines of locomotion and destruction, are utterly unprecedented and surpass even our own understanding. Furthermore, on the whole we know what we ought to do. We have what no previous empire or collection of ruling states has ever had, clear schemes set before us of the road ahead which will lead out of these dangers into regions of safety ; the League of Nations, with the spirit which it implies ; the reconciliation and economic reintegration of European society ; and the system of mandate for the administration of backward territories. We have the power, and we know the course. Almost every action necessary to success has been put into the hands of those now

governing the world except, as an old Stoic would say, the things that we must provide ourselves. We have been given everything except a certain necessary greatness of character. Just at present that seems lacking, at any rate among the rulers of Europe. It may be recovered. We have had it in the past in abundance, and we probably have the material for it even now. If not, if for any reason the great democracies permanently prefer to follow low motives and to be governed by inferior men, it looks as if not the British Empire only, but the whole world order established by the end of the war and summarized roughly by the League of Nations may pass from history under the same fatal sentence as the great empires of the past, that the world which it ruled hated it and risked all to destroy it.

Is Free Speech Dangerous?

Mr. Glenn Frank discusses in the *Century* the question whether free speech is dangerous. Says he:

I believe that, in the words of a great American, "the cost of liberty is less than the price of repression."

That there are risks in free speech, free press, and free assembly no sane mind will dispute. But a policy of "no risks" is a policy that may for a time produce a dull-minded subserviency agreeable to autocrats, but in the end it breeds revolution. Russia took no risks, and the czar fell the pathetic victim of a firing-squad, while Russia has had to seek a different order through a tragic and costly upheaval. Germany, under the Hohenzollerns, took no risks, and her apostles of thought control are in exile, stripped of their glory, while Germany is in a hapless plight.

Many advocates of repression seem to go on the assumption that every radical is a devotee of revolutionary change as a sort of demoniac sport, as other men are devotees of poker or polo. Doubtless there are a few congenital revolutionaries, men who would try to organize a Red Left in Utopia or attempt to Bolshevize the New Jerusalem, but not many. Most advocates of revolution have, or at least think they have, a grievance. In the interest of orderly progress, these should be heard, every one of them. If a man's grievance is just, we should hear him, and straightway correct the injustice. If a man's grievance is imaginary, we should hear him, and then pit our brains against his to prove to him that his grievance is imaginary. To deny him a hearing is not protecting the republic. On the contrary, it is the one sure way to convince him that force or violence is the only language left to him.

The spirit of this socially necessary tolerance is admirably illustrated in a letter Voltaire wrote to Helvétius, in which he said, "I wholly disapprove of what you say, and will defend to the death your right to say it."

Another article of his creed is—

I believe that history proves that the American people can listen without danger to the open advocacy even of the right of revolution.

This belief is based not upon theory, but upon proved fact. It would be possible to assemble a ponderous anthology of inflammatory appeals that the

republic has managed very nicely to survive, and the collection could be confined to statements delivered in circumstances likely to lend peculiar force to their appeal.

He summarises his beliefs by saying:

I believe, as a sort of blanket summary of these beliefs, that force alone never really settles any problem either of politics or of industry.

If this be true, it deserves the thoughtful attention of the extreme reactionary, with his blind faith in the violence of repression, and of the extreme radical, with his blind faith in the violence of revolt. It may well be that the radical's faith in force is less a menace to the peace and progress of the United States than is the reactionary's faith in force as a solvent of social unrest.

Utopia Revived.

A Madrid illustrated literary weekly named *La Ilustración Española y Americana* has published a "Passing Conversation" which begins thus:

'What are you doing?'

'I am planning to write an article.'

'What about?'

'Communism.'

'Are you writing against it?'

'No, in its favor.'

'They won't publish such an article.'

'We shall see. My idea is very simple and very innocuous. How can people object to it?'

Then the supposed would-be writer proceeds to set forth his idea.

'I shall imagine a country adorned with beautiful and spacious cities. The residences will be roomy and comfortable. Every block of houses will be surrounded by a pleasant comely garden. Tranquillity and peace will brood over these cities. No house will have locked doors. There will be no bars or bolts or iron gratings or fences. Why should there be? No one will have the slightest interest in stealing from these houses or in improperly entering them. This will be because no one will have any wants which he cannot more reasonably and sensibly gratify. The houses will be assigned to the citizens by lot every ten years. At the end of that term all the tenants will change their homes. The tasks of all will be equal. Their entertainments and rest-periods will be the same. Everyone will work a few hours daily, and this will be sufficient to supply the needs and perform the services of society. Since labor in the fields is healthy, and contact with nature is agreeable, except when this toil is forced and too much prolonged, all citizens will be obliged to remove for a certain period each year into the country, just as children are obliged to attend school, in order that they may thus recuperate.

'All people will have equal opportunity to practise the manual arts or the liberal professions. While they are young students, their aptitudes will be closely observed, and those who show special fitness for the arts and sciences will be assigned to cultivate them. Nothing shall be done without consulting all the citizens. Their general agreement upon the tasks

which each respectively performs will deprive even the humblest task of any shadow of indignity. No one will be humiliated. No one will exult in his personal superiority. The day's activities will begin early. Before the heavy labor of the fields and shops is taken up a few hours will be devoted to study. Various agreeable sports and games will occupy the time after heavier labor is over. The tools and instruments of production will be common property. Materials for constructing new buildings or repairing old ones will be obtained gratuitously from public warehouses. Meals will be taken in common. This does not mean that great crowds of citizens will gather together to devour greedily public repasts. No: they will join in little groups, according to their respective interests and likings, somewhere in their neighborhood and their meals will be pleasant social functions in which parents and children participate together.

Hunting will not figure among the sports of these people. The chase promotes a love of shedding blood. It is stupid and cruel to hunt down and slaughter an innocent animal. Neither will these people waste their time debating scholastic subtleties. Their mental training will be logical and practical; their habits of thinking simple and direct. Their favorite authors will be the philosophers, the poets, and the tragedians of Greece, men whose masterpieces are eternal. The Greek classics will be circulated in beautiful and accurate editions. The study of immortal authors will of itself produce a natural tolerance of mind and thought; and this will inspire tolerance in every sphere of conduct.

These people will not despise beauty and physical vigor; but they will not push their cultivation to an extreme, any more than they will mortify their flesh with fasts; but they will preserve a wholesale equilibrium of health. When they do fall ill, hospitals equipped with every requirement of the most advanced science will be provided to care for them. These hospitals will consist of numerous small pavilions and villas surrounded by lawns and verdant gardens. There the patients will be cared for so thoughtfully and tenderly, with such exquisite regard for their own wishes and tastes and privacy and independence, that no one would consider for a moment remaining in his own home during an illness. This is my theory of Communism.

In conclusion the would-be author says: "All that I have told you and a great deal more was set down by Thomas More in his *Utopia*. I have merely been quoting a Spanish translation, published in 1673."

"The Failure of Victory."

Sir Philip Gibbs of the *Daily Mail* writes in the American *New Republic*:

It is a tragic thought, and a certainty, that all the hopes of the peoples who were involved in the great European war have not only been unfulfilled by victory, or, in the case of our enemies, destroyed by defeat, but that to victors and vanquished alike there is the horrible revelation that out of all that massacre and agony there has come as yet no promise of a safer world, no likelihood of long peace, no change in the

old evils of diplomacy, no greater liberties or happiness for civilized mankind.

The statesmen have been to blame, but not they alone.

In my opinion the failure of the statesmen to realize the almost divine mission that was entrusted to them to create a new order of human relationships—the greatest failure in history—was most guilty and most damnable; but the guilt was shared by the people themselves, because, at this supreme crisis of their fate, they did not rise to claim the fulfilment of the ideal for which the war had been fought, but sank back again into their old morass of fear, suspicion, rivalry, greed, and intolerance. In each country only a minority held to the faith that had come to them during the war and out of its agony and emotion; while the majority—as in England—allowed themselves to be thrust back into the jungle by leaders who could not see beyond its darkness.

What is to be done? Says Sir Philip:

Let us cut away that canker of international jealousy and prejudice which has no reality in the souls of simple men and is a poison spread by sinister villains or stupid fools, in the political arena, the newspaper world, and the financial jungle. I am all for the simple folk who in every country that I know—and I have travelled a good part of the earth's surface—want to be left in peace in their fields and their factories with their women and their babes. It is they who are the victims of the villainy, and still more of the stupidity, of those above them in power and place.

We need a prophet of God to change the evil men's hearts; and such a voice is not heard above the strife and anguish of this present time, when men and peoples are sinking again into the abyss of despair and others are behaving with an appalling frivolity because their time has not yet come. We must await a greater leader than we now have, but men of good will, not great, but true and kind, and endowed with that rare quality which we are pleased to call common sense, might make a beginning in the way of grace. As a newspaper man I think the best beginning could be made in the newspaper world, from which so much poison is distilled. Let us declare a war against the poisoners, and kill them by ridicule and by truth. Let us, men of the pen and the printing-press, make a pact of peace among ourselves for the protection of the simple folk.

Armenia and "Allied" Hypocrisy.

The *New Republic* of America is, we think, right in observing:

Armenia will remain through the generations the final proof of the exclusive devotion of Allied policy to Allied interests, not to the interest of humanity. Armenian assistance was eagerly sought by the Allies when the Turks threatened Russia in the rear. Armenian volunteers helped to win Palestine for British imperialism. When it came to the final settlement, it was agreed to reward the Armenians by giving them just so much of Armenia as the French did not want, or as the British did not feel ought to be returned to the Turks. The final proof of disregard of the Armenians

Armenians is registered in the armistice negotiated between the French and the Turkish Nationalists. That armistice did not apply to the Armenians, who had fought by the side of the French. But we Americans have no right to throw stones. What did the Republicans at Chicago have to offer Armenia? Hollow words. It is said that when the subject of Armenia was pronounced in reading the platform, a cynical grin overspread the faces of the delegates. And we used to pride ourselves on American generosity, American humanity.

The Einstein Essay Contest.

A Bengali professor, now in America, wrote to us sometime ago to ask why this *Review* had not published any article on the Einstein Theory of Relativity. *The Scientific American* announces that Mr. Eugene Higgins, an American resident of Paris, has offered through that journal a prize of five thousand dollars for the best essay on the Einstein postulates and their consequences, written so that a person of no special mathematical training may read it profitably. Conditions for the prize essay contest are printed in the *Scientific American* for July 10, 1920.

Addressing Thousands Without Raising the Voice

Occasions for addressing vast multitudes of men must increase in India as years pass. But it is not all capable and thinking persons who have got powerful voices. It is, therefore, with interest and encouragement that we read in the *Scientific American* (June 26, 1920) that

For the first time in many years the attendance at the National Presidential conventions is not too large to hear the speaker's voice. Not that the crowds are any less in number or that they are jammed any close together, but the voice of each speaker is made loud enough for every one to hear by means of a new and remarkable invention, the latest development of the loud-speaking telephone. The long arm of electricity now wraps its strength around the voice of the orator and gives it power and volume to reach the distant auditor with all its expression and its timbre intact.

Seaweed Paper Pulp.

That the manufacture of paper pulp from seaweed is proving a profitable undertaking seems to the *Scientific American* evidenced by the fact, reported by the American Consul General in Japan Mr. George H. Scidmore, that the only company manufacturing this pulp is building another factory. This

concern was organised in December, 1919, and is producing, by a secret process, about 50 tons of pulp daily, which is largely used in the composition of cigarette paper. The new plant when completed will have a daily capacity of 150 tons of pulp. The present price is about 5 cents a pound.

Democracy and Free Criticism.

Every American who has been considered by the nation as a hero in the American sense is considered as such because of his relations and services to liberty and democracy. This is the statement of Charles Edward Russell in *Hearst's*.

So writes the *Philippine Review*. The author goes on to say that sane criticism is really the foundation of true democracy: without criticism, he writes, autocracy will reign supreme.

Criticism is the life-blood of democracy; where there is no free criticism there is no democracy. Eighty per cent of the criticism will probably be unfounded and half of the plans for betterment will be foolish, impossible or insane, but democracy lives and can live only in this way. Out of the perfect freedom of expression and the abundance of criticism she finds in the end her true path and goes ahead, however slowly.

The essence of the difference between democracy and an autocracy is this difference between criticism and no criticism.

An autocracy is an autocracy whether set up by an armed conqueror like Napoleon or a combination of wealthy interests that controls or bamboozles a legislature.

India and World Peace.

Mr. Lajpat Rai writes on "India and World Peace" in the *Asian Review*. "There are Englishmen who ask me and my compatriots, 'Why are you not satisfied? What do you want?'" He answers:

The very insolence of the question is staggering. That such questions can be asked shows the utter moral callousness to which intelligent human beings can be reduced by military power and by the long practice of ruling others without their consent. What do we want? Are we not men as well as you? What would you want, if, like us, you were held in subjection by the sword of a foreign power; if you were dominated industrially by alien capitalists; if you were exploited financially by greedy money lenders of another land; if you were intellectually starved by rulers who deprived you of schools, and who shaped such education as you were permitted to have in such a manner as to crowd out and belittle and so far as possible destroy your own history, literature and culture, and substitute an alien and far more materialistic civilization in its place; if you were rebuked and lectured and bullied day and night by men claiming mastery over you, who were without

spiritual aims, who worshipped money and power as their gods, and who were unable even to understand much less to appreciate the intellectual, the moral and the spiritual ideals of your nation and race?

In the following passage he makes clear what India wants :

What we want is our manhood, the right to live our lives, the opportunity to manage our affairs and to be ourselves. Permitted to be men and not serfs, permitted to be a nation with power to manage our own affairs and carry out our own ideals, we can be a source of strength to community, we can contribute our share to the world's stock of knowledge of art, of science, of poetry, of music; we can co-operate with the other civilized nations in keeping the peace of the world and in carrying aloft the banner of human progress. But as British slaves we are mere pawns in a game, to be used by foreign masters as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in an Empire that not only crushes out our liberty, but, at its will, even conscripts us as its soldiers to fight the battles of imperialism and conquest to crush out the liberties of other peoples.

The Privilege and Duty of Being Intellectual.

There is a very stimulating article on "The Integrity of the Intellect" in the current number of the *Harvard Theological Review* from the pen of Ralph Barton Perry. In these days of mass movements of various kinds, we need to be told, as the author tells us in his article, that

Thinking is not only, as Adam Bede said, "mighty puzzling work," a strain upon human strength and patience, but it is of all forms of work the most lonely. People act and feel and even believe, in mobs. There is no first person plural to the verb "cogito". Observation, verification, and inference are functions which are perfected only in their independent individual exercise. I am not unmindful of the importance of the corroboration of one mind by another; but such corroboration is valuable only in so far as both minds have reached their results alone. Corroboration implies the absence of collusion. The devotee of the intellect must, then, have the strength to work alone, to see things for himself, to stand against the currents of opinion and the winds of passion. He cannot hope to win applause by the easy method of agreeing with others, but only by the more difficult method of bringing others to agree with him. And even then he cannot allow himself to mistake his following for confirmation of his beliefs, but must be ready to desert his converts if and in so far as fresh evidence inclines his judgment to another view. He is as unlikely, then, to be a leader, as he is incapable of being a follower. For such non-conformists society must make a place. I have little interest in the "conscientious objector"; but I have the greatest regard for the *individual thinker*. The former opposes private conviction to public policy. His inflexibility is symptomatic of will and emotion, rather than enlightenment. The latter opposes freedom of thought

to uniformity of opinion. Though he may impede collective action and have in emergencies even to be forcibly suppressed, nevertheless he is the servant of mankind. Standing on his watch-tower and recording what he sees, he does, even though it be unconsciously, succor the community to which he belongs.

The author gives his reasons for thus apostrophizing the devotee of the intellect.

I should not thus have apostrophized the devotee of the intellect had I not believed that society needs him, and needs him as never before. The great problems of the present are in fact *problems*. We all want enduring peace and we all want social justice, but we need to be *shown the way*. The great difficulties are difficulties of complexity. Human interests man to man and nation to nation, are now interrelated and interdependent, extensively and intensively, in a measure entirely unparalleled in the past history of the world. Intellect is the only means by which their tragic conflict may be removed. There seems to be a widespread belief that all we need in order to avoid war and class struggle is a little horse-sense. We shall, however, be fortunate if the cerebrum of some future superman is equal to coping with these problems. They are *the* problems, magnificently, terrifyingly difficult. Therein lies what is hopeful and stirring in the situation. If we fail, we shall have dared the utmost; if we succeed, we shall have won the greatest of all victories in the struggle of man against the death from which he sprang and which circles him about.

Lokmanya Tilak's "Tendencies".

In an interview with Lokmanya Tilak, when he was in England, published in *Britain and India*, we read :

"In fact," said Mr. Tilak, "it was my object to take education as my career. I wanted to be an educationist for new and great ideals, not a politician, for I saw the tremendous necessity for a truly Indian education. Before the Education Commission of 1882 I put those ideals and you will find them recorded in that report. And Apte [also an educationist] put forward his ideals too. I was then put into jail," Mr. Tilak concluded calmly.

"What was that for?" I asked.

"Well," he replied frankly, "I had started two papers and I accused the Maharaja of Kolhapur of ill-treatment of his ward. I got into trouble. But when it was over I went on with my work. I had started a school with others, but I left it in 1890. I taught mathematics, Sanskrit, and science in English in the school, then I had differences of opinion with others about principles. The Government tried to influence the management by extending the grant. I did not want a grant. My point was that the Government could give help but not control the school. The majority were against me. The school came tacitly under Government control and then the ideals suffered. Meanwhile I had started a law class in Poona and kept it on from 1890 to 1893. I prepared students for sub-judge and pleaderships. I had also taken up journalism more completely and had the papers entirely in my charge from 1890 onward. One of them,

Kesari, in Mahrathi, had at first a circulation of 1,000, then of 5,000, and is now about 22,000. *The Kesari* was chiefly an instrument for propaganda of political ideas, and is not either social or religious."

When he was asked: "What led you to take so keen a part in politics, Mr. Tilak?" He replied, "My tendencies are really literary; I took up agitation as a duty forced upon me." On the question of Franchise for Women, he said:

"If women are qualified to have the vote then we can look forward to having women as heads of villages. Women's work and influence will take place naturally in India; the real prejudice against their having the vote is here in England and not in India."

Eradication of Illiteracy in a Russian Province.

In a translation of an article from the Russian paper "*Pravda*" of Moscow, published in *Soviet Russia*, we read:—

For immediate work in eradicating illiteracy among the population of the province, 10,000 young men and women—graduates of the elementary or higher schools were mobilized for compulsory service, and upon the completion of a three-weeks' special course of instruction, formed the ranks of the new teaching staff.

Cannot our students, graduates, and other literate persons render *voluntary* service for the same purpose?

"Until Human Nature Is changed."

Not many years ago, there was unearthed in Egypt some sculptured granite walls, whose hieroglyphics, being interpreted, proved to be a code of laws drawn up some five thousand years ago for the regulation of human affairs. One of these laws was to the effect that it was unlawful for a citizen to sell something to another citizen for more than he knew it to be honestly worth. *The Scientific American* mentions this illuminat-

ing historical fact, not so much to suggest that the profiteer was abroad in the land in those ancient days, as to draw attention to the everlasting permanence of this human nature of ours.

It is a far cry from the Egypt of the Pharaohs to the Russia of the Bolsheviks, but a recent statement by Lenine carried our thoughts rather forcibly back to that Egyptian precept sculptured in the everlasting granite; for Lenine is learning in the school of bitter experience that there is no short cut by which human nature can be led out of the bondage of greed and selfishness into the promised land of the golden rule.

In a recent statement he has said: "What the Bolsheviks have done so far was the easiest part. It was the destructive part. It required only force and decrees. The hardest part is still before them. Bolshevism will fail unless it can rebuild Russian industry and get maximum production." Lenine then explains that this cannot be done under the original plan of Bolshevism for the reason that the workers aren't yet willing to work for the same rate of pay for different kinds of work. "The machine worker still wants more than the man with a pick; and the brain worker still wants more than the machine worker. Russia will not have communism until human nature is changed."

"Until human nature is changed!" Aye, there's the rub! And with equal naivete Lenine goes on to say, "It will take years to change human nature by education and to teach workers to run factories by Soviet methods. The only course before the Bolshevik leaders is to take a step backward from the Soviet state. They must call in bourgeois experts at large salaries to run the factories." Lenine then passes on to emphasize the need for placing the workers under iron discipline, making them subject in each factory to the will of one man, the "bourgeois manager."

And so the lesson of this last and greatest of all attempts to produce, over-night, an ideal social and economic world, is that the world climbs upward not by explosive outbursts of passion but by a process of well ordered evolution, based upon past experience and driven forward by the urge of lofty principles.

LIFE AND WORK OF SIR J. C. BOSE*

There are few men, even among professed scientists, who have the necessary mental

* I. An Indian Pioneer of Science: The Life and Work of Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., C.I.E., C.S.I.: by Patrick Geddes, late Professor of Botany, St. Andrews University, and Professor of Sociology and Civics, University of Bombay. With Portraits and Illustrations: Longmans, Green and Co. London. 1920. Sixteen shillings net. Pp. 259.

II. Sir J. C. Bose: His Life and Speeches. Ganesh & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 2.

equipment to follow Dr. Bose through all his various researches in the domains of physics, physiology, both vegetable and animal, and psychology; these sciences are commonly held as distinct, and if Dr. Bose has succeeded in discovering some intercrossing tracks 'upon levels rarely attained,' it is, according to Professor Geddes, due not only to his mental versatility and inventive faculty of the rarest kind, but also to a strong faith in

cosmic order and unity—the heritage of India. His is in fact 'a mind working in long sweeps—and attracted alike by gulfs which separate, and by borderlands which unite,' and hence his contributions are from the very outset towards the unification of whole groups of phenomena hitherto explored separately. This is also the reason why his formal acceptance and recognition by his European peers, as evidenced by the award of the Fellowship of the Royal Society, came so late to him. As Professor Geddes says :

"Among men of science full recognition comes earliest to those whose labours lie in clearly defined paths and well within the frontiers laid down by the orthodox classification of the sciences. It comes last and most hardly to men like Bose, who find themselves impelled over the frontiers as drawn, moving among the conceptions of different sciences and pursuing experiments in territory where, inevitably, they are looked upon as intruders." It was at the special request of the secretary of the Royal Society that twenty years ago in 1901 he gave his discourse on the similarity in the response of metal, plant and animal and in that discourse he said, 'Among such phenomena, how can we draw a line of demarcation, and say, here the physical ends, and there the physiological begins? such absolute barriers do not exist.'

This was too much for the leading physiologists, who rightly foresaw in the drift and trend of Dr. Bose's researches the grave of some of their favourite theories, and they asked him to confine himself to the field of electro-physics in which he had attained acknowledged distinction, instead of making excursions into regions which properly belonged to the physiologists. In winding up the discussion Dr. Bose gave a bold and characteristic reply. He said that it seemed to him inexplicable that the doctrine could be advocated—and in the Royal Society of all places—that knowledge should advance so far and no further; so he could on no account alter a word of the paper, even at the risk of a refusal of publication, unless he were shown, on scientific grounds, wherein the experiments he had just shown were faulty or defective. The result of this bold stand was that his paper was relegated to the Archives. The fight which began that day has been carried on through all these years, one bold generalisation, based upon a series of experimental demonstrations, following another, shocking the physiologists at first and raising feeble notes of protest, to be followed by a frank acknowledgment of defeat and of profound admiration, till at last his law of the life—reaction of plants to direct

and indirect stimulation is in the phenomenon of life, taken to rank as high as the universal theory of gravitation in the world of matter, and today he has no warmer friends than the physiologists who were his whilom adversaries, and to quote Prof. Geddes, "it was as though the entire British world had been prepared by every sort of experience, to receive and acclaim the discoveries which, in previous years, had seemed to be problematical and remote. It was as though all doors were flung wide open." In 1920 the significance of his work for the world was universally recognised, and Professor J. Arthur Thomson called him 'a prince of experimenters' whom the scientists of England were proud to welcome in their midst, and the climax was reached when 'in a collective decision which had in it something of dramatic unity and completeness,' physicists, his staunch admirers from the very beginning of his scientific career, physiologists and psychologists united in according the honour of the Fellowship of the Royal Society to the man who has added a marvellous new province to the Empire of human knowledge.

From the day when Dr. Bose produced his short electric waves, and in the words of a distinguished American scientist, "enriched physics by a number of apparatus distinguished by simplicity, directness and ingenuity," and anticipated the marvel of wireless telegraphy—his scientific results passed rapidly into current science and its text-books. English and Continental—and Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh, Mr. Cornue, once President of the Academy of Sciences, and other distinguished physicists warmly eulogised his discoveries,—on one occasion Lord Kelvin limped upstairs into the ladies' gallery and shook Mrs. Bose by both hands, with glowing congratulations on her husband's brilliant work of which he wrote that it literally filled him with wonder and admiration,—and the Secretary of the Paris International Congress of Physicists 'at first felt stunned,' and Huxley's successor at South Kensington, said of his investigations on plant-life: 'Huxley would have given years of his life to see that experiment,' and the physiologists of Vienna paid him the generous tribute that 'Calcutta was far ahead of them in these new lines of investigation,' till the day when the distinguished animal physiologist who was so long his adversary frankly admitted his defeat by saying to Dr. Bose :

"Do you know whose casting vote prevented the publication of your papers on Plant Response by the Royal Society? I am that person: I could not believe that such things were possible, and thought your Oriental imagination had led you astray. Now I fully confess that you had all along been right."

From that day to this, in the eloquent words of Sir J. C. Bose himself :

"Like that of my boyhood's 'hero, Karna, my life has been ever one of combat, and must be to the last. It is not for man to complain of circumstances, but bravely to accept, to confront, and to dominate them. The faith in which my long dreamed of temple of science has been at last brought within reach of fulfilment is the faith that when one has gained the vision of a purpose to which he can and must dedicate himself wholly, then the closed doors will be opened and the seemingly impossible become attainable."

In his inaugural address in dedication of the Bose Institute, Dr. Bose summarises, for the general public, the broad results of his researches. After stating that 'some of the most difficult problems connected with electric waves found their solution in my laboratory,' he proceeds to say that,

"In the pursuit of my investigations I was unconsciously led into the border region of physics and physiology and was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerge between the realms of the Living and Non-living. Inorganic matter was found anything but inert; it also was swept under the action of multitudinous forces that played on it. A common reaction seemed to bring together metal, plant and animal under a general law. They all exhibited essentially the same phenomena of fatigue and depression, together with possibilities of recovery and of exaltation, yet also that of permanent irresponsiveness which is associated with death. I was filled with wonder at this great generalisation.... The excessive specialisation of modern science in the West has led to the danger of losing sight of the fundamental fact that there can be but one truth, one science which includes all the branches of knowledge.... special apparatus of extreme delicacy [the marvellous magnetic Crescograph] had to be invented, which should magnify the tremor of excitation and also measure the perception period of a plant to a thousandth part of a second. Ultra-microscopic movements were measured and recorded; the length measured being often smaller than a fraction of the single wave-length of light. The secret of plant life was thus for the first time revealed by the autographs of the plant itself. This evidence of the plant's own script removed the longstanding error which divided the vegetable world into sensitive and insensitive.... My investigations show that all plants, even the trees, are fully alive to changes of environment; they respond visibly to all stimuli, even to the slight fluctuations of light caused by a drifting cloud. This series of investigations has completely established the fundamental unity of life reactions in plant and animal, as seen in a similar periodic insensibility in both, corresponding to sleep; as seen in the death-rasam, which takes place in the plant as in the ani-

mal. This unity in organic life is also exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is heart-beat; it appears in the identical effects of stimulants, anæsthetics, and of poisons in vegetable and animal tissues.... Growth of plants and its variations under different treatment is instantly recorded by my Crescograph. Authorities expect this method of investigation will advance practical agriculture...."

This, however, is not the latest phase of his daring researches. He now enters into a field of enquiry perhaps his most daring.

"A question long perplexing physiologists and psychologists alike is that concerned with the mystery that underlies memory. But now, through certain experiments I carried out here, it is possible to trace memory impressions backwards even in inorganic matter, such latent impressions being capable of subsequent revival."

More than this, Dr. Bose was able to demonstrate experimentally the possibility of conferring two opposite 'molecular dispositions' to the nerve by which the nerve impulse could be accentuated or inhibited. By thus controlling the molecular disposition of the nerve, the character of the resulting sensation may be profoundly modified.

"The external, then, is not so overwhelmingly dominant, and man is no longer passive in the hands of destiny. There is a latent power which would raise him above the terrors of his inimical surroundings. It remains with him that the channels through which the outside world reaches him should at his command be widened or closed."

Thus Dr. Bose's claim is literally true that

"The work already carried out in my laboratory on the response of matter, and the unexpected revelations in plant-life, foreshadowing the wonders of the highest animal life, have opened out very extended regions of inquiry in Physics, in Physiology, in Medicine, in Agriculture, and even in Psychology. Problems, hitherto regarded as insoluble, have now been brought within the sphere of experimental investigation,"

with the aid of 'the long battery of highly sensitive instruments and apparatus designed here,' and one is glad to hear the great scientist's testimony that 'in these fields I am already fortunate in having a devoted band of disciples, whom I have been training for the last ten years.' The Institute is already a centre of new invention of the most delicate apparatus, 'of the well-nigh magical elaboration of delicacy and exactitude,' and its importance to science and eventually to industry as a centre of exceptional skill in construction is apparent. Prof. Patrick Geddes says that the hopes entertained of these young disciples are in the way of ample fulfilment. The London *Times* observes that "the publish-

ed Transactions of the [Bose Research] Institute show that under the leadership of this eminent Bengali, Indian research is making substantial contribution to scientific knowledge." The *Times* adds that,

"Sir J. C. Bose's work has shown that through her meditative habit of mind she (India) is peculiarly fitted to realise the idea of unity and to see in the phenomenal world an orderly universe, and this habit confers the power to hold the mind in pursuit of truth in infinite patience."

The great savant's lifework has, however, not yet been finished, and he intends to continue his physical work with its many opening perspectives. Says Prof. Geddes :

"Bose's magnifying methods, which far surpass the powers of the ultra-microscope, are now calling him back to employ them for the continuation of his physical researches, which have been interrupted for nearly twenty years. He foresees the possibility of making a new Micro-Radiometer, also a Galvanometer of surpassing sensitiveness, and other finer detectors for the exploration of the effect of forces on inorganic matter. Though he is opposed to the classifying barriers used to divide the branches of knowledge, yet he is true to his old love. He is still a physicist without its implied limitations, trying to include in its imperial domain the realm of the living, and to use the subtler skill he has learnt from its exploration to reveal activities which seem only to be veiled by the apparent inertness of matter."

At the very outset of his electrical researches, the London *Spectator*, which, in the euphemistic language of Prof. Geddes, 'had consistently maintained a critical attitude towards Indian aspirations', wrote as follows :

"There is, however, to our thinking, something of rare interest in the spectacle there presented, of a Bengalee of the purest descent lecturing in London to an audience of appreciative European savants upon one of the most recondite branches of modern physical science...The people of the East have just the burning imagination which could extort truth out of a mass of disconnected facts ; a habit of meditation without allowing the mind to dissipate itself, such as has belonged to the greatest mathematicians and engineers ; and a power of persistence—it is something a little different from patience—such as hardly belongs to any European... Just think what kind of addition to the means of investigations would be made by the arrival within that sphere of enquiry of a thousand men with the Sannyasi mind, the mind which utterly controls the body and can meditate and enquire endlessly while life remains, never for a moment losing sight of the object, never for a moment letting it be obscured by any terrestrial temptation.

"We can see no reason whatever why the Asiatic mind, turning from its absorption in insoluble problems, should not betake itself ardently, thirstily, hungrily, to the research into Nature which can never end, yet is always yielding results, often evil as well as good, upon which yet deeper enquiries can be based. If that

happened—and Professor Bose is at all events a living evidence that it can happen—that would be the greatest addition ever made to the sum of the mental force of mankind."

Another great man, the type and exemplar of the Sannyasi mind in modern Bengal, whose mind was also aglow with patriotic fervour, hearing Dr. Bose's discourse before the Paris International Congress of 1900, and acutely conscious of the humiliating position which his motherland occupied in such international scientific gatherings, wrote as follows :

"Here in Paris have assembled the great of every land, each to proclaim the glory of his country. Savants will be acclaimed here ; and its reverberation will glorify their countries. Among these peerless men gathered from all parts of the world, where is thy representative, O thou the country of my birth ? Out of this vast assembly a young man stood for thee, one of thy heroic sons, whose words have electrified the audience, and will thrill all his countrymen. Blessed be this heroic son ; and blessed be his devoted and peerless helpmate who stands by him always."

And Rabindranath, Dr. Bose's lifelong friend, addressed him a poem of which the following extract is a close translation :

Call thou thy scholar band come forth
Out on the face of nature, this broad earth.
Let them all gather. So may our India,
Our ancient land, unto herself return ;
O once again return to steadfast work,
To duty and devotion, to her trance
Of earnest meditation.

In his Dedication, Sir J. C. Bose says :

"One who would devote himself to the search for truth must realise that for him there awaits no easy life, but one of unending struggle. It is for him to cost his life as an offering, regarding gain and loss, success and failure, as one.....Public life, and the various professions, will be the appropriate spheres of activity for many aspiring young men. But for my disciples, I call on those very few, who, realising some inner call, will devote their whole life with strengthened character and determined purpose to take part in that infinite struggle to win knowledge for its own sake and see truth face to face.....And in this country, through milleniums, there always have been some who, beyond the immediate and absorbing prize of the hour, sought for the realisation of the highest ideal of life—not through passive renunciation, but through active struggle. *The weakling who has refused the conflict, having acquired nothing, has nothing to renounce. He alone who has striven and conquered can enrich the world by the generous bestowing of the fruits of his victorious experience.*" (Italics ours.)

Let us hope that the noble band of disciples, which Sir J. C. Bose, and his friend and colleague, Sir P. C. Ray, have gathered together round them will be permeated by what the *Spectator* calls 'the Sannyasi mind'.

and the indomitable spirit which is the vital endowment of the true Sannyasin, and which led Dr. Bose always to 'choose the more difficult in preference to the easier path.

The present reviewer is no student of science, though he has, as a student, sat at the feet of the great master, and in later life, has repeatedly taken the dust of his feet, in the mental picture of the eminent sage which has sometimes floated before his vision. For a Rishi the scientist undoubtedly is, as was instinctively perceived by the South Indian temple priest who took him into the inner sanctuary in spite of his unorthodox ways, telling him that he was a great Sadhu. After giving above the broadest outline of Dr. Bose's scientific work in the briefest and the most popular language, which alone is intelligible to the reviewer, he will proceed to cull a few details of Dr. Bose's life from 'Professor Geddes' book, and the lessons which it has to teach us, making a few extracts from the excellent collection of speeches, added to a valuable biographical notice, which has been brought out by Messrs. Ganesh & Co.

Jagadis Chandra Bose was born on the 30th November, 1858, so that at present he is just sixtytwo years old. His birth place is Vikrampur in the Dacca district, whence come the brothers Lalmohan Ghose and Monomohan Ghose, and Chandramadhab Ghose (officiating Chief Justice) and Kaliprasanna Ghose the essayist. It is an ancient seat of learning, peculiarly rich in Buddhist cultural remains; and the call of the mighty rivers which encircle it has a stimulating, unsettling, and adventurous effect on the mind. To this Prof. Geddes attributes "that note of strenuous and persistent courage in facing dangers and adversities, and of untiring combativeness against every difficulty," which characterises Dr. Bose. For his father, who was a Deputy Collector, in many ways much in advance of his time, Dr. Bose had the highest admiration. He tried his hand at many enterprises, which however failed. Referring to this, in a noble peroration, Dr. Bose said :

"A failure? Yes, but not ignoble nor altogether futile. And through witnessing this struggle, the son learned to look on success or failure as one, and to realise that some defeats may be greater than victory. To me his life has been one of blessing, and daily thanksgiving. Nevertheless everyone had said that he had wrecked his life, which was meant for greater things. Few realise that out of the skeletons of myriad lives have been built vast continents. And it is on

the wreck of a life like his, and of many such lives, that will be built the greater India yet to be. We do not know why it should be so; but we do know that the Earth-mother is always calling for sacrifice."

Among all the heroes of the Mahabharata, Karna was Dr. Bose's favourite. From his low caste came every disadvantage, but he always played and fought fair, down to the rejection of the offer of his mother Kunti of the throne of the Empire, if he would only renounce the Kauravas. 'I will have no advantage; I fight but in my own strength!' As Dr. Bose himself puts it :

"This too was the hero I loved to identify with my own father—always in struggle for the uplift of the people, yet with so little success, such frequent failures, that to most he seemed a failure. All this too gave me a lower and lower idea of all ordinary worldly success—how small its so-called victories are!—and with this a higher and a higher idea of conflict and defeat; and of the true success born of defeat. In such ways I have come to feel one with the highest spirit of my race; with every fibre thrilling with the emotion of the past. That is its noblest teaching—that the only real and spiritual advantage and victory is to fight fair, never to take crooked ways, but keep to the straight path, whatever be in the way!"

His father provided him with a solid vernacular education in an elementary school in order that he should first mix with and know his own people and his own mother-tongue (later in life he was president of the Bengal Academy of Literature for several years), and his mother offered him her own jewels in order to educate him in England, his father deciding, with what true foresight we know now, that, in the words of Dr. Bose, he was to rule none but himself, and must not try for the Indian Civil Service and be an administrator. Armed with letters of introduction from home, and with his B.Sc. degrees from Cambridge and London, he succeeded, through the intervention of Lord Ripon, then Governor General, to force an entrance into the Higher Educational Service, but he was given two-thirds the pay of a European, which was further cut down to half as his appointment was only officiating. He decided to do the full work, to show that Indians could be as successful teachers of science as Europeans, but resolved never to touch the cheque received by him monthly as his pay, till this heroic protest succeeded in undoing the wrong. By selling his family properties and his mother's personal properties with her full consent, he paid up 75 per cent of his father's debts. The creditors expressed themselves fully satisfied, but Dr. Bose was not,

and for the next nine years he struggled until out of his own earnings the balance of 25 per cent which the creditors had renounced was paid them in full. The story of the silent opposition of the Education Department and even of the jealousy of his European colleagues may be gleaned from the earlier chapters of Prof. Geddes' book, but the Government, finding the recognition of Dr. Bose's work would redound to its credit, sent him to Europe on four successive scientific deputations, and paid him a large sum as back pay on the eve of his retirement, having discovered that he was unjustly kept out of the highest grade (the whole of this sum has gone to the Bose Institute; with Lady Bose's own savings), and gazetted him as Professor Emeritus, on full pay instead of pension. He was also knighted and given other decorations, and his Institute has been substantially helped by the Government. Impressed by Dr. Bose's early researches, Lord Lister, President of the Royal Society, Lord Kelvin, and several other distinguished scientists of Great Britain presented a memorial for the establishment of a central laboratory for advanced research work in the Presidency College, Calcutta, and in spite of the Secretary of State's recommendation (1897) the scheme was effectively delayed by departmental cogwheels. Prof. Geddes significantly adds:

"It is worthy of remark that the cogwheels suddenly became mobile when Bose had neared the period of retirement from Government service."

But out of evil cometh good, and thenceforth Dr. Bose was more resolved than ever to establish a Research Institute of his own. As he himself says in his dedication:

"My own experience told me how heavy, sometimes even crushing, are the difficulties which confront an enquirer here in India; yet it made me stronger in my determination, that I should make the path of those who would follow me less arduous, and that I should never relinquish what has been won for her after years of struggle."

"Though he seems never to have evaded any fight for principles, he was the more indifferent to personal advantage. He answered the criticisms of his friends by saying that he had long ago made up his mind to choose not the easier but the more difficult path; that appeared to him the true scope for manhood."

After the rejection of his paper by the Royal Society to which reference has been made above, Dr. Bose wrote:

"I do not yet see my way clearly, but I shall take it up time after time, if only to show that one man's strength and resoluteness of purpose can face any combination. It is not for me to sit with folded hands

in resignation. I do not believe in miracles; but the miracle shall happen this time; for I know that I am fighting for the establishment of truth."

Professor Geddes says:

"Bose has sometimes, and not unnaturally, been criticised as unpractical for making no profit from his inventions. But as to this he was determined from the first. His child memory had been impressed by the pure white flowers offered [by his grandmother] in Indian worship; and it came early to him that whatever offerings his life could make should be untainted by any considerations of personal advantage. An American friend, indignant with what seemed such unpractical quixotism, forthwith patented the invention in his name in America, but Bose would not use the rights, and allowed the patent to lapse. . . . Bose's position, simply stated, it is the position of the old Rishis of India, of whom he is increasingly recognised by his countrymen as a renewed type, and whose best teaching was ever open to all willing to accept it." "It was not until 1894, when reaching his thirty-fifth year, that Bose felt free enough definitely to start regular work as an investigator; indeed on that birthday, Indian fashion, he made to himself that vow."

How amply that vow has been fulfilled, is now known to the world at large. But it is not so widely known that Dr. Bose knows his country—India—as even few Indians do. cosmopolitan and a citizen of the world though he be, and that in the company of his beloved spouse, he has made pilgrimages to every corner of the land of his birth, down to the difficult hill journey to Kedarnath and Badrinath, and the socio-religious education of travel, and the intensive influence of religion at these sacred meeting places made him feel, as nothing else could, that the re-unity of India was something incomparably deeper and older than her modern political unity, resting as it did on sacred and epic literature and legend for the people, and on great and ancient philosophies, which are not merely cultivated by the classically educated, but deeply diffused, for good and evil, throughout the people as well. "India, then," says Professor Geddes, "though not a nation in a European sense, is something not merely less, but more."

It is rather the analogue of Europe; and though even vaster in population, and more varied in climate and peoples, has a more diffused and often deeper community of spirit. . . . That spirit not even the conquest of Islam have broken, nor yet the modern rule or other influences of the West. This it is which is stirring towards its renaissance, . . . and this it is which will more fully revive its old values, and adjust them anew with those of the Western world. This indeed is what many of its pioneers, like Bose among others, have throughout their lives, and each in his own way been doing, and yet more fully preparing for."

And Dr. Bose, recalling all the memories of his pilgrimages, is apt to say ;

"With all these experiences, India has made me and kept me as her son. I feel her life and unity deep below all." "In this old pride of India as she was, and hopes of her as she may be, on one hand, no less than in his peculiarly full and wide participation in Western science on the other, we see at once the two uniting forces which found expression in the foundation of the Bose Research Institute."

The last words of his dedication were :

"But the past shall be reborn in a yet nobler future. We stand here to-day and resume work tomorrow, so that by the efforts of our lives and our unshaken faith in the future we may all help to build the greater India yet to be."

The speeches delivered by Sir J. C. Bose on various occasions and at various places breathe a lofty spirit of patriotism, of that enlightened and true love of country which is not satisfied with the mere negative and easy virtue of recounting the past glories of the motherland, but wants to see her occupy the pride of place by her present and future achievements. At Madura, after visiting the temples, he said :

"In travelling all over the world, which I have done several times, I was struck by two great characteristics of different nations. One characteristic of certain nations is living for the future. All the modern nations are striving to win force and power from nature. There is another class of men who live on the glory of the past... We have still a great and mighty future before us, a future that will justify our ancestry. In talking about ancestry, do we ever realise that the only way in which we can do honour to our past is not to boast of what our ancestors have done but to carry out in the future something as great, if not greater than they ? Are we to be a living nation, to be proud of our ancestry and try to win renown by continuous achievements ? These mighty monuments that I see around me tell us what has been done till very recent times. I have travelled over some of the greatest ruins of the Universities of India. I have been to the ruins of the University of Taxila in the farthest corner of India which attracted the people of the west and the east. I have been to the ruins of Nalanda, a University which invited all the west to gain knowledge under its intellectual fostering... But are you to foster the dead honours or to try to bring back your University in India and drag once more from the rest of the world people who would come and derive knowledge from India ? It is in that way and that way alone that we can win our self-respect and make our life and the life of the nation worthy."

At the foundation of the Hindu University at Benares he said :

"When through narrow conceit a nation regards itself self-sufficient and cuts itself from the stimulus of the outside world, then intellectual decay must inevitably follow. So far as regards the receptive function. Then there is another function in the intellectual life of a nation, that of spontaneous outflow, that giving out of its life by which the world is enriched. When the nation has lost this power, when it merely receives, but cannot give out, then its healthy life is over, and it sinks into a degenerate existence which is purely parasitic.... Let them not talk of the glories of the past till they have secured for her her true place among the intellectual nations of the world. Let them find out how she had fallen from her high estate and ruthlessly put an end to all that self-satisfied and little-minded vanity which had been the cause of their fatal weakness. What was it that stood in her way ? Was her mind paralysed by weak superstitious fears ? That was not so : for her great thinkers, the Rishis, always stood for freedom of intellect and while Galileo was imprisoned and Bruno burnt for their opinions, they boldly declared that even the Vedas were to be rejected if they did not conform to truth."

We shall now close our review, which is more or less a series of extracts from the excellent biography of Professor Geddes, with another extract from the same source.

"The life history of Jagadis Bose is worthy of close and ardent consideration by all young Indians whose purpose is shaping itself towards the service of science or other high cause of the intelligence or the social spirit... The countless obstacles which had to be surmounted only called forth in Bose all the endurance and all the effort which are latent in manly natures, welding them to the fullest strength of character and intensity of thought by which alone a great lifetask can be accomplished. In contemplating the great career of his countryman the young Indian will be stimulated to put brain and hand to fine tasks, nothing fearing. Thus will he be inspired not only to recover the noble intellectual traditions of the Indian past, but to restate these traditions in modern terms, and find the greatest challenge for mind and soul in achieving their vital relation with the coming age."

Professor Geddes' biography of this great Indian will be a beacon-light to all aspiring souls in India, who will learn from it how the motherland can still fashion out of the race personalities of the most outstanding eminence, both in the international world of science and in the loftier domain of character. For those who cannot afford to buy or procure it, the more modest volume published by Messrs. Ganesh and Co., will serve the same purpose.

POL.

NOTES

Lokamanya Tilak.

In these days of bitter political controversies and recriminations, it is pleasant and encouraging to think of the unanimity with which Indian men and women of all shades of political opinion have paid their tributes of respect to the memory of Lokamanya Tilak, the strong, undaunted and selfless son of the Motherland, whose character was as pure as his aims were high. That organs of the radical camp should praise him is nothing surprising. But the organs of the liberal or "moderate" party, too, have done him honour, some with a praiseworthy enthusiasm which shines through the measured language used by them. With two notorious exceptions, even the Anglo-Indian papers have shown their appreciation of the greatness of the hero of Maharashtra.

Neighbours belonging to an opposite school of thought are generally able to detect more of the faults of a man than those who usually live at a distance. For this reason when even such neighbours give a man his due meed of praise, such just tribute should be accepted as more convincing than eulogy coming from colleagues, followers, and admirers. For this reason we attach great importance to the article which Principal Paranjpye has contributed to the *Servant of India*, in which he has tried to give a critically just estimate of the character, intellect, scholarship, and career of the great leader of Maharashtra, ending with the declaration that in him lived a Great Man. Equally significant is Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's appreciation of the great scholar and patriot in the *Times of India*, in which some causes of Lokamanya Tilak's great influence are thus described :—

"His fearlessness, his love of the commonalty, living among the people as one of the people, accessible to all, his forceful and yet simple Marathi and, above all, his pure private character, gave him a hold on the popular

imagination amounting almost to the divine. Even these would have fallen short of what they have been if he had not the heroism of suffering. That has led many to deify him.

Sir Narayan concludes his appreciation in the following well-weighed sentences :—

Now that he is gone, our personal and political hostilities, such as they were of this mortal life, are laid to rest. Whatever our differences and personal conflicts and vilifications, the man's fearlessness, doggedness, love of his country, his desire to arm it with self-respect and the singleness of purpose with which he pursued his aims in his own way without abating his ardour a bit to the last of his life, and the courage and doggedness with which he carried on his campaign against death and disease in his last hours, just as he had carried on his political campaign throughout his life, all these will be remembered for ever. He has made his mark in history, and as one who differed from him seriously and held some of his methods to be detrimental to the abiding interests of the future of the country, I join in the deepest mourning over his death and in mourning and paying my respectful memory to him—all the more respectful because I have all along been opposed to him in politics and social reform. Let me add that his purity of private character and his genius and scholarship have given him that strong hold on the admiration and the adoration of the people which he has attained and which he would not have perhaps attained but for them. His figure has become history—and it has its lights and shades, but the shades should fall back and the lights become our beacons."

In politics, *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay is an organ of independent opinion adhering neither to the "Moderate" nor to the "Extremist" school of politicians. It is also an independent organ of the social reform party, to which Mr. Tilak did not belong. For this reason and also because of the generally thoughtful character of the writings of the editor of that paper, its estimate of the great Nationalist leader should receive due attention. How popular Mr. Tilak was will appear from the dimensions of his funeral procession. The *Reformer* writes :—

"The largest funeral procession witnessed in

Bombay in recent years was that of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr. Tilak's totally eclipsed it. Most of those who followed Mr. Dadabhai's remains to the Tower of Silence were English-educated men. Mr. Tilak's body was cremated on the sands of Chowpati in the presence of a vast concourse to which the working classes of the population contributed as many as the English-educated class. The difference marks the distinction between the politics of the two leaders. That, however, made no difference to the resident European population, which was as conspicuous by its absence in Mr. Dadabhai's as in Mr. Tilak's funeral procession. Government House also as completely ignored the one as the other. One lost opportunity more !.."

The Indian Social Reformer answers the charge that Mr. Tilak "leaves behind him no constructive work to his credit," in the sentences quoted below.

"In the history of a nation it is extremely difficult to draw a line between what is destructive and what is constructive. The extinction of slavery was a merely destructive measure, but without it the ground could not be cleared for the brotherhood of man. Much social reform work during the last century has been condemned by the orthodox as merely destructive. We have been often asked as regards the abolition of caste, as we are asked to-day about non-co-operation, what is your alternative? Our reply in the one case as in the other, is that there is no need for an alternative. Caste must go in order that the nation may grow. Mr. Tilak started in his public career with the conviction that there can be no political salvation unless the bureaucracy was destroyed."

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has given Mr. Tilak's own reply, and that in its historical setting, in the following passage :

There was a public meeting held at Bombay in the early nineties to oppose some measure planned by Government. I do not remember now exactly what measure it was. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta presided at the meeting held in the Framji Cowasjee Hall. Sir Pherozeshah had invited Mr. Tilak specially to attend the meeting and join the deliberations. Before the meeting was held there was a private deliberation at which Mr. Tilak happened to be present and some one at that informal deliberation said, "What is the use of holding a public meeting and merely criticising and opposing the measure of Government unless you are ready with a constructive measure of your own?" Mr. Tilak, who till then was sitting silent, at once burst out and replied : "I do not think it is our duty to formulate constructive measures and help the Government which does not take us into its confidence by enabling us to share its highest offices, executive

and administrative, and bear the responsibilities of Government. Constructive measures are the duty of those who are responsible for the government of the country and we are not responsible."

Mr. Tilak's reply was quite sound. We find a similar reply made by Mr. Asquith in the course of a speech which he made on the 19th June last on unnecessary ministries and the consequent extravagant expenditure. In reply to the demand that, mere destructive criticism being of little use, constructive schemes for the reduction of expenditure should be formulated, the ex-Premier said :

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had asked them to show how expenditure could be reduced. The proper answer to that was, "Do it for yourself. What are you there for? If you feel that you cannot do it, that it is beyond your resources and the statesmanship of yourself and your colleagues, then make way for somebody else who can." (Cheers.) It was puerile and trifling with the situation to try to throw upon the House of Commons the duty of saying in which particular quarter large reductions of expenditure should be made. A Government which could not discharge that elementary duty under conditions so grave and abnormal as those at present prevailing was a Government which by its own confessions was inadequate to the needs and the responsibilities which were imposed upon it.

The Indian Social Reformer's estimate of Lokamanya Tilak's work and worth finds expression in a passage which we quote below almost in full.

...in point of general capacity Mr. Tilak stood in the front rank of contemporary minds. His researches into the chronology of what is called pre-historic India, show consummate qualities of patient investigation, accurate scholarship, and illuminating insight. His commentary on the *Gita* is evidently the exposition of his own philosophic creed. In his last days, it is said, he seldom spoke of politics, but frequently recited his favourite verses from the *Bhagavad Gita*. His last words before he lost consciousness are reported to have been the memorable verse which declares that the Cosmic Soul graciously condescends to our world whenever the moral order is in danger of destruction. Another great book puts the same idea in a different form when it says that God has not left Himself without a witness in any age or country. This ancient intuition is crystallised in the common experience that, in communities not devitalised by their own spiritual derelictions, the hour always brings forth the man it most needs. For a



Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

patriot, painfully conscious of the wide divergence between endeavour and achievement, there can be no affirmation more full of comfort at his last moment. It is an inveterate Indian belief that men's last thoughts are the true

index of their pre-occupation. Politics were not Mr. Tilak's pre-occupation. The dim depths of the past and the effulgent unfolding of eternity in Time, were the high themes most congenial to his spirit. We remember to have

read that he often said so. It was his country's need that constrained him to a sphere which, under the circumstances, is singularly barren of creative opportunities for children of the soil. He stuck to his task grimly against tremendous odds. He scorned delights and lived laborious days. Here, again, his *Gita* philosophy, no doubt, stood him in good stead. *He lived what may truly be called a dedicated life.* All through the thirty years of its existence, there have been few points of agreement between the policy of the *Reformer* and that of Mr. Tilak. But always it has admired the greatness of the man behind the politician who treated social reforms as a matter of expediency. And now that he has passed behind the veil, we think not of our differences but of the abiding contribution which he has made to the nation's heritage..... We are no longer called upon to fight an aggressive bureaucracy claiming permanency of tenure, but a conciliatory one asking merely for time to wind up its affairs. Mr. Tilak's sacrifices and sufferings have largely contributed to this result. More than that, he has left us the example of a selfless patriot, working single-heartedly for what he conceived to be the good of his country and his people.

The opinion of the Bombay *Subodha Patrika*, the organ of the *Prarthana Samaj*, is worth quoting, because, as it says, "We have not been worshippers" in the same temple with Mr. Tilak. "We do not belong to his school. We do not take our aims and ideas from him. Many a time, in these columns, we have criticised his opinions, methods and aims."

But we cannot forget that behind all these was a 'great man, a self-less man, a man in whom the love of the Motherland was the foremost thought of all, and who worked for his goal with a courage, persistency of will, and single-pointedness, rare at all times, and rare, above all things, in the days in which our lot is cast. "The characteristic of heroism is persistency," says Carlyle. And in that sense he was a real hero. And as a hero we will recall him, apart from opinions. Because opinions change, die, and become no more. Character abides.

The same paper speaks of his forceful and vigorous personality, his courage, his intellectual and moral force, his tenacity of will and strength of purpose, his intense love for his country, his overwhelming self-sacrifice, his utter disregard of all considerations of personal safety and ease, his utter fearlessness, the buoyant and ever hopeful spirit in which he went through his sufferings for his opinions,

his simple personal life and noble private character, his plain living and high thinking, his being above the temptations of pelf and honours, his supreme dedication, his concentrated work, his tremendous force and energy, his absolute disregard of self, and, "above all, his clean, pure and simple personal life in which scholarship and a practical spirit were so singularly well combined." "Whatever else we may say of him, we cannot deny to him the title of one of India's greatest sons, who dedicated his life, his talents, his energy and his all to the service of his Motherland."

Praise of the kind we have quoted above, coming from various persons and parties holding views different from those of Mr. Tilak, is praise, the value of which cannot be questioned or overrated.

Leaving aside the nice distinction between what is constructive and what is destructive in a political reformer's activities, we find that Lokamanya Tilak did do many things which are of an undoubtedly positive character. After passing the B.A. examination with honours and taking his degree in law, he did not propose to make himself a money-making machine. With some friends of his, he resolved to dedicate himself to the service of the Motherland. The friends started together the Poona New English School, and also the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* newspapers. The school developed into a college and the Fergusson College was established in 1885. He and his friends were also the founders and first self-denying band of workers of the far-famed Deccan Education Society. Of this early period of Mr. Tilak's career, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar tells an anecdote which does great credit to the discernment and breadth of toleration of the late Mr. Justice M. G. Kanade. Sir Narayan writes :—

It was the Poona season of 1879 ;..... One evening I accompanied the late Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit for a walk and there met the late Mr. Agarkar, Mr. Tilak and Mr. Apte. When during the walk Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit met Mr. Agarkar and Mr. Tilak and Mr. Apte, Mr. Agarkar said they were going to see him and take his advice about their intention to form a body consisting of themselves and



Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak,

others as life members for the purpose of starting a High School which was later on to be developed into a College and also publishing two weekly newspapers, one in English and the other in Marathi, to be called the *Maratha* and the *Kesari* respectively, to advocate the popular cause.

Next morning Mr. Pandit and I went to see Mr. Ranade. Mr. Pandit had a talk with Mr. Ranade about the interview he had with Mr. Agarkar and with Mr. Tilak... Some doubt was expressed as to whether the new society with such elements in it might not prove totally antagonistic to Government and to social reform and to social reformers. Mr. Ranade with his broad spirit of toleration said, "Here up to now our public workers have been men earning their bread by service under Government and sparing such time as they can get for public work. But now here are these young men, whatever their opinions be, ready to sacrifice themselves entirely for the service of the country. The second stage of our public life has come and it is our duty to encourage them instead of microscopically considering their faults and shortcomings." There the conversation stopped.

Subodha Patrika writes of the *Kesari* (we purposely quote from this organ of a school opposed to Mr. Tilak's party) :

The *Kesari* won its way to popular support, recognition and worship, among other things, by its direct style, by its mastery of its own view-point, and by the energy of the great personality behind it. It has never minced matters in driving its own gospel home to the hearts of its vast reading public... The *Kesari* was written in sentences that stuck and burnt into the heart and soul of its readers. Every phrase went piercing through. The shot told and it was meant to tell... no paper in the Deccan is so virile as the *Kesari*.

His books are also a positive achievement.

His two works the "Orion" and the "Arctic Home in the Vedas" are written with a view to determine the date of the Vedas from the astronomical data available in the Vedic hymns. And all this was accomplished in moments of enforced leisure when he was compulsorily withdrawn from his active and busy life as a politician, and without the command of a good and well-stocked library or any books worth the name. *Arctic Home* was written in jail when Mr. Tilak had nothing with him except Max Muller's translation and text of the Vedas. The same was the case with his writing of "*Gita-rahasya*." It was written at Mandalay where there could not possibly be as many books at hand for reference as the scholarly work is supposed to require. These have been thus a marvellous feat of memory, of great intellectual effort, and of a knowledge that was as well assimilated as it

was ready at any moment for use, not to refer to its depth, width and variety. "*The Gita-rahasya*" apart from the standpoint it develops on the text of the "*Gita*", is a mine of learning, not only on philosophical but on practical, everyday matters of social and political life, and a model of lucid, clear, straight and forcible Marathi prose. These three works will ever bear witness to Mr. Tilak's genius. They will show that he was not a mere politician but a scholar in the real sense of the word.—*Subodha Patrika*.

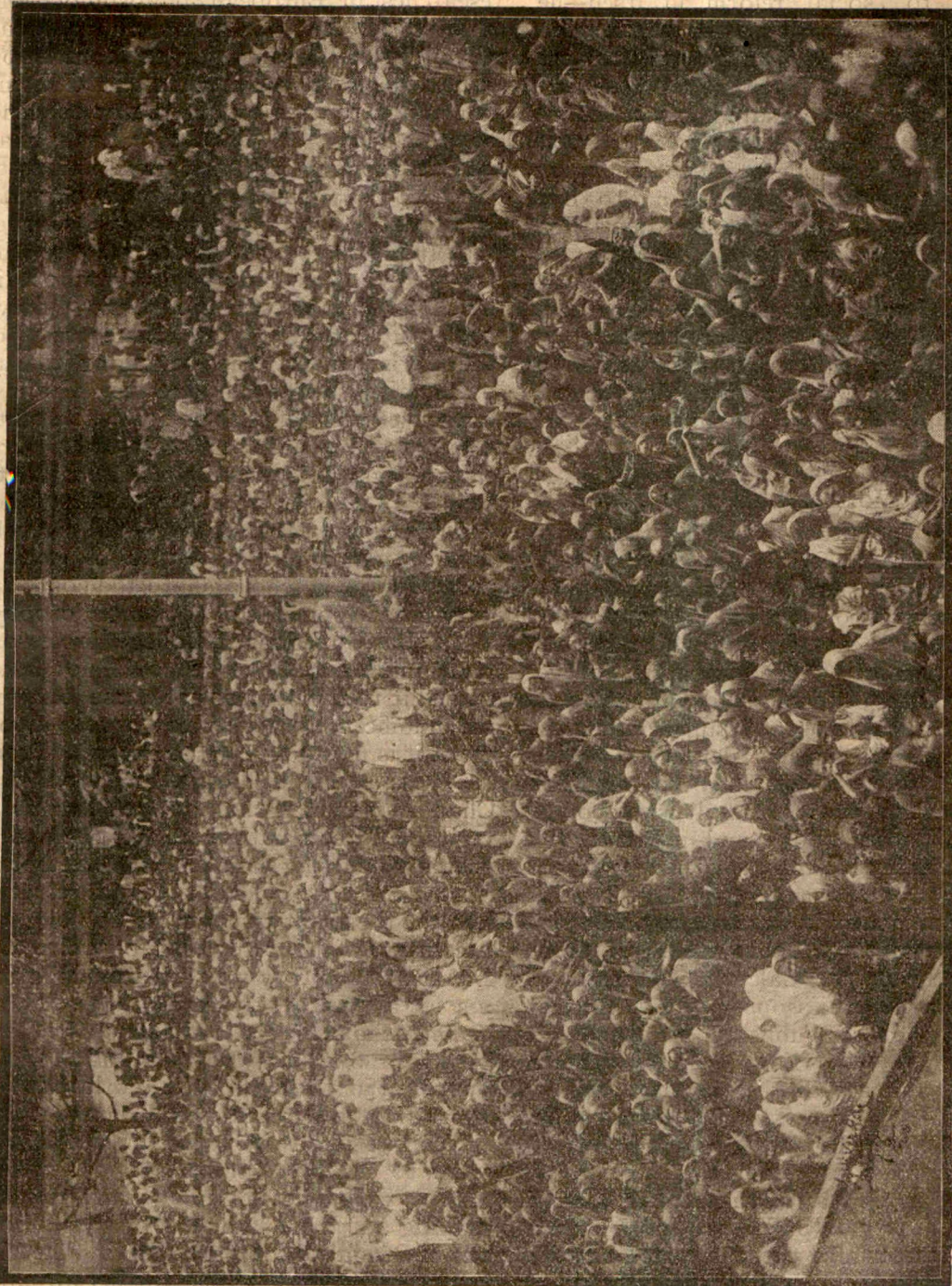
In the biographical sketch of Lokamanya Tilak published by Mr. G. A. Natesan, of the "Moderate" party, it is related how during the extremely severe famine of 1896 "Mr. Tilak with that love for the masses which was the strongest point of his public life, rushed to the rescue," how he opened cheap grain shops in Poona, and how he framed a scheme for relieving the distress of the mill weavers of Sholapur. "When plague broke out, Mr. Tilak worked among the poor and the destitute. He opened a Hindu Plague Hospital, moved among the people, joined the volunteers in their work of inspection or relief, and undaunted by the epidemic, stood by the afflicted and the stricken." (Natesan.) This was positive work.

The Shivaji Commemoration Movement is another positive achievement of his. By this he intended and was able to revive the national spirit of the people of Maharashtra.

Another positive achievement of his, the like of which is not to be found, at least not to the same extent, elsewhere in India outside Maharashtra, is thus described in the *Subodha Patrika* :

Politics and the masses; these two he was the first to bring together in Maharashtra, or for the matter of that, in Western India. And it was because he did so that the powers that be have ceased to twit the politics of the educated as that of the microscopic minority.

In our opinion, taking into consideration his character, intellectual powers, scholarship, unconquerable spirit, persistence, strength to suffer, democratic accessibility and sociability with the educated and well-to-do and the masses alike, his practical sense, his refraining from doing anything in any way which might end in drawing down upon him any decoration, recognition, or title from Government,



Women and Men in the Streets Gathered to do Honour to the Earthly Remains of the Lokamanya.
Note the Number of Women.

selfless love of the Motherland and faith in the Power which rules the destinies of nations and does not leave any righteous effort without the help that it deserves,—taking all these into consideration,

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the greatest political leader modern India has produced. Our differences with him on the subject of social reform were serious, though we believe he was not

opposed to social reform in itself—he thought it might and ought to be attended to when political solidarity and freedom had been achieved. Even as regards some of his political methods and principles we have thought he was wrong. But in spite of these differences, we have never during his life time refrained from paying to him our homage of respect and admiration, when the occasion demanded it, for his high motives, his self-dedication, his untamed and unbroken manliness, his fight to the death with the bureaucracy, his strong intellect and deep scholarship, his love and reverence for the Motherland, and his abiding faith in an overruling Providence.

A Quiet Worker and a Noble Gift.

Bengal has hitherto heard little of Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta, M. A., Ph. D., who has been steadily working as a research scholar on Hindu Philosophy for the last nine years, during which he has been a professor of the Chittagong College. After passing the M. A. examination in Sanskrit and Philosophy and winning the Griffith Prize, he has devoted, on an average, twelve hours daily to his work in his study, and the result is embodied in the following books and manuscripts: (1) A Study of Patanjali (just published by the Calcutta University). (2) The Yoga Philosophy in relation to other systems of thought (Doctorate thesis, to be published by the Calcutta University). (3) Natural Philosophy of the Ancient Hindus (to be published by the same authority). (4) History of Indian Philosophy from the earliest times to Jiva Goswami, in three volumes (ready for publication in England). (5) Introduction to the Tantra Philosophy.

Dr. Das Gupta belongs to a learned Vaidya family of Gaila in Barisal, where he has resuscitated the family *tol*, existing for the last 140 years, and animated it with new vigour and life under the name of the Kabindra College. He has now taken long furlough and sailed for England from Colombo on the 9th August. He carries with him a library of Sanskrit books and his object is to prosecute

researches in European philosophy and understand the true value of European culture as well as to deliver lectures on Indian philosophy and culture at different University centres both in technical and popular form. Dr. Das Gupta has specialised in modern Indian philosophy since the time of Sankara. Sankara is popularly known as the last great philosopher that India has produced, but anyone who has seen the vast collection of authors in Dr. Das Gupta's sanctum coming down to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era and belonging to all parts of India, will have to disabuse himself entirely of that notion. The truth appears to be that the stream of Sanskrit culture, which has manifested itself at its best in its philosophy, did not altogether run dry before the advent of the British. It is the aim of Dr. Das Gupta to initiate some European scholars into the post-Sankarian developments of Indian philosophy.

Dr. Das Gupta, as a College professor, had some leisure, but he could not have turned it to the best possible use but for the munificence of a patron whose good work it is now our duty to record. From the year 1917 Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, K.C.I.E., proved himself a veritable Mæcenass to the subject of our sketch by offering him Rs. 300 a month for the purchase of books for a research library, the grant to continue so long as necessary, without any limit of time. Dr. Das Gupta's library was a place of pilgrimage for all visitors to Chittagong. It was at once choice, select, and vast. The best books in Sanskrit, English, and Bengali, published in all parts of the world with a sprinkling of German and French books, relating to philosophy and allied subjects, were to be found there. Ample means and a well-directed mind went to its making and there are few private libraries in Bengal to compare with it. The Maharaja of Kasimbazar has further formally undertaken to bear the cost of publishing Dr. Das Gupta's "History of Indian Philosophy" in England, as well as the entire expense of his research tour in Europe and America, no time-limit being fixed. The Maharaja's public benefactions in the



The Lokamanya's Body Being Carried to the Cremation Grounds.

cause of education are well known, but his discovery of a scholar of Dr. Das Gupta's type and providing him with

ample facilities for the prosecution of his researches in India and Europe is a noble act of discriminating liberality for which

the country has no less cause to be grateful than for his other educational gifts.

Dr. Das Gupta has fine natural gifts, and deep erudition. He has devoted ten years of close application to his subject. His *sadhana* has proved that he possesses in an eminent degree that element of genius which has been defined by Carlyle as an infinite capacity for taking pains. In private life he is simple and unostentatious. He is a fine type of the modern Indian savant, whose mind has not been cramped by his love of the ancient sages but has room enough in it for all that is best in world-thought. The people of Chittagong have given him a hearty send-off in the Jatramohan Town Hall and we wish him God-speed and hope that his European mission will prove a complete success. He will walk among the shady academic groves and cloistered halls of the European universities, which are so favourable to the quiet work to which he intends to devote himself. It is to a great extent by our contributions to such fields as these that our new national life is to be built up. Professor Das Gupta has hitherto busied himself with analysis and research. Equipped with the best culture of the East and the West, his great aim is to devote himself in future to constructive and synthetic work, of the superiority of which to mere research he is fully convinced. It is by our original contributions to thought and science that we shall justify our national right to exist, and research is valuable only as a means to that end, and no one knows it better than the learned professor a brief account of whose aims and activities we have presented before our readers to day.

Where Will It End ?

I wrote in the Modern Review of March, 1920, about Naboth's Vineyard, and how the parable had been illustrated in East Africa.

To-day, we are witnessing the same parable on a far more extended scale. My heart is too sore, while the news is still fresh, to write at length about it. Lord Milner's pronouncement means nothing more nor less than the death-blow to the

Indian community, if it remains unchallenged. For what is permanent inferiority and subjection except a living death ?

Where will it all end ? Every single continent of the earth is more and more being devoured by the white race, with its ever rapacious greed. It matters not, whether the country is situated, as East Africa is, on the equator,—everywhere alike the devouring greed goes on apace. Nothing can stop it,—no decency, no moral consideration, no idea of justice, no generosity. Nothing can hold back the hand that grabs, and grabs, and ever grabs,—now at Mesopotamia, now at Syria, now at Morocco, now at Tripoli, now at East Africa. Will this awful gluttony ever cease ?

America is busy, at the present moment, making more stringent her harsh anti-Asiatic laws. Presidents selected by their party, whether Democrat or Republican, are eagerly vying with one another in bidding for the political asset of the white men's hate against the Asiatic.

Australia is setting up the preposterous claim, as her fixed will and law, that not only shall the many thousand square miles of tropical Northern Territory remain unoccupied, rather than be the home of Asia, but that even the mandated territories of the whole Southern Pacific shall be kept as a white man's preserve. Australians are clamorously angry and even bellicose, because a few tiny little islands in the North Pacific have been ceded to Japan.

The European population, everywhere alike, whether in South or East or Central Africa, is more and more determined in its own mind to eject, by every kind of bullying pressure, the Asiatic from the whole of Africa.

This means, in the long run, that nearly two thirds of the human race are to be cooped and penned up in the South Eastern corner of Asia, while the European overruns the world.

The only possible meaning of this, in the distant future, is a far more terrible convulsion of humanity than the world of civilised man has ever seen before.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's Appeal to the Moderates.

In the letter which Mr. Lajpat Rai, president-elect of the Special Congress, has addressed to the Moderate leaders inviting them to join the Congress, he says :

Questions for consideration of which the special session has been convened are of such vital importance to our country that they require the fullest participation in deliberation of the session of all patriotic sons of India, especially of those who for over 25 years had control and guidance of the Congress in their hands and some of whom have helped materially towards making it a great organisation it is to-day. I have so far refused to believe and I still adhere to my opinion, that any fundamental differences divide the different wings of the Indian Nationalists or at least that they divide them to such an extent and in such a manner as to make it impossible, inadvisable or impolitic for them to take counsel together and decide what the country should do in a given contingency. But even if such differences did exist, the questions that are agitating the public mind to-day are of such magnitude that they should be set aside for the moment to enable the country to have the benefit of the joint deliberation and, if possible, united action on the part of all the politically-minded persons. So far as I am concerned I have great respect for the leaders of all parties and it will be my endeavour to insist that they shall be heard with becoming respect. I am confident that the country's representatives who assemble in Calcutta will feel the same way.

We support Mr. Lajpat Rai's appeal. He has never been thoroughly identified with any particular party. He has not been a nationalist of the type

which sees nothing wrong in our social system. On the contrary, he has been a consistent and practical social reformer. At the same time, he has not been a politician of the invertebrate kind whose god is expediency and whose chief rule of action is the avoidance of risk; his deportation and the numerous other kinds of persecution to which he has been subjected prove his virility and the genuineness of his patriotism. But even these persecutions, with the Punjab atrocities added thereto, have not made him



Lala Lajpat Rai,
President-elect of the special session of the Indian National Congress.

a revolutionary. He is a level-headed man with abundant practical spirit. The appeal of such a man should bear fruit. His has been a life "full of strife and struggle; of strenuous work done for the spiritual welfare of large numbers of his fellowmen; of disinterested zeal shown in the educational advancement of his countrymen; of devoted service done to starving men, women, and children during times of general distress; and of intense patriotic fervour evinced in the political emancipation of his fellow-subjects. His unabated ardour to raise his countrymen in every aspect of their daily lives has led him into almost every line of national work that directly or indirectly tends to advance them" (Natesan), like the Swadeshi movement, for instance. He has been a large giver, of time and energy and of money, too. He has done most valuable propaganda work in America. The way to honour such a man is not merely to give him a splendid welcome but to give serious attention to his letter and, if not utterly impossible, to respond to it.

Indian Women at Geneva.

Mr. St. Nihal Singh writes in *New India* that Mrs. Naidu, on her return from the Women's International Conference at Geneva, told him that Mrs. Tata had opened the discussion for the Indian delegation. She spoke of woman's position in ancient India, and outlined the efforts that the women of to-day had been making to regain their old time position in the polity of the Nation. She was followed by Mrs. N. C. Sen. Both were kindly received and given a patient hearing.

Speaking last, Mrs. Naidu likened the Eastern deputation to an embassy that had come for the first time, as was the Eastern custom, not only with credentials, but also with gifts. The gifts the women of the East offered were the spirit of peace and the ideal of service. Both, she said, were woven into the fabric of Indian life. Mrs. Naidu preached the doctrine of service to others as opposed to the idea of wresting power from others. Power was peril—service was strength—she reminded her audience. By standing for these ideals,

the women had the power, in themselves, to raise the moral tone of the whole world, and to bring about a new order, where each would strive for the welfare of all, instead of seeking to secure and to wield power for personal or national aggrandisement.

The speech, Mr. Singh adds, was eloquent and was constantly interrupted with applause. After its conclusion delegates from other countries pressed around her, embracing and kissing her and thanking her for giving them new hope for the future.

Rabindranath Tagore Interviewed.

The editor of *Britain and India* interviewed Dr. Rabindranath Tagore before Parliament had finally pronounced its verdict on the Punjab excesses. He was not hopeful that adequate condemnation would be expressed. The interviewer next asked him what he thought of the Reform Act.

"I do not take much interest in it really, because it seems to me unreal," he said. "I want to give my time to constructive work on our own lines. The Bill does not give real freedom, but only the semblance of it, so I do not take any real interest in it. I am much more interested in what we can do by self-sacrifice and social service and the endeavour to work out our own salvation. These political campaigns create such personal bitterness and vituperation. They may have their own use, and may serve some useful end, I do not know. I hate politics, and I don't like to talk about it. I may be unjust, but to me there are other things far more worthy of attention."

Asked what he thought was the true way of progress for India, he replied:

"My interests are all in the direction of education, literature and art—the development and expression of what we have in ourselves. We want to offer something to humanity and prepare for the time when we can give expression to it, to our spiritual nature. We must cultivate whatever is great in us, and we should contribute something to the civilisation of mankind."

Dr. Tagore was then asked in what direction his own work went.

"I am an author," replied Dr. Tagore, "and try to express ideas, and unconsciously these national things get expressed in my writings. Every poet gives utterance to the wisdom of the nation to which he belongs, and I am doing this for my own people. I quite by accident trans-

lated some of my own writings and so came out of the reserve of my own life and became known in the West, and I have some of my best friends in England and Europe. But I wrote for my own people in the Bengali language and tried to express their ideas."

A Voluntarily Self-governing Village.

During his recent tour in some villages in Dacca His Excellency the Governor of Bengal visited a village named Kalatia. This village had voluntarily formed a committee before the Village Self-government Act came into force. During the last three years the villagers had dug nine wells, cleared many village roads of jungle, and willingly taxed themselves to secure these and other benefits. Kalatia has set an excellent and most encouraging example.

A Noble Gift for a Women's Hostel.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has received from the citizens of Bombay the munificent *dakshina* of 25 lakhs of rupees for the Hindu University. Among the most commendable of the donations is one of Rupees 2,50,000 given by Seths Mulraj Khatau, Trisundas Khatau and Tulsidas Gordhandas Khatau for a women's hostel in connection with the University, to be run separately under the management of ladies.

The Indian Women's University.

"The woman's cause is man's. They rise or fall together, bond or free." It has, therefore, given us great pleasure to find that the Indian Women's University movement is slowly making headway. Up to date only four women have gradu-

ated from it; it is a small beginning. But great results follow from such small beginnings.



Four Graduates of Indian Women's University.

The Spanish Nobel Prize Winner.

This year the Nobel prize for literature has gone to Jacinto Benavente a Spanish author of distinction. The following paragraph relating to him is taken from the *Literary Digest* :—



Jacinto Benavente,
Spain's Nobel Prize Winner.

Jacinto Benavente, the Spanish dramatist, is reported to be the choice for this year's Nobel prize for literature. Tho Benavente is Spanish, the long success of his play, "The Passion Flower," during the past season in New York, gives to us something of a proprietary right in him, especially since elsewhere outside his native country he is practically unknown. Spain knows and acclaims him as her leading playwright. The award, however, bring to the surface the fact that writers for the stage have figured largely among those honored by the Swedish Committee. Nine of the eighteen recipients of the honor have either been profest playwrights or have lent their work to the stage, and in cases have collaborated in the labor of casting them in dramatic form.

A Fitting Memorial to a Distinguished Indian Scientist.

Modern India has not produced a greater botanist than the late lamented Lieutenant-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar, F. L. S., I. M. S. (Retired), who bequeathed his library of medical and scientific books to his friend Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired), of Allahabad. It was the good fortune of Major Basu to have secured the

co-operation of Colonel Kirtikar in the production of his work on Indian Medicinal Plants. To commemorate the services rendered by Colonel Kirtikar to the cause of Botany in this country, Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired), offered to the Calcutta University the works on Cryptogamic Botany, drawings of Fungi, and specimens of Fungi, Algae and Mosses belonging to the late Colonel Kirtikar on the following terms :—

1. That the Calcutta University establish a Herbarium and name it Kirtikar Herbarium.

2. That the said University publish a work on the Cryptogamic Botany of India in which the researches of and drawings by Colonel Kirtikar be also published.

3. That the said University establish a research scholarship in Cryptogamic Botany and name it after Colonel Kirtikar.

4. That the said University allow not less than two of the members of the family or representatives of Major Basu to have free access to work in the laboratories, museum and library of the University.

He has offered one hundred unbound sets of "Indian Medicinal Plants" to the University, the sale proceeds of which are to be applied to any of the above purposes. The work has been patronised by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and in appreciation of its merits the Government of India has been pleased to bring it to the notice of the various Governments and administrations of the country. The price of a set is two hundred and fifty rupees.

The Hon'ble the Vice Chancellor and Syndicate of the Calcutta University have accepted the offer with thanks on the proposed terms. We are very glad that our Alma Mater is to have such an appropriate memorial to a distinguished Indian scientist. Major Basu could not have done honour to the memory of his friend in a more fitting form.

The Morals of Hindu Widows.

The Epiphany having published an outrageously libellous letter on the morals of Hindu widows, there have been denunciations in newspapers and public meetings, and a case has been brought against its

editor, printer and correspondent. *The Indian Social Reformer* has something better than mere condemnation. It says:—

The *Epiphany's* correspondent said that ninety-nine per cent of Hindu widows were living in prostitution. Now, prostitution does not conduce to longevity: it shortens life. In the light of this fact, it is significant that, at the last census, of every 10,000 Hindu females in the country, the number of those aged 40 and over was 2215: of these no less than 1,345 were widows and only 850 were married women. In the age period 15-40, of a total of 4081, the number of married women was 3,416 and of widows 506. The dangerous devices, to which Hindu widows who fall from virtue resort to conceal their condition, are well-known. The admissions to the Pandharpur Foundling Home tell a woeful tale. Prostitution in their case is, therefore, far more detrimental to longevity than in ordinary cases. And yet we have the fact that there are over 50 per cent more Hindu widows than married women over 40 years of age. This, to say the least, raises a strong presumption against the reckless libel published by the *Epiphany*.

While justice to Hindu widows requires that we should unreservedly condemn their lying calumniators, justice also requires that we should assert that Hindu society does not take proper care of its widows, but on the contrary leaves them in such a position that a larger proportion of them than of single or married women are convicted of some offence or other and sent to jail. We have been giving figures from the jail and census reports in the *Prabasi* year after year to prove this statement. Here are the latest figures, from the Administration Report on the Jails of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1919. Among female convicts direct admissions from court were 706. Of these 372 were Hindus, 193 Muhammadans, 5 Buddhists and Jains, 14 Christians and 122 belonged to all other classes. 275 were married, 11 unmarried, 254 widows and 166 prostitutes. The first thing to be noted here is that though the Muhammadan population of Bengal is larger than the Hindu population and though of the total number of convicts 55.66 per cent. were Muhammadans and 40.83 per cent. Hindus, among female convicts Hindus far outnumbered Muhammadans. It is clear therefore that Hindu women have to

live under some more unfavorable conditions than Musalman women, and enforced widowhood is such a condition. Again, the total number of married women in Bengal is more than 104 lakhs and the total number of widows is 45 lakhs, that is less than half. But the number of convict widows is almost equal to married female convicts, which shows that widows have to live under conditions more predisposing to crime than those under which married women live. Further, the total number of Hindu widows is about 26 lakhs and that of Muhammadan widows a little more than 18 lakhs. The smaller number of Muhammadan widows combined with the lesser criminality observed among Muhammadan women leads to the almost certain conclusion that among the convicted widows the majority are Hindus. These facts should impell all of us to improve the lot of our widows in all possible ways.

Why Dyer was Condemned.

The Dyer debate has been published in *extenso* in many daily papers. For once, Mr. Montagu, stung to the quick by the 'foul attacks of those very men for whose sake he had refused to do India the barest justice in his despatch on the Hunter Committee's report, spoke some home-truths, e. g., 'that an Indian is tolerable so long as he will obey your orders,' and that 'if once he imbibes the ideas of individual liberty which are dear to the British people, why, then you class him as an educated Indian and an agitator.' But to us it seems that the real point of his appeal to the House of Commons lay in the following passage of his speech:

"There has been no criticism of any officer, however drastic his action was, in any province outside the Punjab. There were 37 instances of firing during the terrible, dangerous disturbances of last year. The Government of India and his Majesty's Government had approved 36 cases and only censured one....."

But this *only* exception the House was hardly disposed to tolerate till Mr. Bonar Law, in winding up the debate, delivered a speech bristling with sympathy for Dyer and made a clean breast of the real

reason of the Government's condemnation of the Dyer massacre at Amritsar. He said :

"It is quite true that probably most of the people who were in the Jalianwala Bagh, almost like sheep in a pen, were there in rebellion, and that if they had the courage and had chosen they might have rushed the small force, but General Dyer had stated definitely that that was not an element that weighed with him in the least. His defence was quite different, and it was that defence,—he was going to put this solemnly to the House—which above everything else made it necessary, for this Government or any Government in this country if it was to retain the reputation it had always had, to repudiate his action. General Dyer's defence was that what he did produced a moral effect upon the Punjab."

In the above passage, Mr. Bonar Law seemed to say in effect as follows : "Look here, gentlemen, you all know that England has a reputation to maintain before the civilised world, which must be kept up at all costs. If only Dyer had the sense to say that most of the people at Jalianwala Bagh were in rebellion and might, if they had chosen, have rushed his small force, and thus compelled him to fire on them, all would have been well and Dyer might have been let off scotfree in spite of all the massacre without a stain on the British reputation. But Dyer was a fool to blurt out his real object, which was to create a moral effect upon the Punjab. This is what really forced the hands of His Majesty's Government, for it was impossible for it not to repudiate such a doctrine of frightfulness and yet retain its reputation before the world. That the people assembled at Jalianwala Bagh were like sheep and had not the courage to attack Dyer's little force might have made Dyer's apprehension absolutely groundless, still that apprehension might have been easily supported and a plausible defence built upon it. But Dyer had definitely thrown away his chance. What, gentlemen, was the Government to do under the circumstances? It was under a most inconvenient necessity—the necessity of keeping up its reputation—and so it was entirely helpless and had, in fact, no other alternative but to condemn Dyer."

We fully appreciate the difficulties of Mr. Montagu, as well as of Mr. Bonar Law. Their principles differ as the poles asunder, but being yoked together to run a Coalition Government, they found themselves under the necessity of coming to terms with each other. But the real temper of the British House of Commons, which is supposed to be so sympathetic to the claims of abstract justice, will become manifest from the nature of the appeals addressed by two such veteran parliamentary leaders, entertaining such divergent notions of liberty and justice, to induce the House to acquiesce in the Government policy in the matter of General Dyer. Not sympathy for the slaughtered innocents, not a sense of shame at the appalling tragedy and crime, not even a desire to do the barest justice, but a low and heartless appeal to motives of expediency, secured for the Government a majority of 101 in that debate, and we know that to the House of Lords even such motives proved too exalted, and it threw the Government entirely overboard, without feeling any compunctious visitings of conscience whatsoever.

Impotent Rage of some English Women in America.

It appears that one Mr. Surendra Karr, a Hindu scholar in America, sharply criticised British rule in India before the civic centre in San Francisco in June last. Scarcely had he finished speaking when some English women rushed towards the platform and most vehemently began hurling sharp verbal missiles at the speaker.

"You should be hanged," shouted one ; "You should be deported," screamed a second ; "Jail is too good for you," thundered a third. Some of these English women even shook their fists at Mr. Karr, who simply smiled at their unmannerly performance. His calmness enraged the daughters of John Bull all the more. They later petitioned President Barrows of the University of California for the revocation of Mr. Karr's diploma. President Barrows scornfully rejected the request.

The Arab "Rebels".

Bold patriots who fight to preserve or recover their independence are called rebels by usurpers. It is in this sense that the Arab insurgents of Syria and Mesopotamia are rebels. As will appear from an article reproduced elsewhere from the *Literary Digest*, the Syrians had exercised their right of self-determination by electing Emir Faisal as their King, and so they owe allegiance only to him. *The Catholic Herald of India* takes a righteous view of the situation in Mesopotamia when it writes :

The Arab trouble in Mesopotamia has now spread from the western to the eastern frontier, the rebellion extending right up to the north. But is it a rebellion ? Not at any rate according to the treaty of Versailles, which lays down that "the wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

"Home Rule for Formosa".

The Kobe Herald reports that the Japanese Privy Council recently sat in extraordinary conference, in Tokio, to consider a variety of questions of an urgent nature. The meeting was attended by all the members of the Council and the State Ministers, and, after an exchange of views and opinions, among other things, a decision was reached to introduce a local government system in Formosa, which the *Kobe Herald*, a British-owned and British-edited paper, calls "Home Rule." The new regulations, based on the above decision, will shortly be promulgated by imperial ordinance.

Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials and their sisters and brethren must now bestir themselves to discover or invent the points in which Indians are inferior to the semi-savages and savages of Formosa, making them unfit for Home Rule.

Truthful Reuter Agency in India.

The *Mahajarin* incident at the station of Kachagari in which a *Mahajarin* is alleged to have been savagely done to death by a British soldier and into which an official inquiry is being held, has been thus truthfully cabled abroad by Reuter's

Indian agency, as published in the *Kobe Herald of Japan* :

FRACAS IN INDIA.

An official statement, says a Reuter despatch from Abbotabad, Punjab, India, July 12th, reports a serious altercation at the station of Kachagari. The British military police were endeavouring to evict from a train two Moslem emigrants bound for Afghanistan, who were travelling without tickets, when a crowd attacked them, and seriously wounded a British officer, also injuring two policemen. The troops fired three shots and one of the emigrants was killed, while another was wounded.

"Independence" of Egypt.

Egypt had been practically deprived of independence several decades ago, and during the war it was declared a British Protectorate. But the Egyptians never accepted the position of dependence as a settled fact. They made great sacrifices to have their independence recognised. They have now gained their object to a great extent. Though their country will not be as free as even small European countries like Denmark, Switzerland, &c., its position will be much better than those of protectorates and dependencies. For this small mercy non-European peoples must be thankful.

By recognising the partial independence of Egypt, Great Britain has shown her good sense, not generosity ; because, if anybody refrains from permanently enslaving and robbing a house-holder, we do not call it generosity. It may be some time before we have before us materials to ascertain what international forces and influences stimulated the good sense of Great Britain in this matter.

Advocates and opponents of Non-cooperation should make a note of the case of Egypt in their note-books.

"Moderatism" in Ireland.

London, Aug. 24.

A conference of the Moderate elements in Ireland met in Dublin to-day in order to express opinion on the Government's Irish policy and to discuss acceptable settlement. The conference passed a resolution demanding full National Self-government with complete administrative, fiscal and financial independence as the only means of securing peace in Ireland, north-east Ulster having special treatment and the

status of a free contracting part. The resolution also demanded the immediate abatement of the stringency of the present policy of repression.—"Reuter."

So, "Moderatism" is relative after all! The "demands" of the Indian Extremists pale into utter insignificance by the side of the demands of the Irish "Moderates". Shall we ask Indian "Co-operators" and Non-co-operators to take note of the case of Ireland, too?

Rabindranath Tagore and Others to Lloyd George.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and some other Indian sojourners in England have addressed the following letter to Mr. Lloyd George:

To

The Right Hon'ble David Lloyd George.

Sir,

We, the undersigned, approach you, not as the representatives of any political party in India but as those who feel anxious to establish a bond of humanity between our people and yours founded upon mutual respect. We believe that unless there is some great moral principle to guide our political relationship no mere adjustment of the machine of administration from outside will give us anything of which either of us can be proud. Therefore what we desire is to see the best ideal of the British people—their love of freedom and fair play—finding full access to their government of India, making it natural for the Indians to offer to it their spontaneous co-operation. It is needless to say that any act on the part of our rulers in India or utterance of the members of Parliament in this country which supports the doctrine that India is held by the force of arms makes our people painfully conscious of the indignity of their position in the British Empire. We strongly believe that such a state of things is demoralising, to say the least, both for the governors and the governed. We are deeply thankful to those farsighted statesmen in this country who tried to give expression to the moral judgment of the best nature of your people in the late

debates in Parliament in connection with the unfortunate incidents in the Panjab. But we are certain on the other hand that the language and the attitude of a considerable number of members of both Houses, as well as the result of the debate in the House of Lords, will cause a bitter feeling of disappointment all over India. We do not believe that repressive measures, however ruthless, can ever save the Empire from the mischief born of an openly defiant resentment or feeling of desperation driven into the heart of the people. This is our only excuse for taking this opportunity of sending to you this letter earnestly urging you to take steps to allay the spirit of mutual distrust perilously growing stronger every day. In this critical time the Indian Government needs at its helm a statesman who has a personality great in political wisdom and an exalted sense of righteousness. And the name which immediately occurs to us in this connection is that of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, who has earned the best claim to our gratitude and affection at a time of great crisis, and whose service to his motherland will, we are sure, be recognised in the history of the British Empire.

From news received from England some time ago it was understood that Dr. Tagore was promoting a memorial or petition to the Prime Minister. This caused some surprise among those who love and revere him, as he has been always known to be opposed to "mendicancy" in politics. They, therefore, thought that either there was some mistake in the news, or that Dr. Tagore might have yielded to the pressure of friends in a great emergency such as the probability of some pronounced enemy of Indians like Lord Sydenham coming out as Viceroy or of Mr. Montagu being forced to resign. Now, however, we know what the thing really is. What we have printed above is not a petition or a memorial. It is a letter containing a suggestion. But we need not dwell further on the name which may be most appropriately given to it. Its substance requires greater attention.

This letter does not show that Reuter's summary of the *Observer's* interview with Dr. Tagore gave a correct idea of the poet's view of the comparative importance of administrative machinery and personal touch and sympathy. Reuter's summary would lead one to suppose that Dr. Tagore thought change in administrative machinery was of little or no importance. This letter does not give us any such impression. Nor does the following extract from the letter of the London correspondence of the *Indian Daily News* give us exactly the same impression as Reuter gave :

Dr.—I must not call him Sir—Rabindranath Tagore has been talking about India to a correspondent of the "Observer". "Feelings," he is reported as saying, "are getting more estranged between the two" (the rulers and the people). He claims to have worked for a real exchange of hearts.

"This," he continued, "is what we need from you. Instead, we experience only that side of your people which is mechanical, somewhat overbearing and unsympathetic. We meet you only in a business relationship and for administrative purposes. The personal human touch is lacking in your Government. It is unmitigated bureaucracy, based on the idea that there is no common ground between East and West. Your laws may be good. They may give us security of property, but what we want is sympathy and imagination. Our civilisations and history are really studied only in those countries in Europe which have no political connections with us. It is humiliating to feel that you can accept nothing from our hands. We are treated like eternal schoolboys." Pursuing this line of thought, he continued : "One result is that our young men aggressively turn away from everything Western. English Orientalists ascribe everything Indian to Greek or Persian origin. During the War the common people eagerly waited for news of Allied defeats, not because they were badly off under British rule, but because they felt themselves ignored, despised and therefore oppressed. Your machine needs a soul." In his opinion the only hope is for Mr. Montagu to become Viceroy and here, so far as my intercourse with them shows, he expresses the views of all the more responsible at present residing in or visiting this country.

The last sentence of the foregoing extract contains the same suggestion as that which the letter contains. And it is the suggestion contained in the last sentence of the letter, with an expression of affection for Mr. Montagu, which calls for comment. Everything else in the epistle

has our support. We think Mr. Montagu meant and means well. And though we may not have at this distance a correct and full idea of all his difficulties in England, including the views, character and antecedents of some of his colleagues, we have some idea. We can also understand that Mr. Montagu may have yielded to a great extent in order to safeguard his Reform Scheme. But making every allowance for his difficulties and the circumstances in which he has had to act, we must say that he did not, as he was in duty bound to, try to know all about the Panjab atrocities at the proper time or, in fact, at any time however late, that his despatch to the Viceroy (for which, we allow, he alone is not responsible) is a poor performance and highly offensive to Indians in those portions where Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford are praised and even General Dyer is credited with an honest sense of duty. Dyer was the only man openly punished, but even his punishment practically amounts to nothing. For doing justice to India and thereby allaying the unrest in this country, righteous, wise, sympathetic and courageous statesmanship is required. Mr. Montagu may be gifted with the qualities of righteousness, wisdom, sympathy and courage. But we have so far found his courage and other virtues only in some of his speeches. He has either feared to do justice or has not been strong enough to be just. If that has been the case in the free atmosphere of England, what would he be able to do here where almost the whole of Anglo-India is against him and where the fact of his being a Jew has been and would be exploited against him to the full? Our great countrymen in England have no doubt better means of knowing him than we have, but, we confess, our impression of him here has been in part that he is more slim (in the South African sense of cunning, crafty and wily) than courageous, righteous and sympathetic. Statesmen undoubtedly require to be tactful and to be able to manage men; but Mr. Montagu's slimness and weakness cannot be mistaken for tact and the ability to manage men.

His correspondence with Mrs. Naidu on the subject of the latter's charges of outrage on women in the Panjab during the martial law regime has made a very unfavorable impression here. The word 'affection' used in connection with his name, and some Indians would say even the word "gratitude", jars on our ears. We admit that we cannot name a better man than he for the office of Viceroy—he appears to us to be the fittest of the lot; but, for all that, we would not suggest any name and thereby even partially make ourselves responsible for what he may do or fail to do as Viceroy. At the same time we strongly condemn the efforts made by the gang of O'Dwyer and Dyer's friends and supporters to compel Mr. Montagu to resign. We cannot forget that it is owing mainly to him that Dyer has been at all censured and punished, however mildly and lightly. Nor do we forget that he has tried to give India a rudimentary form of self-government. But this could not have secured for him the poet's gratitude and affection; for, as the interview with him published in *Britain and India* shows, Dr. Tagore has a very poor opinion of the Reforms.

General Dyer's "Punishment".

During the Dyer Debate in the House of Lords, Lord Milner spoke in part as follows to explain what the consequences to General Dyer of his "punishment" would mean:—

The consequences to him of the adverse judgment passed upon his conduct.....have been the lightest possible consequence in the circumstances.....He came home on half pay. What was it that the Army Council did in the circumstances? It was suggested to them that they should call upon him to retire, that he should be put on retired pay. He was not put on retired pay; he was not called upon to resign. That was the lightest penalty which the army could put upon him. They did not inflict it upon him at all.....And if it is said, 'Oh but his military career has been cut short by the Army Council,' the answer is that it was cut short in India, to the extent of fourteen months.....at the end of which time he would have had to retire under the ordinary rules...in any case an Indian officer, even if he had had much more than fourteen months' service still to fill, would not have been readily or easily employed in any service outside India. It is very exceptional in any case to employ an officer of the Indian

Army in such service. It would be perfectly unjustifiable and, indeed, impossible, so to employ him at a time when there were many officers of equal rank and distinction in the British Army waiting to be employed. The Army Council, in not again employing General Dyer, is not inflicting any penalty or any stigma upon him. It is doing the very thing which it could not possibly help doing without extreme injustice to somebody else. It simply accepts the situation...because there are any number of British officers as well, and even better, fitted for such employments as are vacant, even if there was any vacancy at present to fill which General Dyer could be appointed.

That "the Army Council.....is not inflicting.....any stigma upon him" was further made clear when the cabinet held that no moral blame attached to him and so no disciplinary action was taken against him;—he was considered to have only committed "a grave error of judgment." So not only has he not suffered in reputation, but in fact he has been made a hero of by those in England who have subscribed to the "Morning Post" fund to be presented to him and to the many funds raised here for a similar purpose, and by those British women who have signed the protest against the treatment meted out to him, which has been despatched to the Prime Minister.

That General Dyer has not been a loser pecuniarily will also appear from the reply given to a question put by Mr. S. Sinha in the Imperial Council.

The Commander-in-Chief informed the same non-official member that General Dyer by removal from his appointment forfeited his tenure of command of a brigade which he might otherwise have held until he attained the age of 57 years on the 9th October, 1921. But for this removal he would have been entitled to serve until the 9th October, 1921, unless promoted to the rank of Major-General. General Dyer is residing in England on unemployed pay recently sanctioned by the Secretary of State. He will draw £701-17-6 per annum from Indian Revenues. On retirement, he will be entitled to a pension of £900 per annum which will also be met from Indian Revenues.

In reply to that portion of the question asking how much would the General have drawn as pay or pension if he had retired now of his own accord, it was stated that Dyer had all ready qualified for full pension of his rank, namely, £900 per annum. The statement in an English newspaper that Dyer was in receipt of retired pay due to his rank was incorrect. The

penalty imposed upon General Dyer by the Government to mark their sense of disapproval of his conduct was removal from appointment and forfeiture of tenure of his brigade referred to above.

A Reuter message, dated August 26, states that the "Morning Post" Dyer Fund was on that date £ 17,460. The sums acknowledged here in Calcutta in the "Statesman" amounted to over Rs. 22,000 on the 25th August. Large sums must have been subscribed elsewhere in India, too. So even if Dyer received no pension, he would not have been a loser. In fact the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes, on what authority we do not know :

After this, it is but natural that General Dyer has chosen not to accept the retired pension so kindly provided for him by the Cabinet. Under the rules of service he cannot accept the present now offered to him and so he has cut off all connection with the army. He could not, of course, expect to draw a fraction of the sum raised for him by his pension.

How Another 'Hero' has been Dealt With.

In Pandit Pearay Mohan's book named "An Imaginary Rebellion and How it was Suppressed," the exploits of Rai Sahib Lala Sri Ram Sud, Sub-divisional Officer at Sheikhpura, during the martial law regime, are thus summarised from official evidence :—

Several hours after the mob at Chuharkana had dispersed after looting and burning the railway station, an armoured train with machine-guns, which had been despatched from Lahore, reached the station. After nightfall, the train was taken along the railway line and under instructions from Rai Sahib Lala Sri Ram Sud (Sub-Divisional Officer at Sheikhpura) some villages were bombarded without the slightest justification. The object was not to disperse any unlawful assembly, because there was none in existence. As the result of this indiscriminate bombardment, several persons were killed and wounded, whose exact number is not known. From Lala Sri Ram Sud's evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee no intelligent explanation of this wanton destruction of life and property can be gathered, except that the bombardment was intended to strike terror among the villagers.

What has become of this 'hero' ? Let a part of the report of the proceedings of the Imperial Council on August 27, answer—

Mr. Sinha also asked :—(A) With reference to

the Government statement in their despatch No. 2 dated the 3rd of May last to the Secretary of State for India about the conduct of Lala Sri Ram the minority condemned him on the ground that his intention was punishment and that the firing was therefore not justified, will Government state their grounds for differing from and setting aside the said view and accepting that of the majority that Lala Sri Ram displayed promptitude and decision in the discharge of his duties ? (B) Since accepting the said view of the majority have Government taken or do they propose to take any steps to suitably acknowledge the said officer's promptitude and decision in the discharge of his duties ? If not, why not ?

Sir William Vincent replied :—(A) Government decline to make any addition to the statement of their views contained in their despatch. (B) The Local Government has been asked suitably to acknowledge the services rendered both by officials in accordance with paragraphs 24 and 43 of the Government of India's despatch and paragraph 10 from the Secretary of State.

Is it not, in the circumstances, our bounden duty to co-operate with the present Government of India most enthusiastically ? As for Government declining to add to the statement, &c., it is plain they have no convincing reasons to give.

The Viceroy on Co-Operation and Non-co-operation.

In opening the Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council the Viceroy spoke in part as follows :

Are we to enter upon the new era in a spirit charged with the animosities of the past or shall we leave those things that are behind and press forward to the things that are before ? I am confident that so far as Hon'ble Members are concerned their wish is to write upon a clean slate and leave the past behind. I refrain then from doing more to-day than recording the facts and, much as I am tempted from the personal point of view to reply to our critics, I would point to the future. There is much work for all of us to do. There are many opportunities opening out for mutual service and co-operation.

The wish to write upon a clean slate and leave the past behind is natural for a bureaucrat who has had his way in everything and to whom the past does not bring the burning memory of personal and national humiliation. But it is not clear to us how any self-respecting Indian can think a slate clean which is stained with blood and humiliation, nor how he can

leave a past behind which haunts the memory and will continue to do so as long as life lasts. The slate must first be cleaned before we can write upon a clean slate. We are neither for impotent revengeful rage and recriminations nor for useless and humiliating repinings and whinings. But the advice to "forget and forgive" is no less insulting and useless, coming from those who have been ingloriously "victorious all along the line." For, to forget is impossible, and to forgive is the blessed privilege of only those who can, if they think fit, also not-forgive, and punish.

As for pressing forward to the things that are before, can the Viceroy say what these prospective things are? Do they or do they not include possible Jalianwala Bagh massacres, possible crawling orders, possible dishonour to women worse than death, possible bombing and machine-gunning from the air of children, women and men of whose criminality or innocence nothing is known to the bombers and gunners?

As regards co-operation, its ordinary dictionary meaning is different from what it means in the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic lexicon, viz., subserviency on the part of Indians. There will be such co-operation as long as there are Indians disposed to be subservient. Real co-operation between bureaucrats and non-official Indians is impossible so long as both parties do not sincerely accept and act upon the principle of give and take and so long as there is not a sincere acceptance of a common object, namely, the speedy attainment of perfectly free and enlightened collective manhood by the people of India. It is useless to be hypocritical on the part of either of the parties and utter soft nonsense. The Viceroy and his colleagues did not co-operate in the least with the people and their representatives when there was universal opposition to the Rowlatt Bill. Nor can the Viceroy refer to any other important occasion when the bureaucracy yielded to the desire of the people. How can he then feel entitled to ask for co-operation from the Indian public? Co-operation is reciprocal, not one-sided.

The Viceroy also said, with reference to the non-co-operation movement: "I have every hope.....that the commonsense of the people and the opposition of all moderate men will erect an insuperable bar to the further progress of this most foolish of all foolish schemes." Of course, the act of obstinately proceeding with the Rowlatt Bill and passing it in the teeth of united Indian opposition, was the wisest of all wise acts! But when have men inebriated with the wine of uncontrolled power voluntarily recognised their own folly?

Lord Chelmsford relies on "all moderate men." He probably has in mind the "Moderate" party. But we personally know that even leading "Moderates" are not one and all opposed to the principle of non-co-operation. In the past some of them, though not using the word "non-co-operation," gave up honorary magistracies and municipal commissionerships—one of them being the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea. We should like him to confess now that at that time he acted wrongly and against the best interests of the country.

Non-co-operation is not an impossibility, nor is it immoral; because it is not wrong to have nothing to do with men who cannot or will not act justly but are guilty of injustice because of self-interest or weakness. Some kinds of non-co-operation may be undesirable and may lead to disaster. Some other kinds may be very difficult and therefore impracticable in a relative sense, but we do not believe that all kinds of non-co-operation are undesirable or impracticable. The area of impracticability becomes narrower and narrower as the people become more and more courageous and ready for suffering and sacrifice.

Repatriation of South African Indians.

We are pleased to learn from the Viceroy's speech that the Government of India, have asked that the repatriation officer may be given clear instructions that no pressure must be put on Indians to accept repatriation and that it must be left to Indians themselves to decide whether they will take advantage of the scheme or not. We also hope that the Union

Government will appoint an advisory committee on which Indians are represented to advise the repatriation officer. In as much as the scheme is, we understand, already in operation, we have suggested to the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal that employment bureaux should be organised to assist returning Indians to find employment on their arrival in India. I hope that these bureaux will be largely composed of non-official Indians.

In regard to this matter of 'voluntary' repatriation the Committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association consider the scheme as fraught with danger to the right and interest of Indians and as the thin end of the wedge to drive out Indians from South Africa.

It is imperative, says the Association, that a responsible Indian committee appointed by Indians in South Africa should be immediately constituted to check each case of repatriation and secure that no Indian should sail unless the Committee so appointed is satisfied that he is fully aware of the consequences. The Association earnestly urge upon Government to press upon the Colonial Office the necessity of appointing the suggested committee and of taking all measures to safeguard the rights and interests of Indians domiciled or born in South Africa.

Indians in East Africa.

On the East African Indian problem the Viceroy has said :

I do not admit that there is any justification in a Crown Colony or a Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. We have continually pressed this point of view upon the authorities at home and we have urged that the franchise should be on a reasonable property basis plus an educational test with no racial discrimination. I have only to add that if the decision of His Majesty's Government is not favourable to Indian claims this result is not in any way due to failure on the part of the Government of India to press the Indian point of view. I reserve further remarks on the subject and it will be a matter for serious consideration what further action the Government of India must take in order to secure the legitimate rights of Indians in Crown Colonies.

The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association regards the statement recently made by the Governor of Kenya utterly disappointing and incapable of meeting the requirements.

The Association asks for general franchise applicable equally to Indians and Europeans,

adequate representation of Indian population and objects to holding the uplands as a special preserve for Europeans and segregation of races. The Committee urge upon Government the urgency of immediately pressing upon the Colonial Office the necessity of making these alterations.

Scandalous Jobbery.

Sir Alexander Cardew, an ex-Member of the Madras Executive Council, is reported to have been appointed to the post of Director of the Tata Institute of Science at Bangalore. Throughout his official career this man had nothing to do with scientific research. Nor does he seem to have learnt science at College. But even if he learnt some elementary science in youth that would not qualify him for directorship of scientific research, except in comic drama. Supposing the report of his appointment to be true, we must say that even for India it almost beats the record for scandalous jobbery. It has always been understood by the Indian public that the arrangements in connection with the Tata Institute have been so made as to be least calculated to promote the industrial progress of Indians. From this view-point the appointment of an ex-Civilian, as being likely to be the most efficient in stifling popular aspirations, can be defended.

Rabindranath on the East and the West.

The Inquirer of London has published a beautifully worded article on a conversation with Rabindranath Tagore in London. Space does not allow us to quote the whole. His insistent thought was the mutual need of the East and the West.

We are brought back again and again to this central thought : "the East and the West need each other, and these two *must* come together." He embroiders it and amplifies it in many ways. He shows how essentially sane and sensible it is : he asks us to realise all that we have lost in ignoring, for the most part, the art, the philosophy, the spiritual vision of the East, and how utterly impossible it is for us to give of the richness of our own life to others from whom we have been too proud to take what they also had to offer. "We cannot accept anything at your hands unless we are able to give you something in return."

says this spokesman of modern India, and a psychological truism is suddenly invested with new meaning and beauty because it is urged by one of the few men who has the right to stand forth as the embodiment of sympathy and reconciliation between two great nations.

The poet added :

It is a humiliation to us if we are not allowed to give you something of the wealth of our spiritual life in return for the knowledge of science and mechanical inventions which it is so necessary for our welfare that we should receive from the West." The relations born of ignorance and exploitation, he would have us know, are not true: they cannot last. We must come together in the bonds of a common intellectual sympathy to which England must contribute more in the future than she has done in the past. There is such a tendency in Europe to insist upon the great debt which we owe to Greece, for instance, and to Christianity, and to belittle everything that has come from India. But India has not always understood her own greatness, and men like Mr. E. B. Havell, Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, have done an incalculable amount of good in the course of their efforts to awaken in India the creative spirit which lack of national idealism and too rapid an absorption of Western teaching has tended to repress. "You must not," Mr. Havell told his students, "copy others, but try and find your own soul and give expression to it in your art." Young India was suspicious of him, and he had many obstacles to fight; but he won his way, and the new movement towards creative art in Bengal—which, crude as it may be in its beginnings, has a great future before it—owes a great deal to his influence.

The soul of India is still to be found in her villages.

In the villages, where life is very simple and faith unimpaired, the current of spiritual life still flows in all its purity—as in other countries of the East, such as China and Japan—and there the vision of the people is as direct as their wisdom is often profound. They understand the ennobling influence of service for others, and, illiterate though they may be in regard to worldly knowledge, they have a deep sense of the infinite. There is something, indeed, in common between them and the Russian peasant, whose ignorance covers depths of spirituality through which so much might be achieved for the welfare of the world.

"The Curse of Our Insignificance."

At the Women's Meeting held in London to condemn the Punjab atrocities, the following message from Rabindranath Tagore was read :

The extent and nature of the sufferings borne by the women of the Punjab at the late outrage will never fully be known and therefore will miss not merely reparation, but consolation of human sympathy. This makes us realise more clearly than ever before that it is the curse of our insignificance which is so apt to provoke brutality in the people who have the power to rule over us and yet lack sympathetic imagination or natural bond of kinship. No iniquitous act individually matters so much as the permanent condition which makes it at all easy for any people to be ignored. Therefore I feel that the time has arrived when our women must come out of their obscurity. They must have the opportunity to enable them to find their voice, to make their presence felt, to stand before the world's tribunal claiming justice for their sons and brothers and themselves.

Another Message from Rabindranath.

At the meeting of Indians held to protest against the employment of Indians to fight with the people of Syria, Mesopotamia, &c., the following message from Rabindranath Tagore was read :

The use of mercenary troops for utilitarian purposes is degrading to all parties concerned, and it grieves my heart as an Indian to see that members of a subject race, which has been deprived of its right to carry arms for its own self-protection, are being turned into fighting automatons for the imperialistic aggrandisement of a nation whose possessions are already too burdensome for its moral integrity and physical strength.

July 26, 1920.

Rabindranath Tagore.

Mr. Gandhi's Letter to the Viceroy.

The letter which Mr. M. K. Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy sometime ago to explain why he was returning the three medals which the British Government had given him, has been published broadcast in the newspapers all over the country. Mr. Gandhi has rendered good service both to the Government and the people by speaking out the truth so fully and courageously. It is good for the Government to know what innumerable men feel and think all over the country, for thousands upon thousands do feel as Mr. Gandhi does. The people also, we mean those who are dissatisfied with Government for the reasons contained in Mr. Gandhi's letter, are beholden to him; for few are the men who can tell the truth in

scorn of consequence. In the last sentence of the letter he respectfully asked the Viceroy to summon a conference of recognised leaders of the people, and in consultation with them, find a way that would placate the Musalmans and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab. We never had any hope that His Excellency would do such a thing.

In the very first sentence of the letter Mr. Gandhi wrote that it was not without a pang that he returned the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal granted to him for his humanitarian work in South Africa, the Zulu war medal granted in South Africa for his war services as the officer in charge of Indian Volunteer Service Corps in 1906, and the Boer war medal for his services as Assistant Superintendent of the Indian Volunteer Stretcher Bearer Corps during the Boer War of 1899-1900. He has done well to return the medals. Though morally and spiritually we are men of a lower level than Mr. Gandhi and therefore it may seem presumptuous on our part to criticise him, we have to do it for the sake of discharging a journalistic duty. No reward or recognition of any kind from anybody, far less from an alien Government which looks down upon us as an inferior race, should be accepted for "humanitarian work." The Zulus fought because they had lost their independence and the Boers fought to preserve their independence. We think no one is justified in helping in any capacity (either for any personal advantage or for any national advantage) a power engaged in crushing an independent people or a people seeking to be independent. When a member of a subject race renders such help to the dominant race, the sight does not make one proud of belonging to the subject race. We do not suggest, we do not believe, and it is incredible, that Mr. Gandhi worked for any personal advantage or honours. But whatever his reason or his motive was, we think he did wrong in exerting himself against the Zulus and the Boers. Both these people had and have many faults, but can anybody name a faultless people?

A Sugar Expert.

India has at present to import large

quantities of sugar. But if the cultivation and crushing of sugarcane and the manufacture of sugar were carried on according to up-to-date scientific methods, India could not only supply all her wants but export much more sugar than she does now. Our sugar industry is capable of indefinite expansion, and we require both capitalists and trained and experienced experts for the purpose. Such an expert is Mr. Sarangadhar Das, at present of 7-A Hogalkuria Lane, Calcutta. He at first received his training in Chemistry and Agriculture in California University. He worked for about thirteen months at the Western Sugar Refinery in San Francisco, which turns out about 1000 tons of refined sugar a day. There he worked in all the departments and obtained thorough knowledge of sugar refining. He then obtained a chemist's position with the American Beet Sugar Company at Oxnard, California, which produces about 75,000 tons of sugar per season. During the summer months of 1913 he acted as an agriculturist for the American Beet Sugar Company. In 1914 he again became agriculturist and later, chemist for the same company. With letters of recommendation from the General Manager of the Western Sugar Refinery and from the Vice President of the American Beet Sugar Company, he went to the Hawaiian Islands, in December, 1914. There he secured a position as chemist with the Maui Agricultural Company, the second largest plantation in the group, producing 40,000 tons of sugar a year. Both his routine and research work were highly satisfactory and effected savings of nearly one hundred thousand dollars in the first season. His promotion became very rapid from that time. The following year, 1916, he was given entire charge of the chemical end of the manufacture and acted as superintendent. Here he did not only the work assigned to him, but spent his leisure hours in studying and working in the various branches of the plantation—from ploughing the fields, shipping the sugar, as well as cost accounting, etc. In 1917, when the price of petrol began to advance very rapidly,

carried on extensive experiments on the fermentation of Hawaiian molasses and distillation of alcohol therefrom. These investigations resulted in the erection of a distillery on the plantation, which is now producing a motor spirit, better than petrol and at the same time cheaper. The daily output is 1,200 gallons, which is all used up by the company's six 75-H. P. agricultural motor tractors, twelve motor lorries, and about twenty-five motor cars. The proposition has been so successful that two other sugar companies are erecting distilleries for their own use. After spending over six years in all the branches of the sugar industry he has recently come back to India with strong recommendations from his professors, former employers and American friends, in order to apply his expert knowledge for the development of the Indian sugar industry. His expert services are at the disposal of interested capitalists all over India, who see the future of the country in industrial development and are desirous of establishing industries on a sound foundation.

Canadian Trade with India.

We read in the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* that strenuous efforts are being made for the development of Canadian trade with India. Canada does not want our people to go to her, but wants our money. One of the very first things which the enlarged Indian legislative Assembly should do is to pass a resolution that no Canadian goods or men should be allowed to be landed on the shores of India so long as anti-Indian laws are in force in Canada.

Turkish Treaty Signed on Behalf of India!

Reuter cabled from Paris on August 11 that on the 10th Sir George Perley, Mr. Andrew Fisher, Mr. Blankenberg and Sir Arthur Hirtzel signed the Turkish Treaty on behalf of Canada, Australia, South Africa and India respectively, after Sir George Graham had signed for Britain. Indians of all shades of political opinion have condemned the terms of the Turkish Treaty. It is false to say that anybody signed it on behalf of India. It was signed

on behalf of the foreign Government of India in which Indians have no effective voice.

The Last "Hartal".

Speaking of the last *hartal* the *Catholic Herald of India* picks many holes in Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, but observes:—

The last hartal has none the less evidenced once more India's growing discipline under leadership and her self-restraint. Failures there have been, and self-sacrifice is not yet, but the Indian has certainly reached the intervening stage of his political training, where he will stand by his leader and support him. From an Indian point of view further training into national manhood must aim at altruism and self-sacrifice as the best goal of political development... From an European point of view, honesty and sympathy will always inspire the best kind of statesmanship, for it will ultimately produce the best kind of Indian leadership. Attempts to bully the leaders or drive the people back to national childhood will defeat their own purpose and breed the demagogue. India is growing and Britain should be the last power on earth to grudge the results of its own guardianship.

Japanese Footing in Burma Rice.

The Japanese are not merely exporting their manufactures to India, they are obtaining a footing in the trade of the country also, which was hitherto in the hands of Europeans and Indians. In Burma they have purchased Messrs. Joseph Heap and Sons' Dawbong rice mill and have also purchased land in Kanaungto and Bassein belonging to the same firm.

Export and Slaughter of Cattle.

Strong protests have been made in various quarters against the export of cattle from India, and also against the contemplated slaughter of large numbers of cattle for a tannery in the Central Provinces. Seeing that India does not contain a sufficient number of cattle for agricultural and dairy purposes, both export and such slaughter of them ought certainly to be stopped.

Annual Meeting of Bengal Temperance Federation.

At the last annual meeting of the Bengal Temperance Federation under the Presidency of Sir Debaprasad Sarvadhikari,

Mr. Herambachandra Maitra in the course of his speech said that the most important fact mentioned in the report was that a certain part of Calcutta had been converted into what was called a "Dry Area". In India only a small portion of a large city had been converted into a "Dry Area", and a continent—nearly a continent—in another part of the world had been converted into a dry country. He would ask them to mark the contrast. Here was a land inhabited by people, the two most important sections of which agreed in denouncing drink as the greatest sin. The rulers of the country were always professing their anxiety to govern the country in accordance with the feelings and sentiments of the people and yet, all that the temperance workers had been able to achieve after years of persistent endeavour was that a small portion of this city had been declared a dry area. It was a shame and a scandal. The United States of America was a dry country and why should not they continue to demand persistently that total prohibition should be adopted by Government. He then referred to his visit to America where he was entertained by well-known clubs and societies and the one thing that struck him most was the absence of any wine glass on the dinner tables.

In his concluding speech the president made a good suggestion.

With regard to Mr. Anderson's remark about the Indian Minister he said that he hardly thought that the Indian Minister would be able to do much. What was the poor Minister to do? He might be a very good temperance man, but he would have to think twice before he could say, "drink shall go." For as they knew according to the Meston Committee's award, the extra expenditure, involved in working the Reform Scheme, would have to be met mainly from Excise and Stamp duties. The speaker might, however, suggest one remedy. Lately they have read in the newspapers that alcohol might be used as fuel. If the Excise authorities would turn their attention to think out how alcohol could be turned into fuel in the industrial re-generation of the country, then liquor, which was now eating away the vitality of the people, might be converted into a profitable commodity.

Lord Sinha's New Appointment.

For an Indian to become governor of a province is no doubt a new thing under British rule. But we do not find any reason to grow enthusiastic over the affair. Not to speak of others, Lord Sinha himself had once rightly pointed out that what Indians wanted was not a few high appointments but power to control the government. So long as we have not got

such effective control, even an Indian Viceroy cannot do us the good which he ought to do.

So far as Lord Sinha himself is personally concerned, he cannot be congratulated on his appointment. For one who has been a member of the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet, and is a member of the House of Lords and an Under-Secretary of State, a glorified Lieutenant-Governorship is no promotion. The present Viceroy never held such high office as Lord Sinha has done. Would any English Under-Secretary of State have been offered and would he have accepted a camouflaged Lieutenant-Governorship? He would certainly have been offered the viceroyalty, but Lord Sinha has not been given even a Presidency Governorship. And yet we are expected to feel very happy and grateful. We are sorry we are not in the mood to oblige. Total deprivation followed by a very tardy and very late fractional restoration is not the way to earn sincere thanks.

Lord Sinha's appointment has been spoken of as a new menace to India's freedom. We do not agree. The thing called India's freedom does not yet exist. Therefore it cannot be menaced. If it be said that owing to the lure of a governorship for an Indian now and then, our political leaders would fail to stand up for and demand free men's rights, we reply that a people whose leaders cannot resist such temptations ought to fail. The political arena does not require a valetudinary virtue. We want men whose patriotism has been exposed to temptations and found not wanting. Therefore such temptations are needed and serve a useful purpose.

We do not admit that Indian men in high office are invariably guilty of nepotism, or more guilty than Europeans in their own country or in India. If the imperial and provincial civil lists in all departments were examined, plenty of Europeans having the same family names borne by blood relations would be found.

We do admit that owing to our being a dependent people, if a fight has to be put up against European interests or against

higher authorities, a high European officer feeling inclined for such a duty would be generally a sturdier fighter than an Indian in the same position. But in the first place this cannot be laid down as a universal rule, and in the second place it is very rarely that any high officer does engage in such fight—Sir Henry Cottons are not plentiful as blackberries. Speaking generally, there is likely to be some appreciable gain from an Indian ruler's knowledge of the country and its people from the insides and the resulting insight and sympathy. Indian officers in high position would not probably prevent and not foment or create trouble. During the Swadeshi and Anti-partition agitation in Bengal, there were, generally speaking, no "swadeshi cases" in districts ruled by Indian Magistrates as there were in those under European officers.

Hindu-Moslem Unity.

There is at present undoubtedly greater Hindu-Moslem unity than before. It will be proved to be politically complete when Moslems will cease to demand separate representation in local bodies and give up such representation in legislative councils. On the occasion of Lord Ronaldshay's recent visit to Manikganj, the local representatives of the Mahomedan community having made known to him their desire that Mahomedans should have communal representation on all local bodies, His Excellency said that while sympathising with them in the matter he was inclined to

think that it would be unwise to introduce a system of communal representation on those bodies, especially at a time when so much desire was expressed for co-operation between Hindus and Mahomedans. It would not be proper to introduce any system which might give the appearance of any estrangement between the two communities, and he would, His Excellency added, prefer to secure adequate representation by nomination when necessary rather than by communal representation. As our Musalman neighbours have abundant sense of humour they ought to be able to enjoy His Excellency's reply.

"The Gap between the Father and the Son."

"A Student of the National Training College" has given expression in *New India* to the following ideas which are well worthy of the consideration of older heads:

The wide gap between the parent and the child ought to be bridged before we try to effect any thorough change in the education of the coming generation. There is nothing more sweet to a child than to find companionship in his father. That conscious parental affection and confidence of a boy in his father is the seed, the proper sowing and nourishing of which will shoot forth into a magnificent tree of social love and sympathy.

Very few fathers do realise this. They think that their responsibility towards their children is discharged when they have provided them food and clothing and a school. Their remaining needs are mostly supposed to be looked after by teachers and companions outside.

CORRECTION

In the article on the "Size of the Bengal Legislative Council" by Mr. Srinath Dutt, appearing in the *Modern Review* for June, 1920, on page 655, the last two columns of the table should have been :—

Seats	Electors per seat
66	7,700
57	8,800
58	19,100
72	19,700
44	3,600
54	9,400
37	3,200
30	10,000



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REPRESSION—THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES AND J. T. SUNDERLAND, NEW YORK.

IN his message to Congress in December, 1919, President Wilson used the significant words, "Repression is the seed of revolution." Here is a thought which it is of the greatest possible importance to keep in mind, in times of political and social unrest like the present. Perhaps no social or political disasters of the past have been more serious than those which have sprung from ignorance or defiance of the principle which this thought involves. To demonstrate the truth of this assertion it is only necessary to turn to the pages of history and read there the long-continued story, running through every age of human experience, of the repression that leads to revolution.

George III of England had the idea that repression was the right remedy for social and political unrest and disturbance in these thirteen American colonies. But in the end, when it was too late, he discovered his fatal mistake. His policy of repression, so far from quieting the Americans, was the very thing which brought about the revolution which cost his kingdom the most precious jewel in its crown.

The same lesson has been taught so many times as to defy enumeration. The English, as though they had learned nothing from their American experience of 1776, have tried repression in Ireland for a hundred years, with the result that the Irish are more irreconcilable than ever before.

The Austrians tried repression in Italy with a severity hardly matched in modern times, with the dramatic result of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, and the establishment of the kingdom of United Italy.

The Russians developed a system of

repression which for completeness of efficiency may be said to stand as a model for all future times; and for years this system seemed to justify itself by the success with which it uprooted and destroyed one revolutionary movement after another. But the significant thing is, that while the revolutionary movements were destroyed, the revolutionary spirit remained untouched. Nay, it flourished and grew and deepened and spread in the atmosphere of repression, as a result of the forces created by repression, until, in a sudden hour, the hidden volcano burst into eruption and swept away every vestige of the Government that did the repressing.

Do we not have here a lesson for Great Britain in dealing with the unrest of India? Looked at from any possible standpoint, India suffers many bitter wrongs and sore grievances, the bitterest of all of which is loss of freedom, deprivation of the right of self-determination.

When the British officers in India meet the inevitable unrest and agitation for reforms which these grievances and wrongs create with infliction of greater wrongs, with refusal to redress grievances, with cruel acts of repression, with arbitrary Rowlatt Acts, with martial law, with imprisonment and deportation of honored citizens without trial, with the shooting down of hundreds of unarmed men, women and children assembled for prayer and for peaceful petition to the Government—when the British officers do these things, are they not taking a course which, to say the least, is the most stupid and blind that they could possibly pursue? Why does not England learn a lesson from her experience in connection with her American colonies?

and with Ireland; and also from the experiences of France, Austria, Italy and Russia in connection with their efforts to cure popular unrest by repression?

The certainty of the failure of repression as a method of quieting agitation, and the equal certainty of its success as a method of fostering revolution, become easily understandable, if we turn from history to psychology, and analyze some of the factors involved.

What does a Government do, not with the bodies, but with the minds, of people, when it becomes terrified for its own safety, and resorts to repression?

The first thing that a repressive government accomplishes is to give people a case against itself—to convince people that they are right in their desire to weaken or destroy

"The springs of action," said Herbert Spencer, "are not so much intellectual as emotional." Men act not so much when their minds are convinced as when their emotions are stirred. This means that the security of any government depends not so much upon the judgment of the people as upon their feeling. It is in the care and confidence of the people that the strength of a government lies. A government that pursues a policy of repression, teaches thousands of people, who heretofore trusted it and had been loyal to it, to hate it for its injustice and cruelty. Every citizen arrested and imprisoned, not for crime but for opinion, is turned from a potential lover into a potential hater of the government that thus treats him. And around each single person thus oppressed there are friends and kinsmen by the score who are taught to feel the same sentiments of indignation as flourish in the soul of the one who suffers.

And this has another side, which is equally disastrous; for repression not only kills in the hearts of thousands, all love for the government, but it develops in those same hearts a new and terrible love for the enemies of the government.

A third thing is accomplished by repression. We refer to the fact that repression gives the example, sets the pace, for the use of violence. Nothing in this world is more contagious than example, for the reason that man is essentially an imitative creature. When a government refuses to listen to the people, declines to give accused men fair trials, declares that the remedy for political

or industrial discontent is the policeman's club or the machine-gun, asserts that the place for an agitator or a reformer is in a prison cell—it is simply appealing from reason and justice to force and violence. How can it wonder if its own methods of violence and force are answered by violence? Repression is simply the government's use of violence. Its result is always to drive agitation out of the warm wholesome air of the free outdoors, into the gloomy channels of underground conspiracy. If the reactionaries of any country want to make sure of the use of violence by the people, let them pursue the policy of meeting political, social and industrial unrest with persistent and stern repression. They will find these "frightfulnesses" creating other frightfulnesses in quarters where they little desire them.

If the writers of this article were asked what policy we would have the Governments of the world including our own in America; pursue in the face of the agitation and unrest of the peoples who are indignant over the wrongs they suffer and want better things, we would answer the question by quoting the famous words of Count de Tocqueville, in the French Chamber of Deputies, in the year 1848. Reviewing the agitation of the times he gave it as his profound conviction that "We (the French people) are slumbering over a volcano"; and deprecating the tyranny practised by the French administration, he exclaimed, amid the hostile cries of his audience, "Change the spirit of the government; for God's sake, change the spirit of the government; for the present spirit is leading us to destruction."

That de Tocqueville was right is shown by the fact that his speech was delivered on the eve of the great revolution of 1848, which overthrew King Louis Phillipe and destroyed his regime. Nothing could have saved the dangerous situation which then existed but a change in spirit of the government. There is every reason to believe that that would have done so.

We must not repress agitators, and thus drive them underground and make them more dangerously explosive than ever. We must do what Lord Bacon recommended centuries ago in his essay on "Sedition and Trouble". "Concerning the material of sedition," he says, "it is well to be considered that the surest way to prevent seditions is to take away the matter of them (the cause). If there

be fuel prepared it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire."

In this passage Lord Bacon is having in mind the law of causation—a law as true in society as in physics—that where there is a phenomenon there is a cause for that phenomenon, and that if the phenomenon is to be removed the cause must also be removed. If there is social or industrial or political unrest anywhere in the world today there is cause for it; and these causes must be removed. There is no other possible cure.

The whole truth is summed up by Ralph Waldo Emerson in his essay on "Politics".

"We foolish people still rely on force, not yet learning that force can only bring us force, as hate brings hate."

Great Britain in India, Great Britain in Ireland, our own United States of America, and every other nation in the world—in this time when unrest and desire for better conditions for humanity are stirring mankind as never before—will certainly do well to read the great and sobering words of President Wilson: "Repression is the seed of revolution." Usually it is the seed of violent revolution.

BLACKER THAN THE "BLACK HOLE" OF CALCUTTA

PERHAPS nothing in the entire modern history of India is cited so often as an evidence of the barbarity of the Indian people, of the inferiority of their civilization to that of the British, and of their unfitness to govern themselves, as the story of the "Black Hole" of Calcutta.

What is this story? In brief it is, that in the year 1756, during a time of war between the British and the Indians of Calcutta and vicinity (while the British conquest of India was in progress), an Indian officer confined a party of 146 captured Europeans for a night, during the hot weather of June, without water, in a small room 18 feet by 14 feet and 10 inches, ventilated by only two small windows; and that in the morning 123 of the number (all but 23) were found to have died for want of water and air.

Several historical investigators, who have looked carefully into the evidence declare that the story is a pure fiction,—the invention of the man who wrote it, who pretended that such a tragic event happened and that he was one of the survivors. However for our present purpose let us suppose the story to be true, true in every particular. This being granted, what does it show regarding the Indian people? That they are to-day barbarians? That they are more cruel or lower in civilization than the British? Let us see.

Beyond dispute, the story is a very shocking one. Whoever in any land or age is guilty of perpetrating such an atrocity is worthy of the very strongest condemnation. But let us be fair and just. Does this story

of the Black Hole stand alone? Is it a story of to-day, or of the distant past? Are there not other stories as shocking as this, and even more shocking, connected with British history in India? Let us compare this away supposed Black Hole event (far away in time), with an event near at hand, of our own day, and about the truth of which there can be no possible doubt: I mean the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, which took place in India only last year. The facts of this massacre have been so often and so fully published that I need only summarize them here. In the briefest form they are as follows:

In the month of April, 1919, a great company of some 15,000 or 20,000 people, men, women and children, had assembled, on a religious holiday, in a large inclosed public garden known as the Jallianwalla Bagh (Bagh means garden or small park), in the city of Amritsar, Province of the Punjab, North-West India. The people were wholly unarmed; the object of their gathering was a peaceful and wholly constitutional protest against the arbitrary and unconstitutional arrest and imprisonment of two honored and law-abiding citizens, leaders in the community. The assembly convened in the afternoon. Several days before there had been a riot. On that account, General Dyer, who was in military command in the city, had that morning issued an order forbidding public assemblies; but the order had been so imperfectly published that few if any of those who gathered in the garden knew of it. (This was two days before any declaration of martial law). General

Dyer, learning in the afternoon that a great company had assembled contrary to his order, was enraged, and imagining or professing that he saw in it not only contempt of his official authority but signs of revolt against the Government, resolved to meet it with a policy of "frightfulness" (analogous to the *Schrecklichkeit* policy adopted by the Germans in Belgium and France in 1914, which Great Britain and the whole world looked upon with such horror). To carry out his resolve he took fifty soldiers armed with rapid firing rifles and two armored tanks with machine-guns and hurried to the garden. It happened that the entrance was so narrow that the tanks had to be left outside, but the soldiers entered, were deployed upon elevated ground near the entrance, and at once were ordered to open fire at close range on the unsuspecting crowd. Of course there was an immediate panic; the assembly broke up precipitately and the amazed and frightened people rushed for the narrow exits. But the General instead of stopping the slaughter, turned the fire of his troops to where the fleeing crowd was densest and especially to the exits, which soon were choked and piled high with the dead, dying and wounded. The deadly work of the soldiers continued for fully ten minutes, and ceased only when their ammunition was exhausted, after 1650 rounds had been fired.

According to the earlier reports the number of the killed (some of them of course women and children) was at least 500; and of the wounded 2000; but according to the later extended and careful investigations made by the Investigation Commission appointed by the Indian National Congress, the dead approximated 1200 and the wounded 3600. When want of cartridges put an end to the slaughter, the noble General and his troops withdrew, leaving the dead unburied and the wounded without care, and issuing orders of such a nature as made it dangerous for the friends and relatives of the victims to render them assistance: so that some of the wounded were compelled to lie where they fell for 27 hours without surgical or other aid.

When this terrible deed of General Dyer was over and knowledge of it came to the Governor of the Province and the Viceroy of India, did both those high officials hasten to condemn it? On the contrary, the former hastened to assure the General of his approval and support, and the latter caused the enactment by the Government of India of an in-

demnity bill making it practically impossible for the General or his associates to be adequately punished for what they had done. Such briefly and simply is the story of the Jallianwalla massacre:

Let us compare it with the Black Hole crime, to see which is the darker.

1. As we have already seen, the number suffocated in the Black Hole was 123, while the number slaughtered in the Jallianwalla Bagh was from 500 to 1200, or from 4 to 8 times as many; while from 16 to 29 times as many others (between 2000 and 3600) were wounded, many of them crippled for life.

2. The Black Hole destruction of life occurred in a time of war, and the lives sacrificed were those of persons who according to the laws of war were enemies. The Jallianwalla Bagh casualties were perpetrated in a time of peace, and the lives destroyed were those of peaceful subjects of the very Government whose officer General Dyer was.

3. The Black Hole atrocity took place near the middle of the eighteenth century, 164 years ago, in an age much less enlightened than our own. The atrocity at the Jallianwalla Bagh was committed last year, in the full light of the 20th century.

These comparisons may well suggest at least two very practical questions:

1. If that long-ago horror of 1756 proves the barbarity of the native government in a small section of India a century and a half ago (as it unquestionably does), does or does not the vastly worse horror of 1919 prove the barbarity of many officers of the British Government of the Punjab of last year?

2. If England has a right to use the crime of the Black Hole (as she has been doing for a century and a half and is doing still) as an evidence that the Indian people are unfit to rule themselves, has not the world a right to use the far greater and blacker crime of the Jallianwalla Bagh as an evidence that, till the year 1919, England had not become civilised enough to be fit to rule India?

The reply must be in the affirmative. Hence the world has a right to expect that England will try earnestly to introduce civilised and up-to-date democratic methods of government in India and send out to that country to administer its affairs men who are wise, humane, righteous and sympathetic.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

THE MEANING OF INDIA'S DEMAND FOR HOME RULE :

AN AMERICAN VIEW.

WHAT do the people of India mean when they agitate, as for many years they have been doing, for Home Rule—for Home Rule like that of Canada and Australia? Do they mean continued slavery to the British Empire, or slavery of any kind? No, they mean freedom. Canada is free, Australia is free. Both make and administer their own laws. Their connection with the Empire is voluntary: they could break it if they chose; but they prefer not to break it: they see advantages in preserving it. Thus they hold in their own hands the power of self-determination. Essentially this is what America understands India to mean and want.

The Editor of the London Weekly, *India*, which is the British organ of the Indian National Congress, discusses this question well in a recent issue. Says that able English interpreter of India:

"As to the question of India's remaining or not remaining in the British Empire, the position may be clearly stated thus: The Policy of the Indian National Congress (which can be said without question to represent the people of India), is, and has always been, self-government within the Empire. But it is and always must be a matter of their own choice. Theirs must be the final decision. The Congress has stood for self-government within the Empire, not as some seem to suppose, because loyalty to the British Empire, in any and all circumstances, is a sort of divine injunction imposed upon all the peoples who have come, either with or without their consent, within its capacious fold, but because the British Empire stands for certain ideals, and because Indian interests have become through political and economic associations inextricably bound up with the British Empire. For that reason there is ground for hope that the people of India will prefer to remain as part of the Empire (as Canada and Australia are doing) as soon as their aspirations have been met by the granting of adequate measures of autonomy."

The essential thing is, India must have freedom; must have self determination. If and when these are assured to her, then the closer her association and co-operation with England the better.

To be sure, England is not India's mother-country, as she is the mother-country of Canada and Australia; therefore India cannot have just the same reasons for desiring to maintain permanent connection with England that Canada and Australia have. But, there may be other reasons hardly less weighty, if the connection can be made one of

equality, of co-operation and therefore of mutual advantage. Some have thought the distance of England from India an obstacle to their union. But why? That Canada and Australia are on different sides of the globe from England makes their union with her in some respects more desirable and more useful to both parties than if they were near one another, just as the alliance between Japan and England gains certain advantages from the fact that one of the nations is in Europe and the other in Asia. There are thinking minds both in Great Britain and in India who believe that nothing else could be so great an advantage to all concerned, and that nothing else could do so much to preserve the peace of the world, as a great world-spanning, international and inter-racial Empire, or rather Confederation, of free Asiatic and European peoples, and especially of free Indian and Anglo-Saxon peoples. India has had a long association with Great Britain as her subject and slave. May not a happier future have in store for both nations, a better relation—a partnership in freedom, and thus a joint mission as leaders of the world to a higher and better civilisation? But if they cannot be associated as real partners, each respecting and treating the other as an equal, and co-operating in ways to be mutually advantageous, then they should part as two separate and friendly nations, each to pursue her own path and to fulfil her own distinctive mission in the world.

The question of vital importance to both nations, and of tremendous consequences to the world, is, will Great Britain be wise enough and noble enough to choose either of these courses of action? Or, will she persist in attempting to hold in subjection a nation of 315,000,000 civilized people—one-fifth of the entire human race—against their united wish and will? That the sun will rise tomorrow is not more certain, than that a potentially mighty nation like India with a great and proud past, will not forever remain a slave to any foreign power. Freedom is in the air of the whole world. It will come, and at no distant day, to the great, civilized historic Indian people. God grant that it may come peacefully!

J. T. SUNDELAND

• HOW THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY ENSNARED THE PEISHWA

AT the time when Lord Mornington landed in India, Bajee Rao was sitting on the Peishwa's musnad at Poona. He was destined to be the last of the Peishwas. The great Nana-Fadnavis was spending his days in captivity. Disorder and confusion were rapidly setting in and there are reasons to suspect that the Europeans were mainly instrumental in bringing about this state of affairs in the Mahratta Empire.

Madhoji Scindhia was succeeded by his grand nephew, Dowlat Rao Scindhia. Tookajee Holkar was dead. The late resident with Madhoji, named Major Palmer, who had since received a step in rank and hence was known as Lieut.-Colonel Palmer, had succeeded Mr. Charles Malet as resident in the court of the Peishwa at Poona. The Europeans seem to have been disappointed with Bajee Rao, for they had expected to secure many advantages from him. It will be remembered that Raghoba had promised them a good many things and they naturally expected that the son would fulfil the specious promises of his father. But so far Bajee Rao had not given them any hopes in that direction.

Lord Mornington had, long before landing in India, made up his mind to go to war with Tippoo. In the war which Lord Cornwallis made on that unhappy Muhammadan Prince, the success of the Europeans was mainly to be attributed to the assistance they received through their alliance with the Mahrattas and the Nizam. In the memorandum, dated 6th July 1798, which Mr. Josias Webbe, Secretary to the Government of Madras submitted to General Harris, "in consequence of his late conversation upon the possibility of an early rupture with Tippoo Sultan," it is stated that "the experience of Lord Cornwallis's army proves that we were unable to supply ourselves, or to open our rear for the admission of Brinjaries until we had been joined by the Maratha army." The italicised words show the importance of the Mahratta alliance. But Mr. Webbe did not think that either the Marathas or the Nizam would join the Europeans in their unholy war on Tippoo. So he wrote:—

"In respect both to the Marathas and the Nizam, I think there is no reasonable ground to expect effectual assistance from either until we should strike some signal blow."

Although humbled and made to part with half of his dominion, Tippoo was still regarded as a formidable enemy. It was not considered possible to attack him without the co-operation or, at least, the neutrality of the other native powers of the Deccan. Mr. Webbe truly gauged

the situation of the Europeans in India, when he concluded his memorandum by saying:—

"I have not studied to exaggerate any part of this memorandum; but seeing that our resources have, by the mere operation of the war in Europe, been reduced to a state of the greatest embarrassment, and having no hope of effectual relief but in peace, I can anticipate none but the most baneful consequences from a war with Tippoo. If this war is to be a vindication of our national rights, it is clear that we cannot undertake it in less than six months; and this delay, with a reference to our national interests, may probably admit of its being postponed till we attain sufficient strength to prosecute it with vigour. But if war is inevitable, and the present are judged the most advantageous circumstances under which it can commence, I fear that our situation is bad beyond the hope of remedy."

Not only General Harris but Lord Mornington felt that there was a good deal of truth in Mr. Webbe's statement. The war with Tippoo was not undertaken "in less than six-months," nay, it was 'postponed' till the Europeans attained "sufficient strength to prosecute it with vigour."

Lord Mornington knew that no native power of India would join him in his unjust war with Tippoo. So he tried to ensnare the independent Sovereign Princes of India with his nefarious scheme of Subsidiary Alliance. In Captain Kirkpatrick at Hyderabad, Lord Mornington found a worthy lieutenant to give effect to his scheme. But the European Resident at the Peishwa's Court, Colonel Palmer, did not succeed in ensnaring the Peishwa.

From the public despatches of Lord Mornington it appears that, that the Governor-General presumed that the Nizam and the Mahrattas, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultan, would not be able to render any assistance to the East India Company. As has been already stated, there was never any occasion to call in the aid of any of the allies for defensive purposes against Tippoo. Therefore it was absurd for Lord Mornington to make this supposititious inability of the allies to render assistance in arms and men in a defensive war with Tippoo as a pretext for robbing them of their independence. It also further appears from his despatches that Lord Mornington never cared to consult the allies as to the advisability of making an unprovoked and aggressive war on Tippoo. After having brought the Nizam within the snare of the Subsidiary Alliance, and after his failure in this direction with the Peishwa, Lord Mornington

did not consider it necessary to press the Marathas to join him against Tippoo.

From the perusal of Lord Mornington's despatches it is evident that he wanted to keep the Marathas neutral rather than seek their co-operation against Tippoo. He was also anxious that the Marathas should not join Tippoo or invade the territories then under the administration of the British or their allies.

We can understand the reason which prompted Lord Mornington not to press the Peishwa or the Marathas to co-operate with him against Tippoo. The Marathas had been always looked upon with jealousy by the Europeans. When Lord Cornwallis had gone to war with Tippoo, certain members of the House of Commons called in question the justice and policy of the war. They pointed out "that the Mahrattas were the people from whom in India the greatest danger impended over the interests of England, and that the Mysore sovereign was valuable as a balancing power."

This argument must have carried great weight with the Governor-General in not seeking the co-operation of the Marathas, for it is certain that any aid from the Marathas, would have been purchased by the cession to them, of a portion of the conquered territories of the Mysore sovereign, thus further enhancing the already dangerous power of the Marathas. To do this was not the policy of Lord Mornington. Accordingly he did not press them to co-operate with him against Tippoo. That the Mahrattas were quite capable of rendering military aid to the company against Tippoo will be shown later on.

It was necessary to keep the Mahrattas neutral. Lord Mornington devised a plan by which he admirably succeeded in gaining this end. The Peishwa Bajee Rao was under the guidance of, and dependent upon, Dowlat Rao Scindhia. Without the aid of Dowlat Rao, Bajee Rao could never have succeeded in gaining the Peishwa's *musnad*. Grant Duff writes that Bajee Rao "addressed himself to Scindhia, offering him four lakhs of rupees of territory, and whatever might be the expenses of his troops during the time, he should require their aid in asserting his lawful succession to the *musnad*. This offer was accepted." Lord Wellesley was pleased to describe this position of Bajee Rao as one of captivity. But Bajee Rao was not such an ill-treated prisoner in the hands of Dowlat Rao as was the unhappy Nizam in the hands of the British. He never complained against his hard fate, if any. He did not ask the British to help him in his difficulties; he never requested them to loosen the yoke of captivity which Dowlat Rao had placed on his neck. There was a European Resident at his Court. We do not find this person ever making any report to the Governor-General regarding the presumed pitiable condition of the Peishwa. It is not till Lord Mornington

made the discovery that the Peishwa was unable to fulfil the conditions of an ally, in defensive war against Tippoo, that we begin to hear of the Peishwa's situation as that of a prisoner. It was the business of the British Resident to din into the ears of the Peishwa that Scindhia was exercising undue influence over him and thus to make him discontented with his lot. In plain words the Resident opened a campaign of low intrigues against Scindhia. Without detaching the Peishwa from Scindhia Lord Wellesley found it impossible to ensnare the former.

The Nizam had employed a large number of French officers to discipline and train his army. It was thought that this French influence at the court of the Nizam at Hyderabad was injurious to the British interests in India. It was therefore necessary to bring the Nizam within the sphere of British influence and disband the force officered by the French.

But in the case of the Peishwa, there did not exist the pretext which had served to ensnare the Nizam. The Peishwa did not keep in his employ any French officers to discipline his troops. Therefore, it was necessary to invent the pretext that he was under the undue influence of Scindhia who of course kept a large force disciplined and drilled by the French. This was convenient for the British to forget that the Peishwa lay under a deep debt of gratitude to Scindhia, for without the timely aid of the latter, Bajee Rao would never have succeeded in the Peishwa's *musnad*. If the British were very philanthropic as they would seem to make the world believe, why did they not make war at once on Dowlat Rao Scindhia and then release the Peishwa from his galling yoke? The Peishwa was their ally and they suffered him to be unduly influenced in all state matters by Scindhia. How different was the course they adopted towards Tippoo, when it was suspected that that prince was meditating an attack on their ally, the Raja of Travancore!

Lord Wellesley pined and panted, as it were, to make the Peishwa independent of Scindhia which in plain terms meant the disruption of the confederacy of the Mahratta states. He knew that the Peishwa did not stand in need of an auxiliary force of the British. He knew that Bajee Rao was a weak man and thus if he could be once detached from Scindhia as one of the other Mahratta confederates, it would not be difficult to rob the Mahrattas of their independence. With this object in view, he set the Resident at Poona to instil into the mind of the Peishwa the belief that Scindhia was exercising undue influence on him, that the Mahratta confederates were his enemies and that the British alone were his true friends.

As said before, Colonel Palmer was the Resident at Poona when Lord Mornington set his foot on the soil of India. In his first

letter to Colonel Palmer, marked private and dated Fort William, 8th July, 1798, Lord Mornington wrote:—

"You may be assured that it was a matter of real satisfaction to me that the affairs of this Government at the Court of Poona should be in the hands of a person of your talents and experience in a moment the most critical to our interests. You will learn by my public instructions the nature and extent of the general system of policy with respect to our alliances, which in my judgment the present crisis absolutely demands. I have the fullest confidence in your zeal for promoting the successes of a plan which is founded on principles of justice and of all parties to be affected by its execution. There are only a few points which have been omitted in my public instructions, as being more properly subjects of a private communication. If any opportunity should offer of restoring Nana on conditions favorable to our interests and consistent with the general tenor of my instructions, I think that such an event might tend to secure the permanent advantages of the proposed plan."

But before this letter reached Colonel Palmer, Nana Fadnavis had been restored to liberty by Scindhia. So Nana's release was not looked upon with pleasure by the British, because it was not brought about by them 'on conditions favorable to their interests and consistent with the general tenor of Lord Wellesley's instructions.'

The capital of the Peishwas was the scene of many disorders and revolutions. It is impossible for any historian to positively assert the part played by the British in creating these disorders and bringing about these revolutions. But it is not improbable, that the Resident at Poona fomented domestic dissensions and court intrigues in order to make the Mahrattas dependent on the British. It was the policy of Lord Mornington to create disorder and confusion in the dominions of the independent princes of India. Over and over again in his official despatches, he gave instructions to his subordinates 'to take advantage of the disaffection and discontent' that existed in the native states of India, which, of course, as every one knows, is merely a diplomatic expression for fomenting disaffection and discontent. Had not Col. Palmer carried out the policy of Lord Mornington, it is not probable that the Governor-General would have assured him that "it is a matter of real satisfaction to me that the affairs of this Government at the Court of Poonah should be in the hands of a person of your talents and experience in a moment the most critical to our interests."

Nana was once more at the head of the Maratha affairs, and his views regarding the Europeans were well known to all. Moreover it was not his policy to see the total annihilation of the power of Tippoo. When he saw the

Nizam ensnared by the British by their nefarious scheme of 'Subsidiary Alliance', without the knowledge of, and consultation with, the Peishwa's Court, he naturally became anxious as to the future safety and welfare of the Maratha Commonwealth. In a postscript to the letter to Col. Palmer, from which extracts have been given above, Lord Mornington wrote:

"I cautioned you against making any communication to the Peishwa of my intention with respect to the French army at Hyderabad for disposing the French army in small parties, as it is probable that such a dispersion will have taken place before you can receive this despatch. I have given you full liberty to apprize the Peishwa of the nature of the arrangement to be adopted at Hyderabad, feeling that it would be very improper to use any concealment at Poonah or at Hyderabad with respect to the real object of the negotiations of either Court."

There are strong grounds for suspecting that the Nizam had not been fully apprized of the real nature of the scheme of the Subsidiary Alliance which the British were forcing on him almost at the point of the bayonet. It is not probable that the Nizam would have so easily parted with his independence or his faithful French officers, had he known the designs of the scheming British officers. But what greatly offended the Marathas was that the Nizam should have entered into an alliance with the British without previously consulting them. It should be remembered that the Marathas after inflicting the most crushing defeat on the Nizam at Khurdla were very magnanimous in their terms of peace with him. As conquerors they did not exact any heavy penalties from their vanquished foe. The Marathas naturally expected the Nizam to be grateful to them. Out of gratitude the Subedar of the Deccan should have previous to his hugging the Christians to his breast, given an opportunity to the Peishwa and the Marathas to know the real nature of the alliance he was going to contract with them.

When Nana Fadnavis came to know of the Treaty which the Nizam had concluded with the East India Company, he became very anxious about the future independence of the Marathas. At this time he was reconciled to Scindhia, for he owed his liberty to him. The house of Holkar was also at this time subservient to that of Scindhia. Tookajee Holkar died on the 15th. August, 1797, leaving "two legitimate sons, Khasee Rao and Mulhar Rao. Khassee Rao was imbecile both in mind and body, but Mulhar Rao was in every respect qualified to support the fortunes of the house. Disputes soon arose between the brothers, in which the illegitimate sons took the part of Mulhar Rao,..... Scindhia, on being solicited by Khassee Rao, readily afforded the aid of the body of

troops for the purpose of apprehending Mulhar Rao, who, refusing to surrender, was attacked, and maintained a desperate defence until he was killed. His half brothers made their escape—Jeswant Rao to Nagpur, and Wittoojee to Kolapur."

Thus Scindhia was the most powerful of all the Maratha confederates. He had an interest in maintaining the supremacy of the Marathas in the counsels of the native courts of India, for he had combined with the other Maratha confederates at the battle of Khurdla. Nana Fadnavis sought his aid and he succeeded. The Nizam had not as yet, fulfilled the terms of the Treaty of Khurdla. With his alliance with the British, there was no indication that the Nizam ever meant to pay any attention to the terms of the above Treaty. The British also did not hold themselves responsible for the Treaty which their ally the Nizam had made with the Marathas. Of course, in his public despatch to Colonel Palmer, dated 8th. July, 1798, Lord Mornington wrote :—

"You will make a formal tender to the Peishwa in my name of my arbitration between the Courts of the Poonah and Hyderabad, and Hyderabad, and Scindhia, etc."

But independent states never seek the arbitration of a third party. Moreover, the British never came to the assistance of either the Marathas or the Nizam when they fought the battle of Khurdla. This offer of arbitration, therefore, appeared something like a deliberate insult to the great Nana, the Peishwa and Scindhia.

Taking all the circumstances, narrated above, into consideration, the story is not quite impossible that the Marathas intended to make war on the Nizam and to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Tippoo. Colonel Palmer, the resident at Poona, wrote to Lord Mornington on 8th April 1799, that

"Rubah Ganwar, Vakeel at this Court, has informed Moonshee Fucker-ud-deen with whom he has long been in terms of great friendship and confidence, that having enquired of Jadoo Bauschar the State of affairs at Scindhia's Durbar, Bauschar communicated to him a plan concerted by the Peishwa and Scindhia to attack the Nizam, and eventually to form an alliance with Tippoo Sultan."

How far this story is reliable, it is not possible for the purposes of historical accuracy to positively declare. But there was nothing improbable in this. This shows, if anything, great statesmanship on the part of Scindhia. Scindhia had been smarting under the ill-treatment he had received at the hands of the Governor-General. Lord Mornington wanted that Scindhia should leave Poona, because it was presumed that he was exercising undue influence over the Peishwa and it was also feared that the disciplined corps of Scindhia might render assistance to Tippoo, if Dowlat Rao remained in the Deccan.

Lord Mornington wrote to Colonel Palmer on the 8th. July, 1798 :—

"I have already observed that the present position of the army of Scindhia operates as an effectual assistance to the cause of Tippoo Sultan; if an alliance offensive and defensive had been formally concluded between these two powers, Scindhia could not render a more acceptable service to Tippoo, than he now performs by holding in check both the allies of the Company."

Thus the return of Scindhia to Hindoostan was considered a great political necessity. This was effected in a way which brings to prominence the crooked methods employed by the Governor-General in all his dealings with the Indian sovereigns of India. Captain Grant Duff writes :—

"The reported designs of Zuman Shah, King of Cabul, and grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdallee, a name terrible to Mahrattas, were strongly set forth, by the British agents, in order to induce Scindhia to return for the protection of his dominions in Hindusthan."

Mr. Mill writes :—

"In 1798, a belief, but solely derived from rumour, of vast preparations making by the Afghan, for the invasion of India, was excited anew. The apprehensions, however, of the British government were allayed, by intelligence received toward the end of September, that the disturbances within the dominions of the Shah had compelled him to leave his capital and march to Kandahar. But this was speedily followed by reports, that the 10th of October was fixed for commencing his march from Cabul towards Hindusthan; and though the authenticity of these reports was held very doubtful, the English Government deemed it their duty..... to take every precaution against the possibility of an event, which combined with the designs of Tippoo and the French, might become of the most serious importance. Endeavours were used to prevail upon Doulat Rao Scindhia to return from the South, and put his dominions in the best posture of defence; and great hopes were expressed, that he would follow this advice..... The fact appears to be that Scindhia knew the improbability of being invaded by the Shah; and though such invasion would bring on him greater evils than it would bring on the Government of any other State, he chose to remain at Poona, for the promotion of those objects of which he was there in eager pursuit."

The English had a purpose to serve by spreading the reported designs of Zemaun Shah. It was not Lord Mornington alone, but his predecessors also had done the same.

Thus Mr. Mill writes :—

"The threat of Zemaun Shah, King of the Abdallees, or Afghans, became a convenient source of pretexts for urging upon the vizier the

projected innovations.....The object of the Shah, as announced by rumour was, to re-establish the house of Timur, to which he was nearly related, and restore the true faith in the empire of the Great Moghul."

It appears to us, that Lord Mornington made use of, if not fabricated, the reported designs of the Afghan sovereign, to go to war with Tippoo and to detach Scindhia from assisting Tippoo or entering into an alliance with that Muhammadan Prince.

As said before, the threat of Zemaun Shah's reported designs had no effect on Scindhia. He remained in Poona assisting the Peishwa. But if the threat of an invasion from without failed to remove Scindhia from Poona, the creation of disorder within his dominion enabled Lord Mornington to withdraw Scindhia from Poona. Lord Cornwallis had withdrawn the British Resident from the Court of Scindhia. Since then no Englishman represented the interests of the Government of the East India Company at Scindhia's Court. One of the first acts of Lord Mornington was to re-appoint a British Resident at Scindhia's Court. The British had to see the advantages which resulted to them by keeping a resident at the Courts of the native princes of India. These residents have enabled them in gaining power in India which their highly trained and disciplined soldiers and generals would not have succeeded. So Lord Mornington despatched a Resident to Scindhia's Court to carry out his policy. The man chosen for this purpose was one named Colonel Collins.

Scindhia, as said before, was 'at that time in Poona. Colonel Collins did not go to Poona but to Scindhia's capital in Hindusthan. At the time of his taking leave of Lord Mornington, that Governor-General gave him some oral instructions. The nature of these instructions is not known. In his letter to Colonel Collins, dated Fort William, 15th September 1798, Lord Mornington wrote :—

"My conversation with you, at Barrackpore, apprized you of my ideas with regard to the objects of your mission.

The question which will demand your immediate attention will be, the best mode of securing the strongest barriers against Zemaun Shah, not only with a view to the present moment but to all future contingencies.....

The return of Scindhia to that quarter, attended as such an event must be by the restoration of his power to a considerable degree of efficiency, appears to me to be the best possible means of checking the motions of the Shah; especially as it must ever be the interests of Scindhia (within his own dominions) to cultivate our friendship, and to co-operate with us in opposing any invader, and above all, a Mahammadan plunderer. Scindhia, therefore, has been the object of my unremitting attention. If he should return to Hindusthan, you will imme-

diately apply yourself to the commencement of negotiation with him, for the purpose of framing a defensive treaty against the Shah."

It is evident then that the objects of despatching Colonel Collins to Scindhia's Court were to induce Scindhia to return to Hindusthan from the Deccan. But, as said before, Scindhia did not credit the rumour with respect to the Shah's invading India. He did not remove from Poona. It was necessary to adopt other means. Although the actual means which Colonel Collins had adopted to bring about the return of Scindhia into Hindusthan, is nowhere put in black and white, it is not very difficult to guess their nature. It appears to us that Colonel Collins adopted the same means which the Governor-General recommended the Governor of Bombay to pursue in order to prevent Zemaun Shah from invading India. In his letter to the Hon. Jonathan Duncan, dated Fort William, 8th October 1798, Lord Mornington wrote :—

"It has been suggested to me, and I understand it was the opinion of Sir Charles Mallet, that a further diversion of the Shah's force might be created by our affording certain encouragement to the nations occupying the Delta and lower parts of the Indus, who have been stated to be much disaffected to the Government of the Shah; I wish you to give this point the fullest and most serious consideration; to state to me your ideas upon it; and in the meanwhile to take any immediate steps which shall appear proper and practicable to you."

It appears to us that Colonel Collins took steps similar to those mentioned above which the Governor-General recommended to the Governor of Bombay, for inducing Scindhia to return to Hindusthan. He fomented disaffection and discontent among the troops and subjects of Scindhia. The probability of his doing so is heightened by the fact that Lord Mornington looked upon Scindhia as an enemy. Since the days of Mr. Macpherson, the officiating successor of Mr. Warren Hastings, every Governor-General had secretly tried to reduce the power of Scindhia. Lord Mornington, notwithstanding all that he did, firstly, by spreading the reported designs of Zemaun Shah and secondly by despatching Colonel Collins to Scindhia's court to create disaffection and discontent in Scindhia's territories, failed in inducing Scindhia to return to Hindusthan. Mr. Mill writes :—

Notwithstanding, the hopes, however, which had been fondly entertained of a defensive alliance with Scindhia, the authorities in India (i. e., Lord Mornington) wrote to the authorities in England in the following terms :

"From the letter to the Resident with Doulat Rao Scindhia, dated the 26th of October, you will observe, that Scindhia's continuance at Poona, the dissensions and disaffection which

prevail among his commanders, and the unsettled and precarious state of his authority in Hindusthan, have prevented our taking any further steps for carrying the intended arrangements with effect."

The dissensions and disaffection among Scindhia's commanders, "and the unsettled and precarious state of" Scindhia's "authority in Hindusthan," seem to have been, as stated before, brought about by the English, for these were discovered when it was found impossible to induce Scindhia to return to Hindusthan.

"It was in the beginning of October (1798)," continues Mr. Mill, "that the authorities in India delivered it to the authorities in England, as their opinion, that the greatest advantages would arise from a connexion with Scindhia. Before the end of the same month, they find the circumstances of Scindhia to be such, that no further steps for carrying the intended arrangements into effect are accounted advisable. Again, the inability of Scindhia from the disaffection of his commanders, and the tottering state of his authority, were now made the foundation on which measures of policy were built."

Lord Mornington made a discovery that Scindhia was intriguing with Vizier Ali of Oudh. As we do not find any allusion to this intrigue in any official records we are justified in expressing our opinion that this alleged intrigue of Scindhia was a fabrication of Lord Mornington. Dating his letter from Fort St. George, March 3rd, 1799, and marking it "private," Lord Mornington wrote to Colonel Palmer :-

"I employ this private mode of communication for the purpose of informing you of a circumstance which has just now come to my knowledge.

An original letter from Ambajee Scindhia's principal commander in Hindusthan has been found among the papers of the Vizier Ali, which were taken at the attack of Madhoo Doss's garden, from which it appears that a treaty has been secretly concluded by Ambajee, on the part of Doulat Rao Scindhia, with Vizier Ali.

* * * *

The treaty itself is not in possession of Government, but from Ambajee, and from the letters from Kamgar Khan, Namdar Khan, and other papers belonging to Vizier Ali, there can be no doubt that the principal objects of this treaty are of the most hostile nature to the Company, and they are proposed to be accomplished by placing Vizier Ali on the Musnud of Oude, by means of the assistance of Scindhia, and by the establishment of the union of interests between Scindhia and Vizier Ali.

You will be cautious not to disclose your knowledge of this circumstance to any person whatever, but you will endeavour, consistently with this caution, to obtain every information

which may tend to throw light on the motives and objects of this flagrant act of treachery on the part of Doulat Rao Scindhia; and you will keep a vigilant eye on all his proceedings, giving the earliest information of them to me."

While this alleged "flagrant act of treachery" on the part of Doulat Rao Scindhia has not been proved, this much is certain that the Governor-General's conduct towards the successor of Madhoji Scindhia savours of foul treachery. While to all outside appearances, the British professed great friendship and regard to Doulat Rao Scindhia, as evidenced from the fact that a Resident was sent to his Court, the nevertheless did not scruple to secretly adopt questionable means to bring about his ruin. If this was not treachery, the word has no significance.

On that very date, Lord Mornington wrote a private letter to Colonel Kirkpatrick, the Resident of Hyderabad. In it he enclosed a copy of his letter to Colonel Palmer and wrote "I recommend the important intelligence which it contains to your most serious attention, relying on your discretion for an exact observance of the same secrecy which I have enjoined on Colonel Palmer to observe. It does not appear to me to be advisable, in the present moment, to hazard the disclosure of Scindhia's views in their full extent, to Azim Ul Omra, but I think it would be highly necessary in my name to point that minister's particular attention to the probability of some attempt on the part of Doulat Rao Scindhia against the Nizam's territories, during the progress of our operations against Seringapatam."

This allegation of treachery served as a hint to the British Residents at Poona and Hyderabad to conspire and plot against Scindhia. What appeared to Lord Mornington to be "the probability of some attempt on the part of Doulat Rao Scindhia against the Nizam's territories," was made by Colonel Palmer to appear as almost a certainty. Almost immediately on receiving Lord Mornington's letter, from which extracts have been given above, the Resident at Poona discovered that Doulat Rao Scindhia had been concerting plans for attacking the Nizam. Dating his letter from Poona, April 8, 1799, Colonel Palmer wrote to Lord Mornington that,

"Rubah Ganwar, Vakeel at this Court has informed Moonshee Fucker-Ud-Deen with whom, he had long been on terms of great friendship and confidence, that having enquired of Jahdoo Bauschar the state of affairs at Scindhia's Durbar, Bauschar communicated to him a plan concerted by the Peishwa and Scindhia to attack the Nizam, and eventually to form an alliance with Tippoo Sultan."

It will be noticed that Colonel Palmer acted in the name of the Peishwa also. Colonel Palmer did not take the trouble to find out if these allegations and rumours had any

foundation in truth. In his letter from which extract has been given above, the Resident states that he could not find out how far the alleged treachery on the part of the Peishwa and Scindhia was reliable. But nevertheless he

mentioned these rumours to Lord Mornington, because he knew that in that way he would carry favor with the Governor-General.

(To be continued.)

MARATHA.

A FRENCH GREETING TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

BY RENE GHIL.

[The following passages are a free translation of portions of an article on the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, by René Ghil, which was given the place of honour in "Les Cahiers Idealistes Français." They refer to Rabindranath's lectures on 'Nationalism', which left a deep impression upon European thought towards the end of the war. It will be remembered by the readers of the Modern Review, how Romain Rolland himself translated those lectures which the Poet delivered in Japan, and wrote about them. In what follows, I have given a series of translated extracts, from a much longer article in French. I have not aimed at literalness. My hope is that the translations may enable the reader to trace the line of thought, however imperfectly. Mr. H. Pestonji Morris, my Parsee fellow-worker at Shantiniketan, has given me his assistance.—C. F. A.]

*"Master who writest in rhythm
Primordial wisdom
Mingled with modern thought!"*

"Master, from the lecture which you delivered at the Imperial University of Tokio, in Japan, the word, that transcends all time and space, has reached us,—even as your Eastern sun comes slowly westward to open our sleeping eyes.

"I have listened to the sound of its waves of resplendent music, which seems to come to us from some sacred temple gong and then pass into full-orbed silence, where meditation is enthroned.

"From the West, my own imagination took, for its nurture, the puissance of pure Science—not that material science of capitalist industrialism, which has clothed itself in the robes of blood and sweat and desolation, striking terror into Europe, but rather, that science, which is the Poem of the Universe, wherein I proclaimed anew,—humbly retracing the drift of

your own sacred scriptures,—that the work of poetry is only of value, where it establishes a point of human contact at the meeting place of the two eternities of Thought and Feeling. My own verse started from the Evolution doctrine of the world and dwelt upon that in meditation.

"I was repulsed by the teaching of the 'survival of the fittest' and the 'super-man' with their egoisms and their animal appetites. I turned to a law of love and harmony, which seemed to me to inter-penetrate and work through Matter, and ever lead life upwards.

"I wrote then the truth, which is an axiom,—

*Being arises from knowledge,
He who shall know, shall be.
From Thought and Being,
With mighty movement of feeling,
Matter, through its changing unity,
Evolves eternally in its diverseness,
Whose All,—the Unity Self-knowing,—
Is Thou!*

"Now, in the modern Western world, we have given a mission to Poetry to catch in its songs the visions and emotions of the world that palpitates with activities, mechanical and chemical, placing at their service a utilitarian and soulless science. The ever-increasing struggle between labour and accumulated capital has issued in a new slavery.

"I have seen in all this, not progress, but a deviation, a plethora of unnatural organisation. In the West intellect,—the moral and spiritual sense by which man feels himself united to the universe,—has not advanced side by side with material expansion; the latter has become abnormal.

"Seer of the Future! Your vision now reassures my own, when it foresaw the awakening of the soul of Asia, which, you have told us, 'is immortal and will appear again and again in man's history.'

"I was certain that new births would take place in your lands, and I have said in my poems about your people,

*These are they that shall awake once more,
These shall start anew,*

*These who slept for long in the past,
These who were slaves,
See, out of their very weariness,
Sons arise !*

"Master, the poem I have written ends with a profound hope, that the wisdom of the two hemispheres of the world will unite in one stream of the future. These are my words,—

*"And so, countries of the Sunset,
Children of the West,
Perchance, one day it is destined,
By the side of railroads and ships,
And the empire of the air.....
Perchance, it is destined,
That all men and all gods shall unite
In that heaven on earth when all races
Shall return to their massed unity."*

"This wish will pass into action, if the whole of Asia will listen to your inspired voice. You should not cease to warn Asia, that 'feeling the responsibility which it accepts at the hand of the modern time, it should not become a mere repetition of the west.'

"Your East, taking the instruments of modern activity, which the applied science of the West has brought into existence, should not make too much of them, but learn how to give them their proper value and to keep itself unspotted, whole, and immortal.

The West, burning what it had adored,—the Monster of gold and lead, to which it made its sacrifices of body and soul,—will one day repudiate its hard arrogances. It will repent for having instituted its own savage fetish rites, and for not having known and followed your ancient spiritual wisdom.

"It is in the nature of things, that the inevitable curve of the future should revert towards your countries of the East. You and yours, and something of our own imperishable France, should be united and mingled in one Thought, to work for distant results.

"You have spoken about 'the natural instinct of man, crying out for simplicity, beauty and the plenitude of leisure,'—that plenitude of leisure is unknown to Europe,—that leisure, where one pauses to listen to the great silence of the flood of being and of things, which pass within us....."

[The writing ends thus abruptly. I have

given only some of its salient passages. The argument appears to run as follows :—

Rene Ghil recognises an identity of feeling between his own published poems and the Poet's Lectures. His own mind had been nurtured on the doctrine of pure science,—not the materialistic science of the day, which includes the mechanical ideas of industrial capitalism and the doctrine of the survival of the fittest; but that pure Science, which is the Poem of the Universe. This recognises only one principle—that of harmony, or love, working perpetually through matter. Consciousness and knowledge are the climax of this interpenetrating process of matter by soul. This principle of unity, or harmony, or love, is discernible in the wonderful intuitive philosophy of the East. But the modern world of the West has become dominated by a soulless utilitarianism, which does not go deep enough. The more western wants are multiplied, the more insatiable grow its desires. This fever of the West is not progress, but a deviation. Rene Ghil prophesied what would happen more than twenty years ago and it has come true.

The writer now looks forward eagerly and anxiously to the East to redress the balance; and he has seen in Rabindranath the awakening of the East which he himself also predicted. He hopes that the sufferings and miseries of the West will not have been in vain, but that Providence will use them as the means of uniting the two hemispheres of the world's thought,—the East and the West,—together. He trusts that France may have a share in this reconciliation.

This profound hope will be realised, if the East refuses to follow the West and keeps itself intact and whole. Rabindranath's message needs repeating again and again: It cannot be said too strongly, that the intuitive philosophy of the East is the only pure Science. It has preserved the East, all these many centuries, from destruction. The West will have to bow down its arrogant head and reject its false gods. The future lies with the East. Through the help of the East humanity will find its true simplicity, beauty and plenitude of leisure. This silent leisure, which must be learnt by the West from the East, will allow the soul of man to listen to the music of the life of God within.—C. F. A.]

THE QUEST

By SEETA DEVI.

THE two houses stood side by side. They looked somewhat alike from the exterior, but there the likeness ceased. The inmates were totally unlike in every respect. The first house was occupied by Bepin, who had a very heavy purse and a de-

cidedly violent temper. The second house had for its nominal master Hemendralāl, who was kept in order at home by his wife and at the office by his master. As regards money, he was a great adept in the art of spending more than he ever earned. Nobody ever found

out the reason why two such persons become friends, but their friendship endured for a long time like some other unreasonable things of this world.

Death entered to take its toll of both houses at the same time. Hemendralāl with his last breath entrusted his wife and infant daughter to the care of Bepin, while Bepin's wife, too, finished her earthly career the very same evening. Bepin sat alone in the dark trying to rearrange his life, which this shock had thrown into chaos. The neighbours took charge for the time being of his motherless son Ajoy. The wails of the newly made widow next door penetrated to his ears from time to time.

Hemendralāl had managed to leave behind nothing but some debts. So Bepin paid them off and brought the widow and the fatherless girl to live in his own house. This arrangement did not at all meet with the approval of his widowed elder sister, who had come to keep house for him. But to her intense disappointment she found no opportunity whatever of giving vent to her feelings.

But to the remaining member of the family this arrangement was eminently satisfactory. The boy Ajoy had hitherto led a rather cheerless and lonely existence. His father used to show great consistency in the belief that an old tutor, who lived in the house, was sufficient company for his son. But when the child Sulatā entered the family with the approval of the master of the house, Ajoy could make friends with her without fear of hindrance. Sulatā was then five and Ajoy four years her senior. So the friendship became a fast one.

But the children began to grow up in a way which paid scant respect to the law of heredity. Ajoy, the son of hasty-tempered and practical Bepin, became more and more emotional and unpractical as the years rolled on, while the daughter of gentle and harmless Hemendralāl developed such an amazing amount of high spirits that all well-bred people were shocked. She was like a mountain torrent just broken loose from a stony prison. The boy had dreamy and thoughtful eyes, but the girl's eyes held lightning in their dark depths. Bepin's temper began to get ruffled at this state of affairs, but he was at a loss for a remedy.

But the crisis arrived on the day when Ajoy presented his costly wrist-watch to a poor friend and forgot to mention it at home.

Bepin lost all patience and shouted, "If I do not send you to a boarding house tomorrow, my name is not Bepin. The money I earn by the sweat of my brow is not to be wasted by such as you. I will drive such nonsense out of you. I think I had better send Sulatā too; it is impossible to get a good bringing up in this house."

Sulatā's mother was shocked out of speech. Sulatā was now about to be thirteen and her mother was already giving anxious thought to the question of her marriage. And now this undreamt-of talk of a boarding school!

Sulatā's mother found a willing ally in Ajoy's aunt. Who ever heard of a girl of thirteen being sent to a boarding school? But it required courage to oppose any of Bepin's plans. The task was, however, rendered easy by Sulatā's taking their side unexpectedly. She shook her head with its thick curls in violent disagreement and cried out, "I am not going to a boarding school."

Bepin had not expected this. But he brightened up for some reason or other and said: "Hum! well, you do not need it much."

On the day of Ajoy's departure, his aunt and Sulatā's mother nearly cried their eyes out. Sulatā went about with a sulky expression on her face, but just as Ajoy was about to get into the carriage, which was to take him to the station, she jumped in before him with a small bundle in her arms and cried, "I shall go with you."

But this time she had to submit to defeat. Ajoy himself tried to induce her to get out of the carriage with many entreaties. "You know very well, Sulu, you cannot go to the same boarding school with me. Then, why do you behave like a child? Please get down, you are making father angry."

But the girl sat immovable like a rock. At last Bepin lost patience and took her out by force. Sulatā threw the bundle at him, ran in and shut herself up in her room. Ajoy came back to take leave of her and pushed at the door once or twice. But getting no response, he went away disheartened. Sulatā remained without food the whole day. She tore up all her books and papers, and made life unbearable for the other inmates of the house with her weeping. Only Bepin seemed unaccountably pleased. "The girl has grit," he remarked; "it would have been much better if she had been a boy and Ajoy a girl."

Next morning, Sulatā rushed to her mother

as soon as she left her bed and asked eagerly, "Has any letter come from Ajoy?"

Her mother left her question unanswered and said in a tone of sharp reproof, "Why do you call him Ajoy, you unmannerly girl? Is not he four years your senior? Can not you call him Dādā?"*

Sulatā shook her head. "I will not," she said, "I can beat him yet in a fight. But has not the letter come?"

Her mother dismissed her, telling her not to be silly. Sulatā wandered about the house, her heart full of a strange sense of desolation. The door of Ajoy's room stood wide open, revealing the emptiness within. Her eyes filled with tears, but she forced them back. She thought weeping silly and childish. Her sorrow suddenly changed into anger and her wild pranks nearly drove the two old ladies out of their wits.

The letter from Ajoy arrived in due time. Sulatā was then sitting on the stairs, busy painting a mental picture, on which she lavished a wealth of colours, which youthful imagination alone possesses. She would die before Ajoy could arrive to see her. The thought of the terrible remorse and grief of her playmate when he would find her dead, caused her own eyes to fill with tears. But the advent of the postman suddenly broke through her day-dreams, she rushed down and snatched away the letter from Ajoy's aunt, to whom it was addressed. But it contained nothing for her, he had not even mentioned her once. The tears could not be forced back this time. She had never thought of the possibility that anyone with the exception of herself could have the right of resenting harsh behaviour and give vent to the resentment in a practical way. She had always punished, but to be punished was a most unpleasant novelty. She was furious with rage and humiliation. But Ajoy was out of her reach and so her anger did not find its natural remedy.

Ajoy unexpectedly received a letter from Sulatā. The only news it contained was that, long before Ajoy would get back home for the summer vacation, Sulatā would go away to the house of some uncle, unheard-of before. So he might be quite sure that he would not be bothered by a wicked and ugly girl again. The tears rushed into the eyes of the boy as he read this letter. He read

between the lines, and found out the hidden meaning, and it was one which satisfied his homesick heart.

There were two persons who counted the days before the summer vacation with equal eagerness, and at last the much-looked-for day dawned. Ajoy got down from the train and looked around with expectant eyes to see if there was any one come to welcome him back. But there was none. Bepin had forbidden it, because he thought it would stand in the way of Ajoy's learning to be practical. He was old enough to look after himself; so why should any one go to the station for him?

With the help of a porter Ajoy somehow collected his luggage and got into a carriage. But his heart felt heavy within him. Their home was a long way off from the station. The tired horses plodded on across the dusty and deserted road.

Suddenly a stone struck the carriage window with a sharp rattle. Ajoy looked up with a start. A huge and ancient banyan tree stood by the roadside and from among its tangle of hanging roots and foliage a face peeped at him. It disappeared, as soon as he got down from the carriage and ran towards the tree.

Ajoy caught her and asked with eagerness, "So you came for me, Sulu? You have not gone away yet?"

Sulatā tried to make her voice sound immensely indifferent as she answered, "Oh yes, I am going away very soon, in a day or two. I came out simply for a walk." But for all her studied indifference she clasped his hand in both her own and got up into the carriage with him. All the way home, she chattered incessantly, but the mythical uncle had very little part in it.

The carriage stopped before the house. Sulatā's mother rushed out and dealt her a slap as soon as she got down. "Where have you been, you wicked girl?" she cried. "What am I to do with you? Have you not any sense of propriety?" "I have never set eyes on such a girl as you," said Ajoy's aunt, fully sympathising with the angry mother.

Sulatā tore herself off from her mother's hands, while her eyes flashed in rebellion. She stood with her back against a door, in the attitude of a deer at bay. As her mother advanced again towards her, Ajoy threw himself between them and cried, "Is this to be her reward, because she was the only person

* Bengali for elder-brother.

in this house who cared anything whether I lived or died?" His voice became choked and tears rolled down his face.

It was at this juncture that Bepin appeared to welcome his son. At the sight of his son's tears, he flared up in an instant. "So this is the result of four months' boarding life?" he angrily shouted. "What am I to do with you, you good-for-nothing snivelling boy? This girl is worth ten of you."

Sulatā assumed the defensive at once in order to protect Ajoy. "Why did mother strike me then?" She asked. "Why don't you scold her? Ajoy has a perfect right to cry. I will weep as much as I like and as long as I like. I will go on shrieking the whole day. I do not care what you do."

The affair stopped there for the time being. The ladies of the family were busy paying off their arrears of love to Ajoy with compound interest. Fortunately for his son it was a very busy time for Bepin, he had a great contract in hand, and had no time to spare for the training of Ajoy. Sulatā began to spend the whole day in Ajoy's room, calmly ignoring the frowning face of her mother and the strong hints regarding the proper behaviour for girls which emanated from Ajoy's aunt. Sulatā knew well enough that she could count upon a strong ally whenever occasion would demand it. She had only to make enough noise to make Bepin arrive on the arena, and from past experience she had learnt that he would never go over to the side of the enemy.

But the brief vacation passed away only too soon. Ajoy started for Calcutta again. At the time of his departure Sulatā became unusually grave, and showed no inclination whatever for beating people or tearing things, which were her usual way of showing that she was unhappy.

But Sulatā's mother now became anxious in real earnest. The girl was approaching fourteen, yet the master of the house showed no sign that he recognised her as marriageable. The two old ladies did their best to remind him of his neglected duty. He heard them in silence for a day or two and at last burst out, "If she must be married, then Ajoy shall marry her. I will not give her away to a stranger." Sulatā's mother now breathed again; she had great faith in Bepin's words.

Sulatā's letters were the only solace that Ajoy received in his exile. They did

not contain much news, but as Ajoy used to hold up the letters before his eyes, he did not see the handwriting, childish and unformed; but a pair of large merry eyes and a face full of laughter floated before his vision. The small and untidy room used to become bright and cheerful for a while. His fellow students tried to crack jokes about these letters, but patient as he was in everything else, here he became furious and the witty fellows had to give him up in despair. Bepin had found out the very place where a boy had to become practical in order to exist, but with unthought-of perversity Ajoy successfully defied his environments and remained as unpractical and emotional as before.

His examination was drawing near. So Bepin forbade him to come home for the Pujā vacation. Somehow or other Ajoy passed the Matriculation. But no sooner was the result published than Bepin informed his son that travelling was a great aid to education, and so he had arranged that Ajoy was to see the world for a month or two before joining a college. Ajoy had to set out on his travels, though his whole heart yearned for his home. He was furious with his father and did not write to him once within two months. At last having been relieved of all his luggage and ready money through the mercy of one of his fellow-travellers, he was obliged to cut short his travels, and arrived in Calcutta, having secured the fare thereto by selling his fountain pen. He now joined a college and took up his residence in a hostel.

But the dream of Bepin never came true. Ajoy remained unpractical in spite of the hardening influences of University and hostel. He became more and more inattentive to his studies, he failed to attend his classes four days out of seven. He refused to stir out of his room and spent the time in day-dreaming. Jests and witty remarks passed over his head, without his being aware of them. His fellow boarders indulged in amateur detective work to their hearts' content, but soon gave it up as a bad job, because after many and arduous searches amidst his private property they failed to discover any token of his lady-love. Not a photograph, not even a book of poems dedicated to the fair one!

Ajoy failed in the Intermediate and nearly drove his father crazy. This time the boy was sent to Bombay to study science, as a last resource. He had strict orders not to return home before successfully finishing his studies.

But though all the plans he made for him were being rendered futile by his incorrigible son, yet Bepin had the satisfaction of seeing his ward develop into a sprightly and beautiful girl, without any effort of his own. Her mother tried her hardest to make a young lady out of this child of nature and failed completely. The hair of both the old dames nearly stood on end thinking of the terrible future in store for this strange girl.

For want of human companions Sulatā soon began to make friends with Bepin's bookshelves. Her spare time she spent in taking care of the jungle which was situated behind their house and which she insisted on calling a garden. She had also to write to Ajoy once in a while. But the letters began to get few and far between, as Bepin had some objection to her writing frequently to Ajoy. Sometimes months passed without bringing a letter from Sulatā. The hungry heart of Ajoy fed on the old letters till a new one arrived. Then he became engrossed with the thought of answering it. Thus his young life revolved round these trifling scratches of a pen.

Suddenly Ajoy's aunt was put in mind of the fact that she was getting old and must provide for the other world. It was arranged for her to spend the remaining days of her life in holy Benares. Before leaving for that place, she wanted to see Ajoy again. Bepin was adamant at first, but the copious shower of tears to which his sister treated him, soon made him give way. Ajoy received two letters at the same time. The first contained the news that he was to go home for four or five days. The second informed him among other things that within a few days Sulatā was to complete her sixteenth year and become a dignified member of society.

The day before starting for Calcutta Ajoy paid visits to all the shops of his acquaintance in order to buy a birthday present for Sulatā. But his ideas regarding feminine taste were rather vague. He took up thing after thing only to put them down again lest they should prove to be ridiculously unsuitable. A friend relieved him at last. He advised Ajoy to start for Calcutta without buying anything. As the friend in question had a sister, he confidently promised that with her help he would buy just the thing for Ajoy and send it to him by post.

But this time Ajoy did not meet any young dryad on some wayside tree. Even

when he reached home, the first face he saw was not Sulatā's. He felt hurt and thought Sulatā must be angry with him for some unknown reason.

As soon as he was relieved of the company of his aunt, he set out to find out Sulatā. He had not to go far, he found her on a broken stone seat in the garden, sitting with a very grave face. His tone was full of complaints as he cried, "You may look round once it would not have been any crime if you had gone to welcome me when I came."

Sulatā turned round leisurely and said, "Did I send word to you that I thought it a crime? I did not go because I was sure to meet you sooner or later."

Her indifference pained Ajoy. "So if I want to see you, I must come to you, otherwise . . ."—Sulatā interrupted him with considerable heat, "I don't know why I should always take the trouble of running after you when you think it beneath your dignity to come for me once."

The short tiff soon blew over. But ever now and then Ajoy began to find out the Sulatā whom he found now was not the Sulatā whom he had left behind him the last time. But this new person was so full of strange charms that he could not mourn wholeheartedly for his lost playmate.

Sulatā's birthday arrived. The few friends she had were invited and made the house ring with their merriment. This made Ajoy's aunt turn up her nose. Why such a to-do over a mere girl's birthday? But she did not deem it wise to air her opinions. Ajoy tried to take part in the festive ceremony, but the expression of Sulatā's face did not encourage him much.

Sulatā was in one of her bad moods that day. As soon as her friends had gone, her smouldering rage broke into a flame. She quarrelled with everybody in the house and refused to take any food. Ajoy smiled at himself at this sudden reappearance of the old Sulatā. She received a few presents from her guests and made so much of them in his presence that he easily understood the cause of her anger.

Next day a big parcel arrived from Bombay, addressed to Ajoy. His friend had kept his promise, though somewhat late. He hastily took off the paper wrappings and discovered a beautiful box of sandal wood. It contained some gold trinkets for the neck and ears.

Ajoy knew that Sulatā was sure to be in her garden at that time. He found her busily turning over the soil round some rose plants. He put down the box near her and said, "I am a bit late Sulatā, but I did not forget."

"Put it there," said Sulatā, without any vestige of interest in her manner or tone.

Such scornful treatment of his gifts made the giver angry. "Is it completely beneath your notice?" he asked; "are these things so much worse than the other presents you received?"

Sulatā misunderstood his words, perhaps intentionally. She sprang up, leaving her work unfinished, and said sharply, "Then you had better keep your priceless presents for yourself, I am not worthy of them." With this she quickly ran out of the garden. The box rolled down to a little distance.

Ajoy stood rooted to the spot. He found himself totally unable to cope with the situation.

He had no idea how long he had been standing there, when he looked up at the sound of approaching footsteps. Sulatā knelt on the ground, carefully picking up the scattered trinkets. Having collected them, she came over to him. Placing them in his hand, she bent her head a little and said, "Put them in."

Thus through tears and laughter the two crafts were sailing towards a common harbour. But suddenly one foundered and vanished in the gulf of time. Sulatā took farewell of the world after suffering for a few hours.

For a while Ajoy failed to grasp the real situation. He looked on with uncomprehending eyes as the only companion of his childhood was carried out of this house through wails of heart-rending sorrow. He was thinking of something else. Before breathing her last, Sulatā had suddenly taken him by the hand and whispered, "I shall come back again. I cannot remain apart from you."

Sulatā's mother accompanied Ajoy's aunt to Benares. There remained only Bepin and Ajoy in the large and silent house.

A few days passed off somehow. Then Bepin asked Ajoy, "What are you thinking of doing now?"

Hitherto he had always decided what his son was to do. But suddenly he had found out that there was a will superior to his own. So he thought it best to let the boy decide for himself.

Ajoy sat staring through the window at

the dry and heat-parched scenery beyond. It was a sweltering day of summer. "I shall take up your profession," he replied.

The answer amazed Bepin. After a while he asked again, "You mean the work of a contractor?"

Ajoy nodded in answer.

"But what made you think of that?" asked Bepin; "why not finish your University education?"

"I want money. If I went on with my studies, only the career of a professor would be open to me."

"But what do you want money for?" asked his father; "your habits are not very expensive."

Ajoy sat silent for a few moments. Then he turned round to his father and said in a low tone, "If Sulatā takes her next birth in the house of a king, I must earn enough to maintain her in a manner worthy of her birth. I will not let her suffer from poverty."

Bepin stared at his son with open mouth for a while. Then he understood. Then for the first time in his life Ajoy saw his father burst out into loud sobs.

(2)

The great building stood on one of the main thoroughfares of the city. It had everything that can make a house look beautiful and imposing. But it wanted a proper number of residents. The master of the house was the only person who could be found in the palatial building with the exception of a huge crowd of servants. And he too was in the house only for a few hours in the day. For the most part of his time he went about the city in search of money, of which he already had enough and to spare. He returned in the evening, and went over the whole house once, to see if it needed any improvement or embellishment anywhere. Then he went to a little room on the second floor, and laid himself down for a short rest. This room was simple to bareness. It had neither electric light nor fan, and next to nothing in the way of furniture. The only decoration it boasted of was a picture, which hung on the wall. It was the portrait of a young girl of fifteen.

The master of the house was named Ajoy. His hair had begun to turn gray at the temples and his once dreamy eyes now glittered like those of a hawk. He had become practical to the last point. His house, his numerous

carriages and bank book gave unquestionable evidence of his success in life. He had little to do with his fellow beings, not more than his business demanded. Whenever there was any costly furniture or picture in the market Ajoy's car was the first to arrive at the place of sale. There was a rumour that he kept a sharp look out for jewels too.

He was brought into contact with many society people in course of business and so had to accept some of their countless invitations. He avoided them as much as possible and escaped from their company as soon as possible even when he went.

But there were exceptions to this general rule. Whenever he heard that a girl child had been born to any of his acquaintances, he went to his house unbidden, saw the baby and presented it with a gold coin. People said it was a good way of proving one's uniqueness of temperament; parents of girl children generally receive nothing but condolences, so Ajoy had congratulations for them. His acquaintances of the fairer sex pitied his eccentricity and suggested marriage as a remedy.

It was a dismal evening, cloudy and cheerless. Ajoy was returning home rather earlier than usual. He had been feeling somewhat unwell for the past few days, as he had caught a severe cold, following a beggar girl about the streets and lanes of Calcutta on two successive rainy days. He frequently went out on excursions of a like nature. He never made any profit out of them, though there were many, chiefly women, who gained by his quixotic whims.

To-day after reaching home, he did not start on his usual round of seeking. He shut himself up in his bedroom instead, and sat down tired and listless. After a while he raised his head and stared full at the portrait on the wall and muttered, "Why don't you tell me where you are? Cannot you give me a single hint? I am seeking, ever seeking, but where can I find you, dear?"

A servant tiptoed up to his room, but seeing the door shut, he went back without daring to call him. Ajoy remained supperless that night.

The doctor was called in the next morning. He came, made many strong remarks in Bengali and English about the whims and caprices of the rich, and finally wrote out a prescription after having Ajoy removed from his little hole of a room to a better one. A trained nurse arrived within an hour, and

very soon Ajoy's illness assumed a character worthy of a rich man. He had no relative living in Calcutta to be anxious over him, but friends and acquaintances began to pour in to enquire about him. A servant remained engaged the whole day answering these friendly calls. The doctor was beset by some of the more curious and questions about his patient's condition. He replied that nothing could be said definitely yet, as the patient was very weak. Probably he had a long illness before him, he needed thorough rest, etc., etc.

During the first stage of his illness Ajoy was totally unconscious. So he knew nothing as to where he was being kept and who were nursing him. But as consciousness returned, he began gradually to take notice of everything. Irritation soon followed consciousness. The unceasing flow of his questions nearly drove his attendant mad. Why had he been brought into this room? By whose authority had these nurses been engaged? What were his servants for if he must call in nurses for a short spell of sickness? The doctor disposed most of these questions with a short pithy lecture. Ajoy kept silence for a day or two, then suddenly a new whim took hold of his mind. He would not take any nourishment or medicine from the hand of the Eurasian nurse. Either a Bengali nurse must be brought in or let the servants take care of him. The doctor was hurriedly consulted and left with the assurance that he would at once send a new nurse.

Ajoy had fallen into a short spell of troubled sleep towards the evening. The noise of a passing tram-car suddenly broke through his slumber and he became conscious that a soft hand was being slowly passed over his aching forehead and through his hair. The shadows of evening filled the room, he could only dimly see a white-clad figure sitting at the head of the bed. "Are you the new nurse?" he asked.

A gentle voice answered, "Yes."

That night Ajoy did not make the least fuss while taking his food or medicine. He became like a soothed child who had received the wished-for toy. But as soon as he had finished his meal, he cried out, "Why don't you turn on the lights! I hate this darkness!"

The nurse had orders to keep the patient calm at any cost, so the lights were at once switched on. As the nurse returned to

her seat at the head of the bed, the patient again cried out, "Come and stand before me, I want to see you."

The nurse obediently came and stood before him. Ajoy raised his head to see her more fully. She was a mere slip of a girl, fair and slender, with a very sad expression on her young face. After he had stared at her for some minutes, he said, "You may sit down now."

As soon as the nurse had gone back to her seat, Ajoy asked, "What is your name?"

"Poorabi," answered the girl.

The new nurse very soon established a complete ascendancy over her patient. His very character seemed to have undergone a change for the better. There were no more of breaking cups and throwing measuring-glasses on the floor. The servants were relieved of the continuous rebukes and the doctor of the continuous complaints of his rich patient. Even when tossing and moaning in agony, he became calm at once if Poorabi came and laid her hand on his forehead. Only one thing used to make him furious. The girl must not go out of his sight even for a moment. Poorabi had to take even her meals in the sick room. All wondered at her stock of patience. Neither her unceasing labours nor the innumerable whims of her charge could tire her out.

Ajoy's aunt had arrived on hearing of his sickness. But the ungrateful Ajoy could not bear her very sight, which put the worthy lady in a furious rage with the favoured nurse. How dared that chit of a girl usurp her rightful place? She was eager for an opportunity to teach the thing her proper place. She got it soon. Peeping into the sickroom one afternoon she saw Ajoy sleeping. She beckoned to the nurse to come out of the room.

She had just got through the introductory part of her speech when an angry voice called out, "Poorabi!"

Poorabi started and ran into his room. As she approached his bed-side, he caught her by the hand and nearly dragged her down to his breast. Holding her thus, he asked sharply, "What have you been doing out there?"

"Your aunt called me," said the trembling girl.

"And what was that doctor fellow telling you in the morning?" asked Ajoy again, his tone rising higher.

Poorabi saw no escape. "The doctor was telling me to take a little rest," she said.

"So they are all plotting to take you away from me," shouted Ajoy; "but I won't let you go; no, not till I am dead and burnt."

Poorabi had nothing to say. Ajoy shook her roughly by the arm, crying, "Do you hear? You shall not go."

Poorabi gently freed herself from the grasp of Ajoy and went to her accustomed seat. Then she said in a whisper, "No, I will not go, till you tell me to." She began to stroke his forehead with her soft hand. Ajoy gradually calmed down, but he did not see that tears were streaming down the face of his nurse.

After this neither the commands of the doctors nor the strong hints of Ajoy's aunt could persuade her to take her much-needed rest. She positively refused to let another nurse relieve her.

A few days passed thus. Ajoy was daily getting better. Suddenly a most unexpected change came over him. He ceased to speak, even to Poorabi. He lay like one senseless. Only now and then he would open his eyes and stare at Poorabi with wild eyes.

One morning he suddenly sat up on his bed and called Poorabi. As she hastened to him, he said, "Go upstairs to my room and get the picture which you will see there."

Poorabi hurried off after an uneasy glance at him. With the help of the direction of the servants she found the room soon and came down with the picture. She placed it on a chair by the bed of Ajoy and said, "Here it is." Ajoy looked round. He took up the portrait and glanced at it sharply. Suddenly he threw it down and asked eagerly, "Do you remember her?"

"No," said Poorabi.

Ajoy stretched out his arms and drew the girl to him. Holding her face in both hands, he asked, "Then, do you remember me? Look well, leave out these gray hairs, this haggardness of the face. Take off some twenty years from my present age, then say whether you recognise me. Do you hear? Speak, do you?"

"No," said Poorabi, in a voice choked with tears.

Ajoy flung her from him like a mad man. "Then who are you, you deceiver? Why have you made me run after a mirage? Get out of my sight!"

Poorabi stumbled out of the room somehow. She was seen no more in the sickroom.

The doctor had been summoned in haste. As he came out, the aunt waylaid him and asked, "How did you find him?"

The doctor frowned, "Not very hopeful. However, I am leaving orders for everything. I shall send in a new nurse immediately, she knows how to deal with such patients."

Poorabi was leaving. She stood near the door waiting for the carriage. Her eyes were red with weeping, her dishevelled hair fell all over her face. The doctor tried to comfort her. "Sick people are like children. Nobody should mind what they say or do."

Suddenly she was sent for in the sickroom. Ajoy had probably recovered his senses to a certain extent, he looked calm and collected and held out a purse towards her, as she entered. "Take this," he said.

"I have received my dues from the doctor," Poorabi said.

Ajoy looked at her with hungry eyes for a moment and then turned away his face. "Still, take it," he said; "you have done more for me than ordinary nurses do. You deserve some reward. Take this, it contains a thousand rupees."

Poorabi's eyes suddenly flashed. "So this is my reward. Keep it for yourself," she nearly shrieked, and flinging away the purse she ran out of the room.

Ajoy started violently. Was this Poorabi? These flashing eyes, this voice, did they really belong to her? They seemed strangely familiar. And this scene too, what did it remind him of? Suddenly a picture flashed before his mental vision. A boy and an angry girl standing in a garden full of bushes and a rank growth of grass.

He sprang down from the bed and ran to the head of the stairs. "Sulatā, Sulatā, I have recognised you," he called out in a loud voice, "come back, come back to me." But there was no answer.

He began to descend. He had gone down half way, when a violent giddiness overpowered him. He clutched the bannister wildly and cried out hoarsely, "Sulatā!"

Next moment he rolled down the stairs in an inert heap.

* * * *

The great house still stands as before. But new faces are seen everywhere. It does not lack inhabitants now. All the relations of the master of the house had crowded round him in the hour of his affliction. They have changed the face of the entire house.

Only the small room on the second floor remains the same. Ajoy still lives there. But the outside world has long since forgotten his existence.

'GOD WEARIES OF GREAT KINGDOMS BUT NEVER OF LITTLE FLOWERS'

[The following is an extract from an article published in a daily paper in Leeds by one of the workers in that great centre of smoke and steam and noise and whirling wheels which marked the modern manufacturing town. It is significant to find such a true appreciation of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, in such a centre.—C. F. A.]

"Balmy air and bright sunshine drew me afield the other Sunday. 'Sit and enjoy the promise of Spring, amid the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey,' they whispered to me, and I obeyed.

In due course I found myself one of a number of sightseers who gazed about them, more or less vacantly, and appeared to be

quite unimpressed either by the beauties of nature or by the handiwork of man.

There was one exception however. From his dress and appearance, I should say he was a working man; but he was quite clearly a reader and a thinker. He had a boy and a girl with him and to them he told the story of the Abbey.

I was standing in the nave, and suddenly the gaping sight-seeing people who were wandering aimlessly about seemed to be blotted out. The sound of their chatter ceased. The rents that time had made in the noble building were healed. Overhead there appeared to be an arched roof instead of

the open sky. Then I heard the monks chanting: "*Ad Te levavi oculos meos*,"—"I have lifted up mine eyes to Thee, O God;" and to the sound of the Psalm, the procession appeared to move slowly up to the high altar.

As suddenly as it had come, the view passed. The centuries fell away, and I stood once more under the open sky, looking up at the broken tracery. I moved out into what used to be the cloisters, and there in the sunshine was a group of pigeons, fluttering about in all their burnished loveliness, and gathering the crumbs that a lady was throwing to them.

It was a pretty sight: for the birds were tame, and I stood and watched it for a while. And as I watched, I was suddenly struck by the permanence of apparently trivial things. Just so, had the pigeons fluttered in the court-

yard centuries ago. Just so, had they been fed by the monks with scraps from the Refectory. The daisies and the dandelions peeping through the grass had lifted up the same starry faces heavenwards in the days of old. And year by year, all down the centuries, each Spring had seen the same recurring miracle of beauty.

But the great Abbey, whose solid walls looked as though they had been built to outlast eternity,—it was *not* the same. Time, the Destroyer, and the blind ignorance and wantonness of man, had wrought a grievous change. There was something humiliating in the contrast between the lastingness of nature and the transience of man's creations.

"God wearies of great kingdoms," says the Hindu poet, Rabindranath Tagore, "but never of little flowers."

A. B. B.

THE INDIAN WOMEN IN FIJI

ONE evening, while I was in Fiji, I went to visit an English official, who had a somewhat brilliant record at Oxford University, as a scholar of his college, before entering the colonial service. His father had been well known to me in Birmingham, many years ago, and this had served as my introduction to him. He received me with every kindness, and I found out in the course of conversation, that he was a man with strong liberal views, which had not become weakened by residence abroad.

Since he was a keen observer of Indian ways and habits, it was a pleasure to talk with him about the position of Indians in the colony. The appalling state of the Fiji 'coolie lines' had not escaped his attention. As was the case with very nearly all Government officials, whom I met, when we talked over the subject, he frankly acknowledged that the indenture system of labour in Fiji was indefensible and wished for its speedy removal.

After dinner, we sat out late into the night, while he told me many interesting

things about the Fijians and their customs. When our conversation drifted back to the Indians, there was one remark which struck me more than any other,—

"Have you noticed," he asked me, "that we have a militant 'Women's Movement' going on before our eyes here in Fiji, among the Indian women?"

I paused for a moment as he said these words and thought them over in my mind.

"You are right," I replied to him, "and it is very interesting to me that you have noticed it. I had been puzzling over what had happened in Fiji, and I had been contrasting it with what I know of India. The Indian women in Fiji are certainly more independent than in India. I have noticed this at every turn."

Then my host entered into the reasons for this, which had struck him personally as an enquirer. These reasons were necessarily somewhat sordid, for they were closely related to the whole indenture system,—and this system, as is well known, had made the proportion of men to women in the Fiji 'coolie lines', roughly,

that of three men to every one woman. The result had been to throw immense influence into the women's head. For the woman, in these circumstances, was able to choose her mate, or mates. Indeed, something akin to polyandry and a matriarchal system often occurred. In such a state of society, the woman had naturally obtained the advantage over the man; and the men were very soon made aware of it. The least quarrel,—and the woman would go off to find another mate! Again and again, hen-pecked husbands have come to me, asking me to solve their domestic troubles or to get back for them their wives.

When I passed up and down the different 'coolie-lines' in Fiji, or else went from one Indian settlement to another, it was the attitude of independence in the women which most struck me. This characteristic had really pained me; for the Indian woman's life in Fiji seemed to have lost very much indeed of all that I had learnt to reverence so deeply in India itself. Half of the beauty of Indian womanhood seemed to have departed.

But, when I looked deeper, I discovered a stern, courageous patriotism. This I had seen also among the Indian women in Natal. I had often heard from Mahatma Gandhi's own lips how brave the women had been during the passive resistance struggle, and how they had put to shame the men by their wonderful courage and endurance. There was something, I felt, similar to this in Fiji, though it had its unpleasing features of roughness where gentleness might be expected.

I had been working all this complex problem out in my mind on many lonely walks, and it struck me at once as a corroboration of my own slowly forming thoughts, when my host that evening, after dinner, turned to me and said,—

"Have you noticed that, just as we have our militant suffragettes in England, so we have a militant 'Woman's Movement' here among the Indian women in Fiji?"

Side by side with their characteristic, which became more and more apparent as time went on, I noticed another feature far more pleasing than that which I have

mentioned. It was this,—the ideal of chivalry and reverence for true womanhood was not dead in the hearts of the Indian *men* in Fiji. It was too deeply implanted in Indian nature to perish; and so, it had survived even this most terrible ordeal of the indenture system. In certain ways, it would be true to say, that the ideal had come closer to the hearts of Indian men than ever, during their stay in Fiji.

I remember when I was a clergyman in the slums of London, bringing a little boy home to his drunken mother, who had neglected the child disgracefully. As I reached the lodging, another woman came up and made some slighting remark about the child. In a moment, the drunken mother's fury was roused and it was all that I could do to prevent a fight. Then the mother, who had neglected the child before, took her son and fondled him with an endearment he had not known for many months. In some such ways it appeared to me, that the Indian men in Fiji, who were incessantly quarrelling and fighting about women, had in their heart a deep reverence which revealed itself from time to time at critical moments.

The wife of Mr. D. M. Manilal, Jaikumari Devi, was not living in the Islands during my earlier visit in 1915. I had met her, some years before, at Phoenix, Natal, in Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram, and so she was not personally unknown to me, when Indians in Fiji spoke to me about her with great devotion. She was the daughter of Dr. Mehta, the Indian patriot of Rangoon. Her two younger brothers had been my pupils for a time at Shantiniketan. It was on my second visit that I met her in Fiji. I used to stay in her house from time to time, whenever I could get away. This house was about four miles distant from the Nausori Mills, on the banks of the Rewa River.

It was easy to see the influence which Jaikumari Devi had obtained in Fiji and the place which she had come to occupy in people's hearts. She had gone through much suffering, and her suffering had endeared her to the people more and more. Above all, she was loved for her great

devotion to the poor, and for the fearless patriotism which she had inherited from her father.

While I stayed at her house, I noticed that there was no poor Indian, who went past, without some help being given by Jaikumari Devi. Each evening there would be a large gathering of poorer Indians, both men and women, in the courtyard in front of her house, and she would come out to meet them, bringing along with her in her arms her little baby child, Madhusudhan Das. There was a wonderful grace and gentleness and kindness in every action. She would talk with these poor people with affection, like a true mother, and would listen to all their troubles and sorrows.

One of the most striking things about the life of the Indian women in Fiji was that the 'purdah' was almost completely non-existent. Among Hindus and Musalmans alike, this was very nearly everywhere the case. The life of the Indian women was lived in the open: it was not behind any screen. The greater part of the day was not spent in the house, but in the world.

Many of those who read this article must have studied the poet, Rabindranath Tagore's great novel, 'The Home and the World'. They will remember the life which Bimala came to live, outside the palace doors. Like Bimala in the story, the life of the Indian women in Fiji had left altogether the shelter of the home. It had been thrown out into the turbulent sea of the world. It had either to sink or swim there: return to the sheltered harbour was impossible.

It was perhaps, more than anything else, this extreme reaction from the sheltered type of life which had produced such a violent change. The pendulum had swung all the other way, and the masculine side of nature had flourished, where the feminine had flourished before. The social emancipation had been almost complete. As I have said, the effects of this had deeply troubled and distressed me,—on the marriage side and the cultivation of the family life, the distress had been extreme.

But the longer I stayed in the Islands, the more I could see, that outraged nature had brought certain compensations. The Indian women were a force to be reckoned with in Fiji. They were patriots one and all; and they were like Amazons in their self-determination. Their hard life had made them hard in character like steel.

It had been the pained anxiety I had felt lest the family life should altogether break down, which had made me strain every nerve to get help for the education of the young Indian girls, who were growing up into womanhood. In certain districts, where nothing was being done to help them, they seemed to be living in an almost wild state. It was quite clear to me, that here would be the main problem in the near future, and that practically nothing had been done to solve it.

If the woman wielded such a preponderating influence (so I argued to myself), then how terrible it would be, if the younger generation grew up without the least knowledge of their own Motherland, or of the good customs of Indian motherhood, or of the modesty and gentleness of character, which were the chief ornaments of an Indian woman!

With this thought in my mind, I tried by every means in my power to obtain teachers and to found schools for the girls, as well as for the boys. The difficulties were almost insurmountable, on account of the eager haste on all sides for premature marriage and because of the monetary temptations, which were offered to the parents for their girls. It seemed like the Greek story of Sisyphus,—rolling the stone up to the top of the mountain only to see it roll back again.

One lady, Miss Priest, of the Theosophical Society, who had taught at the Indraprastha Hindu Girls' High School, at Delhi, for more than twelve years before going out to Fiji, bravely went on with her work and is still working at Nadi, on the north side of the main island. Good work is being done by certain Mission ladies at Lautoka and in the Rewa District, though in their case the work is not based on Indian lines. But all these

efforts put together are patently insignificant compared with the greatness of the need.

Now we come to the events themselves, which have been reported in official documents and in private correspondence. Owing to arbitrary governmental action, all my own correspondence appears to have been censored and kept back. It is quite inconceivable that in such troublous times as these, no letter whatever should have been written to me from Fiji: yet I have received no letter at all since the beginning of this year. One solitary newspaper which reached me from New Zealand,—a copy of the 'New Zealand Herald', published at Auckland,—was so cut about by the censor's scissors, before it was delivered to me, that not a single allusion to Fiji remained un-excised. I appear to be such a dangerous person to Fiji, that no Government,—not even the Government of New Zealand,—can trust me with my own private correspondence or even with a daily newspaper that has printed information on the Fiji question!

But apart from this personal blockade, the cordon of which I have no means of breaking through, ample news has reached me from other sources and the story is a very remarkable one. It starts from the cancellation of indentures, which took place on January 1st, 1920. From that date the struggle really began, and I shall deal only with the women's part in it. The whole scene comes home to me personally with peculiar vividness, because each place in Fiji is known to me, and also because many of the leading actors in the tragic drama are my intimate personal friends.

For instance, nearly every letter that I have seen contains an allusion to the assault by the police upon George Suchit, who is described in a letter to the Fiji Governor,—signed by a number of "Loyal Indians,"—as one of the three chief-conspirators and ringleaders. It was at the tiny house of George Suchit that I stayed in Suva, again and again, and was always made welcome. His two little children, Margery and Geoffrey, are very dear to me, and his home became my home. A more devoted

and industrious housewife than Mrs. George Suchit would be difficult to find. It used to be the great delight of her two children to run along to the corner of the street with me each morning when I went down to the town, and to wait for me each evening so as to run back with me on my return. We used to have great fun together as we went up the road to their house. I have had many letters from them since. I can well understand what a terrible shock it must have been to this brave little woman and her two children to see their father carried in, after the police assault, badly hurt.

Every one in Suva knows 'George' and things must have reached a very bad state indeed, between Indians and Europeans, for George Suchit to be thus maltreated by the police. It shows to me a growth of racial feeling that is most sinister and unexpected.

Clearly Jaikumari Devi, the wife of Mr. D. M. Manilal, was the heroine of the whole drama. I can picture her best of all.

I can see her, for instance, coming into Suva, day by day, and organising, cheering and encouraging the Indian women workers. She had not gone through the experience of South Africa in vain. Many things had been learnt while she was there. Above all, she had learnt to trust in the courage of the Indian women, and she was ready to put it to the test.

Jaikumari Devi herself seems to have been the inspirer of the strike for higher wages. The movement was planned, just at the period of the cancellation of indentures. It would certainly have met with success, if the military had not been called in; because there is no surplus cheap labour in the colony to fall back on and a rise in wages was already long overdue. The Sugar Industry could perfectly well afford to pay the extra price for labour out of its immensely enhanced profits and its accumulated 'inner reserves'.

The facts concerning these grossly swollen profits cannot be too often repeated, and I shall venture to quote again the statement made by the Business Editor of the Sydney Bulletin, who

general accuracy may be relied on. He writes as follows :—

"The net profits shown by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company are the figures given by the Directors. Whether they represent the *true* net profits, the 'Sydney Bulletin' does not know,—nor does anybody know except a very few who are inside. In past balance sheets, the Directors certainly did not disclose all the profits made. For instance, in 1910, they admitted that for fifteen years they had been purchasing property in Fiji out of profits. The result is shown in the table. In 1916, no less than £3,250,000 was written up, and bonus shares were issued in a new Company, called the Maoriland and Fiji Company.

"A Directorate, which can shake 3¼ million pounds sterling,—equal to the entire amount of the former watered capital,—out of its sleeve in this way, cannot expect its figures to be taken too seriously. It is a notable feature in the C. S. R. Co., that, no matter what new troubles confront the Directorate, its disclosed profits are not affected to any extent.

"Looking back over the past ten years gives an amazing record for this mammoth concern! Since the year 1907, no new capital has been got in: but in that year, besides the £225,000 raised by the issue of 15,000 £20 shares, for which only £15 was paid, £75,000 accumulated profits were capitalised. That brought the paid up capital to £2,500,000. The paid up capital of the parent Company alone is now £3,250,000 and every penny of that ¾ millions represents capitalised profits. Here is a short history of what has happened since 1908 :—

Dividends paid	£3,681,875
Profits capitalised	750,000
Assets written up & bonus shares issued in M. & Fiji Co.	3,250,000
Added to visible reserve	463,679
	<hr/>
	£8,145,554"

Readers of magazine articles have proverbially short memories, and no one will blame me for quoting these colossal figures in full once more. It is only from such

statistics that we can estimate what interests were at stake and what pressure such a powerful company can bring to bear on a weak Colonial Government. When one remembers, also, that all the telephone and telegraph lines, and all the railways, and a major portion of the cultivable land, are in the hands of this huge octopus-like company, which has its tentacles spread over the small islands of Fiji, it is easy to understand how, for the last thirty years, the word of this company has been almost equivalent to law. It has been the 'Shogun' behind the Throne, the real wielder of power.

It is not without significance that Mr. Rodwell, the Governor, has marked out for praise (mentioning the help he rendered to the police in the prosecution of Indians), the Hon. Henry M. Scott, K.C., who is the special legal adviser of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Suva, and has done more perhaps than anyone else to build up their interests in the islands.

Imperialism and capitalism have a well known propensity to work hand in hand together. Mr. H. M. Scott is an ardent Imperialist and so are the Directors of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, whom I met in Sydney. In London also this Sugar Company, with its millions of capital invested in 'sugar', is regarded as one of the pillars of the British Empire. Other pillars of the same kind are the Oil Companies in Persia and the Rubber Companies in the Malay States. To keep these pillars firmly established, unsatisfactory conditions in respect to labour recruiting, or housing, or wages payment, have been constantly winked at. On the other hand, the military forces of the British Empire, including the invincible Navy, may be hurried to the spot, to crush down into subjection weak men and women, whose only demand is that they may receive a wage which will give them enough food to eat. To me personally, after witnessing facts of this nature, there is something in all this that is revoltingly unjust.

It was not for nothing that I was categorically marked out and named in the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's

Annual Report for 1917-1918,—at a time when the war fever was at its highest,—as disloyal, and in league with well-known leaders of sedition in India, such as Mr. Gandhi, whose object was to overthrow the British Empire in India!

It was one of the highest officials in this very C. S. R. Company, who told me with brutal frankness, that their company had no responsibility for the morals of the Indian coolies who were recruited under indenture. They were a strictly business company and the 'morals' of their employees were no concern of theirs.

The corollary was obvious. According to this logic, the Pillars of the British Empire, such as Sugar, were established on money. I was out to disturb their money basis, and to insist on morality being observed at the cost of money. Such a disturbance was a blow dealt at one of the Pillars of the British Empire. Therefore I was disloyal.

Even in Australia itself, when a Labour Government was in power, these financial magnates of the C. S. R. Co., successfully resisted every Governmental pressure brought on them and refused to disclose their profits. In London, the same Company has only to appeal to the Colonial Office, where capitalist interests are rampant, to obtain what it requires. All the financial interests in London,—that great business clearing house of the world,—are naturally on its side; and the pressure that it can bring to bear in its own favour in that city is almost beyond reckoning. We have not forgotten in India how along with West Indian financial interests it very nearly succeeded (in the year 1916-1917) in getting the whole indenture system of Indian labour prolonged for another five years to suit its own business convenience. Only by a kind of miracle, was this shameful arrangement with the Colonial Office discovered and the secret compact annulled.

Personally, I had an extraordinary experience of the Company's power, which taught me one of the most painful lessons of my life. I tried to get certain facts, which could be proved on documentary evidence, published in the Australian

papers,—revealing the immoral conditions of the 'coolie lines' in Fiji. But I could get no leading Australian newspaper to publish them, because they reflected on the 'Company'.

If, then, the capitalists of the C. S. R. Company exercise such tremendous power in London and Australia and New Zealand, how easy, how absurdly easy, it would be for them, to bring up the military and naval forces of the British Empire, in order to crush down into cowed subjection a few thousand famished and miserable labourers led by an Indian woman. How easy, how absurdly easy, to turn the labour trouble into a political revolution, concocted in order to set up an Indian revolutionary government in Fiji! How conveniently easy, when, under gross provocation, an act of violence on the part of Indians occurred, to label the labour movement with the name of 'open rebellion' and bring to bear every available military force and a kind of martial law to stamp it out!

I like to think of that one brave little Indian woman, Jaikumari Devi, standing out, to the very end, at the head of the Indian labouring men and women of Suva, firmly determined to break the power which the Colonial Sugar Refining Company was employing to keep in a famished condition the labourers whom they employed.

I like, also, to think, that no serious act of violence on the part of the Indians was done, until the men heard that Jaikumari Devi was being taken to prison. Then, they could not restrain themselves, and excesses were committed.

The work of Jaikumari Devi, in organising these Indian women in Fiji, was a work of heroism which few can picture who have not known by experience the all-pervading power of the 'Company', and also the state of demoralisation reached by the Indians under the Company regime. It was indeed a struggle of the weak against the powerful. Some of the richest settlers in Fiji, men of wealth and property, have told me that they had not dared to go against the expressed will of the C. S. R. Company. But this one brave little

Indian woman *did* dare, and what is more, she very nearly succeeded. Only the direct introduction of military force turned the scale against her.

This article is already long, and it will not be possible to enter into the details of the struggle. Certainly the militant aspect of the Indian women of Fiji was prominent, and they shamed the men again and again into holding out for higher wages and not betraying the cause. They organised themselves into 'Strike Committees' and would not let their men surrender. Jaikumari Devi herself went at the head of them, urging men everywhere not to work till their wrongs were righted. At times it is true they may have used physical force and in that way brought harm to a good cause but, what was far more truly effective, they used the moral force of openly and publicly disgracing the men, in their own eyes, if they dared to play the coward where women were so brave.

I would not offer justification at all for every act the women did, and I do not wish my words in this article to be taken in that sense. There were things done by the Indians that were wrong and deserved punishment. Yet the almost desperate odds must be remembered and also the ignorance and degradation of the women. This very degradation had been brought about mainly by the policy of recruitment in India and by their mode of living, sanctioned by the Fiji Government itself. In no encounter of this kind, where thousands of poor, illiterate people are involved, is it likely that all will pass off quietly without disturbance of the public peace. There was violence offered in Fiji, and in so far as this was the case the Indian cause was injured as I have already plainly stated.

The one outstanding fact, which, from all the evidence available, seems to be beyond dispute, is that the struggle was made racial by the Government and by the European population. Ordinance were hurriedly passed, placing a badge of inferiority on Indians as Indians, Indians as Indians were disarmed, Europeans of all classes were enlisted as special con-

stable *against* Indians, and racial hatred flamed forth.

The Governor of Fiji himself stands condemned out of his own mouth. When asked by the Indian strikers to come out, unaccompanied by other Europeans, to negotiate, instead of seizing the opportunity, as a brave man ought to have done, he contemptuously refused. In his own statement he mentions, as, in part, a reason for his refusal, that he was asked to go out to a place fourteen miles from Suva. I have been along that excellent motor road from Suva to Nausori very many times. The Governor had only to step into his car and he would have been there in three quarters of an hour. But it would appear from his own words, that to humour the demands of poor people, who felt themselves desperately wronged, was beneath the dignity of a Governor. No! The Indian labourers themselves must learn their true position. They must come trudging on foot all those fourteen miles to seek His Excellency's presence; thus they must show their submission and beg his favour by a petition. This to me is the most sickening part of the whole of the Governor's Report.

The military were called up: troops were even summoned from across the sea: a gunboat appeared in the harbour: every European who could bear arms was enrolled. The strike was crushed. Jaikumari Devi was deported.

To all outward appearance the Sugar Company and its agents have been triumphant. There is nothing to show that the gross injustice of the inflated profits of the Company on one side, and the half-famished condition of labourers on the other, has been set right. The Indians appear to have been forced back to work at the old wages.

But this triumph of the Company is short-sighted and likely to be short-lived. Thousands of Indians will leave the colony, and it is altogether unlikely that any more will come from India to take this place. Chinese indentured labour is now out of the question, for Australia would not allow it on any terms whatever. What

is almost certain to happen (and it is a dismal prospect) is that professional recruiters will be sent far and wide over the Pacific Islands to induce by their well-known practices the aboriginals to come and work in the sugar plantations of Fiji. For the one thing that must on no account be allowed to become unstable is this Pillar of the British Empire, the great Sugar Company with its millions of capital and profits. Imperialism and big

finance will find out a means of advancing hand in hand together.

Meanwhile, I profoundly trust that the story of Jaikumari Devi will not be forgotten. It is worthy to be told in our Indian villages as a proof of what one brave woman could do to inspire her fellow countrymen and women and to retrieve the honour of her country.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

UNIVERSAL RHYTHM

By S. V. RAMAMURTY, I. C. S.

THE kinetic theory of matter regards the various particles of a piece of matter as in a state of rapid vibration. But this multiplicity of motions is built into an organic unity—namely, the piece of matter. So too, the Universe, built up as it is of such diverse entities as Life, Matter, Space, Time and Spirit, yet beats to a common rhythm. I shall deal with this Universal Rhythm partly as a description of a state and partly as a criterion for development.

2. Multiplicity in unity is rhythm. Its simplest form is the rhythm of the two in one. This twofold rhythm of the Universe is the relation of Purusha and Prakriti, of Shiva and Shakti. I shall show how this twofold rhythm realizes itself in various parts of the Universe.

3. Human consciousness develops from the consciousness of the individual to that of the family, to that of the nation and to that of the whole of humanity, from the consciousness of matter to that of Space and Time and Spirit beyond. (Spirit is beyond time as it is also beyond Life.) While man develops primarily the individual and national consciousness—Economics and Politics—woman develops primarily the family and moral consciousness—family life and Ethics. While man develops reason and leads an intellectual

life, woman develops intuition and leads a religious life. The same differentiation separates Europe and Asia. Europe develops individual liberty, while Asia develops the family good ; Europe develops Politics, while Asia develops Ethics ; Europe develops Science and Art, while Asia develops Religion. The various sub-divisions of the inner and outer life of man are thus developed alternately by man and woman, by Europe and Asia. The eternal relation of Purusha and Prakriti finds its reflection in the balanced relation of the individual and the family, of the nation and humanity, of matter and spirit, of reason and intuition, of Europe and Asia, of man and woman. There is a painting at Ajanta where the artist depicts Raja-Rajeswari sitting enthroned on high and Iswara dancing to the rhythm of the Universe—of angels and Rishis, of men and animals of trees and hills. This is a vision of the twofold rhythm of the Universe.

4. We can look at the Universe in two aspects, the static and dynamic, its being and its becoming. Joy is the being in harmony with and Pain is the becoming harmonious with the Universal Rhythm. Pain is thus the process of attaining joy.

Freedom is the power to respond to the Universal Rhythm. Freedom is thus potential Joy. The life of matter is its

power to respond to the pulsations of the Universe—both within and without. Life is thus the Freedom of matter, and Death is its absence.

Love is the thread along which the multiplicity of the Universe moves under the guiding restraint of its unity. Hate and anger strain this thread. So do greed and jealousy.

Good is the Joy of humanity and Evil is its Pain. Beauty is the Joy of matter and ugliness is its Pain. Truth is the Joy of the Cosmos and falsehood is its Pain. Righteousness is the Joy of the spirit and sinfulness is its Pain.

Joy and Pain are the potential and kinetic energy of the Universal Rhythm. Their sum is constant for the Universe or for a part unless there is an influx from outside.

The Pain of man which transmutes the Joy of the Universe around to his Joy is Good, for it adds to human Joy. The Pain of man which transmutes his Joy back to the Joy of the Universe around is Evil, for it subtracts from Human Joy. The former is the pain which comes through contact with the Universal Life. It is the pain sent by God. The latter is the result of sinfulness which is the pain of the Spirit. The pain of the Godly is Good, the pain of the Sinful is Evil.

The relation of Joy and Pain is that of being and becoming, that of eternity and the instant. Godliness, which is an infinitely great development of consciousness and activity, is thus the development of Joy.

5. I now turn to Universal Rhythm as a criterion for development. Let me take first the problem of sex.

The development of sex is the production of multiplicity in unity. It is a process of progressive individualization and therefore a process of universal civilization. The next progressive step for humanity in the direction of sex is not the approximation of woman as nearly as possible to man but the development of another human entity who is related both to man and woman but yet is organically different from either and, being later in time, is fuller in development than either. As the

family life of woman envelops the individual life of man, as the ethical life of woman envelops the political life of man, as the intuition of woman envelops the reason of man, so is woman higher than man. Woman in trying to approximate herself to man lowers herself. But this process of approximation is only an apparent one. It is the process of the pendulum which moves away to the other extreme in order to find its true position of stability. It is from the present clash of woman and man that the next higher sex will be born. And woman will be more responsible for producing the new sex than man, even as Spirit will be more responsible for the production of fully developed Life than Matter will be.

6. In sex, the twofold rhythm of the Universe seeks to change to a threefold rhythm. We see the same process in reference to other groups of two entities where the relation of Purusha and Prakriti finds its reflexion. The two directions of the Universe—Matter and Spirit—are changing to three by the development of Life which is related both to matter and spirit but is yet different. The two directions of the civilized world—Asia and Europe—are changing to three by the development of America which is gaining contacts with both and is growing different from both. We are passing on to a compound which has affinities both with synthesis and analysis but is higher than either. So too to a compound higher than reason and intuition. The plane of human knowledge is developing a third independent direction. Geometry must hasten its footsteps.

7. Next I turn to the problem of the stratification of humanity into classes and nations.

The development of classes by a nation, of nations by humanity, is the production of multiplicity. If the classes are living parts of the nation and the nations of humanity, their life is the unity which binds them and thereby produces organic rhythm. The criterion for good of social institutions is that they should be in harmony with human life. For this they should at least be living. It is not the

growth of classes or castes or nations but their death that is the source of pain to those within and those without. As selfishness is the quality of a dead self, so is a selfish class a dead class and a selfish nation a dead nation. Death substitutes for the bond of life the bond of matter—or, as Tagore puts it, a mechanical organi-

zation. What Tagore attacks in his "Nationalism" is not the Nation but Death on a scale as large as a nation. The Salvation of humanity lies not in the annihilation of class or nation but in their consolidation into an organic whole. At the goal of humanity, every man is a class and all men are brothers.

THE VOTING SYSTEM IN THE BUDDHIST ORDER

IN this Review for May 1918, under the heading of "Democracy in Ancient India", I wrote a few lines about the voting system in the Buddhist brotherhood, showing therein that disputes were settled in it by the act of *वेधुयासिक्ता*, i. e., putting them to the vote and deciding by a majority. Now a voice has been raised in some quarters that this voting system of the Buddhists was an *organised fraud*. And in support of this strange view we are referred to some passages in the Vinaya Pitaka in which it has been described in detail.

The following lines are taken from the *Cullavagga*, IV. 14. 16 :—

"If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken."

Alluding to this passage they say, 'What does it indicate? Why should the teller of the votes reject the vote simply on account of its being against the Dhamma?'

'And again,' they continue, 'what are we to understand by the *secret* method? And why that vote is to be rejected if it be adverse? This remark holds good also with reference to the *whispering* method of taking votes.

'Thus,' they conclude, 'it follows from the above that this system of voting is nothing but an organised fraud.'

This criticism is not fair and betrays the lack of acquaintance of its authors with the underlying principle of the Buddhist

order. First of all, it is to be taken into serious consideration that the Enlightened One who fought so much for truth could by no means organise a fraud. Having founded the brotherhood he always tried his best to avoid any schism in it, and this was the object he had in his view in formulating the rules for settling disputes that might arise among the Bhikkhus. He only wanted to keep the *सङ्घ* all friendly, harmonious and reconciled, and he did not wish that everybody in it should assert his individuality or independence, for in that case a schism would inevitably arise. He had no faith in the mere numerical strength of the members of the order, but he relied upon those Bhikkhus who were really righteous. He believed that it was these righteous Bhikkhus who could keep the order entirely united, and in accordance with this view he framed the rules.

'Putting to the vote and deciding by the majority'—in this phrase the 'majority' is not unqualified. By the 'majority' is to be understood the majority of those Bhikkhus who are *dhammavadins*, i. e., who speak according to *dhamma* or law. And it is clearly stated by the Blessed One (*Cullavagga*, IV. 14. 24) :—

"And according as the larger number of Bhikkhus who are guided by the Dhamma shall speak, so shall the case be decided."*

It is to be noted that the election of the

* यथा बहुतरा भिक्षु वच्चादिनो
वदेति तथा तं अधिकारं वयस्येतुम् ।

taker of votes (सञ्चालक) was entirely in the hands of the *whole* order, there being no division or distinction between the Bhikkhus *dhammavadins* and *adhammavadins*. There was nothing to prevent one from giving one's own individual opinion regarding it. The method of choosing him deserves to be mentioned here. First, an eligible or a fully qualified Bhikkhu, as required by the law is to be asked as to whether he will undertake the office. And if he consents, an able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the motion before the Sangha, asking in clear language that whosoever does not approve the appointment of that person as the taker of votes should say so, otherwise it will be taken for granted that the appointment meets with general approval. Now, when the taker of votes is thus elected by general approval he is to decide the case before the Sangha. But the decision does not entirely depend upon him alone. He is to decide it with the help of the other members of the order. And in doing so he does not enforce what he himself thinks right. But it is to be ascertained by the votes of the majority, the majority of the Bhikkhus who are *dhammavadins*. Of course, the responsibility of ascertaining which of the Bhikkhus assembled in the order are *dhammavadins* or *adhammavadins* depends entirely upon the taker of the votes. And what he says in this respect must be accepted by every one in the Sangha.

As has been shown in detail in my former article referred to above, there are three methods of voting, viz., the secret method (गुप्तक, Skt. गूढक), the whispering method (सकण्ठजल्पक, Skt. स्वकण्ठजल्पक), and the open method (विशुद्धक, Skt. विवृतक). Of these three the open method is used when the taker of votes confidently ascertains beforehand that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority. But on the other hand when he is not certain as to who are in the majority, whether the *dhammavadins* or the *adhammavadins* in the Sangha, he adopts either of the remaining two methods, the secret method and the whispering method. The object of doing

this is only to avoid the ill influence of the *adhammavadins* in a case when they might muster strong. And so when the taker of the votes understands that the majority in the assembly consists of the *adhammavadins* he draws back the voting tickets from such persons, saying that it is wrongly taken. If these two methods are not adopted, there is a great possibility of votes being given against the Dhamma by the *adhammavadins* at the instance of others. On the other hand, if secrecy is kept to some extent no one can then influence the other. Even in our present generation some secrecy is maintained in giving votes by ballot.

The case which is to be settled by putting it to the vote and deciding by a majority, requires some other proceedings for its settlement, as will be seen in the following extract (Cullavagga, IV. 14-24 and 15) :—

"And according as the larger number of Bhikkhus who are guided by Dhamma shall speak, so shall the case be decided. This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled.

"And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence and by the vote of the majority. And what herein is meant by Proceeding in Presence (सङ्गखानिब) ? The presence of the Sangha, and the presence of the Dhamma, and the presence of the Vinaya, and the presence of the particular person.

"And therein, what is the presence of the Sangha? As many Bhikkhus as are capable of taking part in the proceedings, must be present. The formal consent must be produced of those who are in a fit state to convey their consent.* Those who are present must have lodged no objection against the proceedings which are being carried out. This is the "presence" in such a matter of the Sangha.

"And of these what is the presence of the Dhamma and the presence of the Vinaya? The Dhamma, the Vinaya, and the teaching of the Master by the aid of which that legal question is settled. That is the "presence" in such a matter of the Dhamma and of the Vinaya.

"And of these what is the presence of the particular person? He who disputes, and he with whom he disputes both the plaintiff and the defendant must be present. That is the "presence" in such a matter of the particular person."

In this connection I wish to quote here

* See Mahavagga, II. 23.

two passages more regarding the taking of voting tickets (Cullavagga, IV. 10) :—

"There are ten cases, O Bhikkhus, in which the taking of voting tickets is invalid (अवैध) and ten in which the taking of voting tickets is valid (वैध).

"Which are the ten in which the taking of voting tickets is invalid? When the matter in dispute is trivial,—when the case has not run its course (that is, when the necessary preliminaries of submission to arbitration have not been carried out), when regarding the matter in dispute the Bhikkhus have not formally remembered or been formally called upon to remember, the offence,—when the teller of the votes knows that those who are adhammavadias will be in the majority, or probably may be in the majority,—when he knows that the voting will result in schism in the Sangha,—when the voting tickets

are taken not in accordance with the law,*—when they take the tickets being formed in different groups,—and when they do not take the tickets in accordance with the view (which the really hold). These are the ten cases in which the taking of tickets is invalid.

"And which are the ten cases in which the voting is valid?

[These ten cases are precisely the reverse of the other ten.]†

Considering all these things placed before the readers I can in no way think that the voting system in question was an *organised fraud*.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

* As for instance, if one takes two tickets with a view to being in the majority.

† All the translations given here are by Rhys Davids with a slight modification here and there by the present writer.

MILITARY SYSTEM UNDER CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

THE DATE OF THE STANDING ARMY.

THE system of regular armies appears in India from a very early date. This system existed in the days of Chandragupta and the standing army found a prominent place among the elements of Chandragupta's sovereignty.¹ To it, in a sense, he owed his throne and empire.

CHANDRAGUPTA'S HUGE FORCES.

The last Nanda had left for his successor a huge force numbering 200,000 foot, 80,000 horse, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants.² There is another version. On being asked by Alexander, Chandragupta is said to have reported that the Magadhan monarch commanded an army of 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots and 3,000 war elephants.³ Whatever the difference between these two versions, Chandragupta inherited an enormous force from his predecessor. It was greatly augmented by Chandragupta, who raised the infantry to 6,00,000, humbling down Seleucus and overrunning the whole of northern India with its help. He also raised the number of war-elephants to 9,000, out of which he could afford to spare 500 for Seleucus.⁴

THE ORGANISATION OF THE FORCES.

How was such a tremendous force controlled? The organisation and the division of the troops had their existence from very early times. The system of officering was as old as the institution of standing armies. In Chandragupta's time there were different kinds of troops such as, hereditary troops, hired troops, corporation of soldiers, troops belonging to a friend and wild tribes. There were troops composed of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras.⁵

THE SYSTEM OF OFFICERING.

As to the system of officering, the following text from the Arthasastra may be referred to: "Elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be officered with many chiefs, inasmuch as chiefs, when many, are under the fear of betrayal from each other and scarcely liable to the insinuations and intrigues of an enemy."⁶ Another passage from the same source makes the matter more clear: "For every ten members of each of the constituents of the army there must be one commander called Padika, ten Padikas under a Senapati, ten Senapatis under a Nayaka (leader)."⁷ The final field command

of the army was vested in the Commander-in-chief. The king's personal supervision of the forces consisted in visiting them equipped in military array now and then. The system of taking musters was in vogue. The superintendents of horses, infantry, chariots and elephants were entrusted with the work of recruiting, training and keeping musters of the numbers in their branch. Copious information regarding the training and breeding of horses and elephants is also available from the Arthashastra.⁹

SYSTEM OF PAYING THE SOLDIERY.

With regard to the system of paying the soldiery we have sufficient information in hand. The author of the Arthashastra has devoted a separate chapter on 'subsistence to Government servants.'¹⁰ We gather therefrom that the Commander-in-chief was on the equal footing with the 'sacrificial priest, the chief minister, the teacher, the heir-apparent, the mother of the king and the queen as far as monetary emoluments were concerned and received like them 48,000 panas per annum. The other commanders (padika, senapati and nayaka) got 24,000 panas annually. The chiefs of the military corporations, the superintendents of elephants, of horses and of chariots, were each given 8,000 panas yearly. The physician of the army, and the trainer of horses got 2,000 panas. Trained soldiers drew panas 500 per year. The sons and wives of those soldiers who died while on duty got subsistence allowance from the State. But when the Government ran short of funds, it gave forest produce, cattle or fields along with a small amount of money in lieu of the fixed salaries. The wild tribes were paid either with raw produce or with allowance for plunder.¹¹

THE ORGANISATION OF THE WAR OFFICE.

But the most remarkable feature of Chandragupta's military policy was the organisation of the War Office. It drew not only the attention but also the admiration of all the foreign observers. Megasthenes studied it with great interest and has left a vivid picture of it. According to him the military affairs of the State were controlled and administered by a governing body of thirty commissioners divided into six boards of five each. He says: "One division is appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet, and another with the superintendent of

the bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle and other military requisites..... The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of horses, the fifth of war-chariots and the sixth of the elephants."¹² Thus we see that the old four-fold division of the army was improved upon by Chandragupta's government by the addition of the Naval Department and the Commissariat.¹³ The author of the Arthashastra satisfies our curiosity as to the details of each of these departments. There were separate superintendents in charge of the infantry, cavalry, war-chariots and elephants. The commissariat and the admiralty occupied an almost equally important position.¹⁴ All these were under the final control of the Commander-in-chief who was directly responsible to the King or his council. There existed, besides, royal stables on a large scale for the horses and elephants, and a royal magazine and manufactory for making "wheels, weapons, mail-armour and other necessary instruments for use in war....." This department worked under the supervision and control of an officer called the Superintendent of Armoury.¹⁵

THE USE OF ELEPHANTS IN WAR.

In connection with the general constitution of the War-Office of Chandragupta, a special mention must be made of a significance of the use of elephants in war. From ages past it was part and parcel of the Indian military polity. Megasthenes noticed it particularly and he says, ".....It results also that since they (elephants) are caught in great numbers by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory."¹⁶ It is more than evident then that the use of elephants in war was of prime importance. Elephants were so jealously guarded by the State that no private person was allowed to keep or train an elephant.¹⁷ Kautilya is silent in this last point.

THE IMPORTANCE OF FORTS.

The importance attached to forts also demands careful study. Forts occupied a prominent place among the elements of Chandragupta's sovereignty. Defensive fortifications have always and everywhere demanded the most careful consideration of a government. It was for obvious reasons more so in that remote age when foreign

excursions and incursions were not infrequent. That on all sides of the kingdom there existed various sorts of fortifications,—"Water-fortifications, mountain-fortifications, desert fortifications and forest fortifications" is evident from the Arthashastra.¹⁷ The details for the construction of forts are also available from the same source. Kautilya holds that, bad fortifications are a great national calamity, because they involve the treasury and the army in danger.

The description of the military system of Chandragupta's government would not be complete without a passing reference to (1) the different kinds of array of the army then in force¹⁸ and (2) some notable laws of war.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF ARRAY.

The principal forms of the array were (1) snake-like array;¹⁹ (2) staff-like array, (3) circle-like array; (4) eagle-like array; (5) array in a detached form; (6) auspicious array, in which chariots formed the front, elephants the wings and horses the rear; (7) immovable array, in which infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants stand one behind the other; (8) invincible array, in which elephants, horses, chariots and infantry stand in order one behind the other. The time and occasion for forming different arrays depended upon circumstances. Thus methods were known to the State to make the best of the fighting forces, *viz.*, of their capacity and efficiency.

SOME HUMANE LAWS OF WAR.

The glory of the military polity of the period is enhanced by the existence of some honourable and humane laws of war. Towering above all stands the sacred law that war should never be waged merely for the sake of territorial acquisitions.²⁰ Only such a theory can explain the great fact that although Chandragupta possessed an almost invincible force and his was the "mightiest throne then existing in the world" (Rhys Davids) and although the neighbouring Seleucid empire was in a tottering condition, yet he never showed any inclination to extend his empire beyond the Hindukush—"the scientific frontier" of India. Again, Megasthenes was pleased to learn that husbandmen were not only exempted from military service and other public duties but were protected against all injury and ravage in civil wars. Men of

this class were regarded as public benefactors and remaining unholsted at all times carried on tillage and supplied the people with the necessities of life.²¹ This law of war was a great benefit to an essentially agricultural country like India. Moreover the usual humane laws were also strictly observed. An armed soldier was not to kill his enemy who was disarmed, nor one who sued for life with folded hands, nor one who was asleep, nor a non-combatant, nor a woman, nor a child, nor a diseased person and the like.²² The chapter on the conduct of Jainavalkya supports this view in later times. Hundreds of episodes are met with in the great epics where warriors are forbidden to commit the heinous sin of wanton slaughter. These laws were part and parcel of the then military system and had the effect of humanising war in as remote an age as the fourth and third centuries B. C.

GANPAT RAI.

1. Artha Sastra, Bk. VII. Ch. IX; Bk. VI. Ch. I. Cf Megasthenes, Bk. IV. Fragments XXXIII.
2. Plutarch's Life of Alexander, Ch. LXII.
3. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II, pp. 286 New Ed.
4. Plutarch's Life of Alexander, Ch. LXII.
5. A. S., Bk. IX. Ch. II. Cf M. Bh. Sh. Parva Sec LX.
6. Bk. II. Ch. IV. Ibid.
7. Bk. X. Ch. VI. Ibid.
8. Bk. II. Ibid.
9. Bk. V. Ch. III. Ibid.
10. A. S., Bk. IX. Ch. II.
11. Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian Bk. III. Fragment XXXIV.
12. Comp. Manu, VII. 185.
13. A. S. Bk. X. Ch. II; Bk. II, Ch. XXVIII. Bk. XIII, Ch. IV; Megasthenes, Bk. III. Fragment XXXIV.
14. Bk. II. Ch. XVIII.
15. Megasthenes, Bk. I, Fragment I. Comp. Ancient India and its Invasion by Alexander the Great Bk. V. Ch. XXV.
16. Megasthenes, Bk. III. XXXVI Fragment.
17. Bk. II. Ch. III. Ibid.
18. A. S., Bk. X. Ch. VI.
19. Wings and front capable of turning against an enemy, is what is called Snake-like array. For other forms Vide A. S., pp. 373. Bk. X.
20. Com. Manu VII, 199; Megasthenes, Bk. III. Fragment XLVI; Mahabharata Shanti Parva, LXIX. 23 :- "Brihaspati has said that a king possessed of intelligence should always avoid war for the acquisition of territory."
21. Bk. III. Fragment XXXIII, Megasthenes.
22. Comp. Manu VII, 91-93—Mitakshara, Var. 225.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS: by the Right Hon'ble Herbert Fisher. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920. Pp. 213.

Mr. Fisher is the Minister of Education, and he begins his brief Preface with the following words: "If within the modest circle of my readers there be those who surmise that these essays have been composed during the ample leisure of official life, let me hasten to disabuse their innocence. No such golden moments of lettered ease sweeten the austere labours of a member of His Majesty's administration." Mr. Fisher is not the first, nor will he be the last of European administrators and statesmen who have given evidence of their wide culture by writing books for the general public in the intervals of business. More than one President of the French Republic, the present President of the United States, Gladstone, Balfour, Haldane and others, have all done the same, and we trust that public men in our country also, as the years roll on, will develop the same capacity. Whatever a Cabinet Minister says, even in the region of pure literature, possesses more than ordinary interest, and attracts more than the ordinary share of public attention, at least for the time being. In the book before us, Mr. Fisher shows that he possesses a great command over English style, and a wide knowledge of French and German history. If that knowledge is here and there vitiated by an unconscious bias against Germany, it is manifestly the result of the late war, and does not detract from the value of the book as a brief but useful survey of the current political and historical literature of those countries. Mr. Fisher is known to possess broad and liberal views, but neither in his labours as a member of Lord Islington's Public Services Commission, nor in this book has he given much proof of his sympathy with Indian aspirations. In the last lines of his chapter on Imperial administration he speaks of the Indian Civil Service in the following superlative terms: "Spotlessly pure, ceaselessly vigilant [of their own vested interests?] studiously respectful of the religious and social traditions of the people, and simple-minded in its devotion to the material and moral welfare of three hundred and fifteen million souls." The truth is, it is difficult for an Englishman, however wide his outlook and culture may be, to divest himself of his national bias, and look at other peoples' grievances from their view-point. In his very first essay, on the last of the Latin Historians, he uses the expressions 'Asiatic cruelty', 'Oriental tyranny', though he says in one place of the same essay: "To assign such sentiments to Paganism is to ignore some very recent passages in the history of European morals. A Berlin pastor recently wrote in the *Vossische Zeitung*: 'Do you think it contrary to Christianity for our soldiers to shoot down these vermins, the Belgian and French assassins, men, women, and children and lay their houses in dust and ashes?' and answered his question in the negative." Mr. Fisher of course intended this as a fling on Germany, but perhaps he

was not aware at the time of the performances of his own countrymen in the Punjab, of the doctrine of shooting and shooting well the unarmed and inoffensive multitude, propounded with shameless calousness by General Dyer and of the enthusiastic support he received from a large section of the House of Commons and the majority of the cultured aristocracy of Great Britain. And as for the German pastor, he may have been a little too outspoken, but if the Thugs in India prayed to the goddess Kali for success before starting on their expeditions to waylay and strangle their victims, bishops and archbishops and the entire episcopal hierarchy have been known to have offered up prayers to the Lord of Hosts in the late war for success in arms, and thanksgiving services have been held all over the Empire after that success was achieved. We Orientals are obtuse enough to fail to see the difference between the one case and the other, and the vainglorious boast of the author in another essay, that "no English statesman, liberal or conservative, would dream of treating any portion of the British Empire as Prince Von Bulow treated the German Poles," cannot but raise in us a sad smile, in view of recent happenings in India. Mr. Fisher fully understands, in the case of the forcible incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany, 'the moral impoverishment', 'the hardening and brutalising' effect of conquest and persecution on the conquerors themselves. He says, "It is never good for a nation to be driven to the employment of harsh measures against any portion of its subjects. Upon whatever plausible grounds of immediate expediency such measures may be justified, they invariably harden the tone of political opinion and create an atmosphere of insensibility which spreads far beyond the sphere of the special case and occasion..... coercion is a virus which cannot be introduced into any part of the body-politic without risk of a general diffusion of the poison." He also quotes with evident approval 'the eloquent apostrophe to the spirit of humane wisdom' with which the historian Marcellius closes 'the sombre story of these judicial murders' in ancient Antioch: "O glorious wisdom, gift of heaven to happy mortals, who hast often refined their corrupt natures, how many evils wouldst thou have corrected in these dark times, had it been vouchsafed to [the Emperor] Valens to learn through thee that Empire is nothing else, in the opinion of the wise, but care for the well being of others! If only he had learnt that it was the part of a good governor to restrain his power, to resist insatiate cupidity and implacable passions, and to know that, in the words of Cicero, the recollection of cruelty makes a miserable old age! Therefore it behoves every one who is about to pass sentence upon the life and spirit of man, who is a part of the world and makes up the complement of living things, to deliberate long and carefully and to resist headlong impulses, for the deed once done cannot be recalled." If history be morality taught by examples, Mr. Fisher should have seen,

as he fails to do, the applicability of these wise reflections of a Latin Historian of the fourth century A. D., and of his own observations on the German conquest of Alsace-Lorraine, to the recent history of the British Empire, particularly of that part of it which gives the Empire its name and significance. But the aim of Mr. Fisher was to have his fling at the philosophy of war as propounded in the German War Book, forgetting the Biblical parable of the moat and the beam. It is blindness of this kind, even among the most highly cultured and liberal-minded Englishman which gave Treitschke, the great German Historian, intensely actuated by national jealousy as he was, whatever justification he had for picturing England, in the words of our author, as "the selfish Island power, impervious to heroic ideals, which had stolen an empire while the world was asleep, the tyrant of the seas,.....the land of hypocrites and shopmen, preaching and canting, yet buying cheap and selling dear and lusting for a 'Cotton Millennium'" The 'age of Krupp', the 'absolute state beyond good and evil', a scholarly statesman like Mr. Fisher ought to know, is not the monopoly of Germany as he seems to think, but the same 'disastrous theory will be found to actuate the conduct of administrators much nearer home, under the justification of military necessity, which, when propounded by Germany during the late war, seemed so odious to the allies.

Much of the book is devoted to a sympathetic interpretation of Napoleon, Rousseau, French nationalism of the 'Revanche' [revenge], and the French Republic 'which, for a second time, has astonished Europe by the intense and ardent quality of its patriotic devotion.' The admiration for France, judging by current political events, is already on the wane in England, proving the ephemeral character of political friendships, which cease as soon as the circumstances of the moment which called it into being cease to exist. Historical criticism written under the influence of political alliances cannot always be a safe guide, nevertheless, it can help to correct the misrepresentations due to the accumulated prejudice of a previous age. According to the author, Rousseau was the first to realise the manifold and unexplored potencies of the national spirit, and that the body politic is a dead thing without national feeling; he could see no source of legitimacy in a state other than the rational consent of consciously directed wills; he conceives of politics as a department of morality, and his view was that no aggressive war could be just. To Rousseau we may attribute the outlines of the French Republic as a new form of state founded upon the popular will controlled by the nation in the general interest. French nationalism owed its origin to Deroulide, who in the campaign of 1870 was quite a young man, and devoted his long life to the idea of national revenge. His *Chants de Soldat* and other books of songs for soldiers had an immense vogue. He founded the Ligue des Patriotes in 1881 to sustain the martial spirit of France and to promote the war of revenge against the German Empire. That was the age of Taine and Renan, when 'the air was full of self-questioning, of delicate cynicism, of exact, intelligent, but essentially despondent labour.' In this atmosphere of intellectual rationalism, 'as far removed as possible from the temper which promotes or enjoys the animosities

of nations,' how did the nationalist cult succeed, when even the ministers of state thought that upon every sane calculation of military probabilities, the wise course was to accept the inevitable? As against the councils of resignation and the oracles of prudence French nationalism represented 'an instinct, a tradition and a dream' and 'it received from its Catholic and literary exponents all the illustration and support which deep feeling and penetrating imagination can bestow.' 'The weakness of the party, if party it may be called, was on the side of practical and constructive statesmanship. It represented emotion rather than a plan.....still, there are moments in history when it is more important to work for general change for mind than for any defined scheme of practical reform. The nationalists in truth were agreed upon the polity of France.....The one thing which mattered to them all was the ignominy of belonging to a vanquished and acquiescent nation. The important thing,' says a character in *L'Ennemi de Lois*, 'is not the formulas by which one expresses his emotions, but to be a little heated with life.' This was the position of the nationalists. They wished to spread a passionate, full-blooded way of feeling about the national problem." ".....in reading the literature of the party, one is conscious of a pervading tone of affectionate warmth about everything in France which might contribute to build up the patriotic purpose and character." Thus this literature prepared the way for a philosophy which exalted the vital impulse at the expense of the reasoning faculty. The essence of nationalism was the hatred of Germany and the will to a war of revenge. "Hatred and revenge are not Christian sentiments, but imperfect human nature is so compounded that there is no easier way to produce cohesion among men than to show them an enemy whom they can agree to detest." "Hatred is a game which two can play at, and the Hymn of Hatred is now sung more loudly in Germany than in France, so the author says: "It is a tenable hypothesis that the nationalist leaven in French thought tended upon the whole to sweeten the body politic and to rid it of some of its most rancorous humours; the general trend of its operation was to infuse a wider and more generous tone into politics, to inculcate a spirit of comradeship, a higher sense of devotion to the larger interests of the state, combined with a greater feeling for the historic glories of France and for that invisible and imperious bond which binds the living to the dead in a spiritual and efficacious communion. This was the valuable side of nationalism viewed as an ethical agent. It was estimable, not because it preached the hatred of Germany but because it preached the love of France, not by reason of its antagonisms but in virtue of its generous affinities, not because it worked for foreign war but because it endeavoured to compose a domestic peace. Its strength lay in the fact that it did succeed in restoring to the national consciousness a vivid sense of some precious things which had been overlooked, forgotten or trampled under foot.....on the side of emotion and sentiment, the higher type of nationalist literature contributed in a marked degree to deepen the channels of patriotic feeling to rekindle a spirit of hope in the destinies of France. One of its most distinguished features has been the attention which many of its writers have devoted to local history and to that interesting fabric of dialect, tradition, and belief which

many a province of France still retains something of its old richness of colour and pattern." It would be interesting to trace, if time and space permitted, the parallelism between French and Indian nationalism, but leaving the reader to do it for himself, we proceed to the chapter on the influence of Napoleon who, according to the author, 'has exercised a greater influence upon the political and social state of Europe than any other single man.' But thanks to the Entente, Mr. Fisher also makes the rather startling discovery that "the supreme proof of his genius lies.....in the fact that he harnessed the wild living spirit of the revolution to his own career" and that "he saved for France the most valuable conquests of the French Revolution, social equality and industrial freedom," and "gave to France a code of laws and system of administration which remain substantially unchanged to this day..... the Code Napoleon, which he regarded as his main title to glory, is, so to speak, the last testament of the French Revolution." In this code, "you may find the image of a society where all creeds are tolerated and all men are equal before the law, where private property is respected and the rules of inheritance are based on the principle of equality." Not only this but it seems that Napoleon revived every European country, Belgium, Poland, the Southern Slav, Italy, and above all, Germany, with a new hope and directed towards liberty and reform, so that, according to Mr. Fisher, "It becomes clear that Napoleon must rank as one of the makers of modern Germany." This is denied by German historians, just as they deny the influence of the French Revolution, but one of them, Greisenau, saw more clearly when he wrote in July 1807: "The Revolution has aroused all the social forces and secured to each an appropriate circle of action. What a treasure of latent unutilised forces lies in the bosom of nations! In the soul of thousands and thousands of men there dwells a genius the spring of which is depressed and stopped by external circumstances. The revolution has put into motion the entire national force of the French people..." and he advised Germany to do likewise. Germany adopted a scheme of universal conscription. "The new conscription admitted of no privileges, no exemptions, no degrading punishments. It viewed service in the ranks not as a special trade counting a low and degraded social position, but as a common and honourable duty to the State, a school of patriotic virtue. No purely administrative or legal reform has imprinted so deep an impression upon the life of Prussia as this compulsion placed upon the whole population to undergo a training in arms. It has unified Prussia more speedily and effectively than any arrangement of prefects and departments could have done....."

In the chapter on Modern German Historians such valuable information is to be found, and though the author says that "historians of the Prussian school have been the principal architects of the political creed of modern Germany. They have exalted material power and belittled the empire of moral sentiments. They have applauded war as an instrument of progress and national hygiene," he tries on the whole to be fair to the many and great services undoubtedly rendered by the historians of Germany to the advancement of knowledge and national life. "From the historians Germany recovered a loving, perhaps an exalted, sense of her former greatness. She learned how in the distant past the Germans had broken down the Roman

Empire, founded dynasties in France, Italy, England, Africa, and Spain, and refashioned the face of Europe. This people, laid helpless at the feet of Napoleon, had once been the great conquering and imperial nation of Europe. A German emperor had ruled in Arles, and the Netherlands too had been part of his domain. One writer argues that Dante was a German, another places Paris in the list of mediaeval German cities. The old epics and songs, the old chronicles and legal customs, were made the framework for an infinite labour of affectionate embroidery. From Giesebrecht's eloquent and learned pages young people could read the romance of the Mediaeval Empire, of that great and tempestuous effusion of German chivalry which for many centuries filled Europe with its noise, and ultimately suffered the ruinous check which fate administers to those who chase shadows. And the later periods also contributed their quota to the sum of national self-esteem. Had not Luther given Europe the Protestant Reformation, and Kant the true theory of knowledge?" Thus did German historical eloquence continually touch the quivering nerve of living issues, but Mr. Fisher is fair enough to say: "All this exuberant stirring of national sentiment, though it often led to the expression of unripe opinion, was quite consistent with scrupulous workmanship." Treitschke was a genius. "His history of the German confederation from 1815 to 1848 is one of the most delightful and brilliant achievements of modern prose literature... If we wish to classify this astonishing master of eloquence, we must think of him as a prophet, delivering, as all true prophets must, one message and one message only to his age..... And the message was in essence identical with the creed of Mommsen, Droysen, Sybel,—the necessity for a strong Germany, united under the Prussian sceptre and informed by the Prussian spirit... That Treitschke has been the principal literary organ of a very brutal type of imperialism should not blind us to the many elements of real moral grandeur contained in the body of his writing. Perverted, overstrained, violently prejudiced, as he undoubtedly was, nobody has paid more unstinted reverence to the proud and heroic forms of human temperament. And the example of Carlyle is sufficient to show that a philosophy of politics fundamentally opposed to the specific Christian virtues may be so held and propagated as to exercise, upon the whole, a fortifying influence on the brain and will by bringing into relief the sterner beauties of human character, by insisting on the seriousness of life, and by exciting a more active sense of its duties and responsibilities." And the admission is made, however unpalatable it may be to the author's countrymen in their present temper, that "Meanwhile, outside the regions of modern polemic the indefatigable industry of the German race continues to make valuable contributions to the sum of knowledge."

The essay on the value of small states has a special interest for us; since though by reason of its fundamental unity, the entire peninsula of India may, in the days to come, when it will have complete self-government, be regarded as one of the great States of the world, still, it can only be so regarded because composed of a federation of small states. The German argument against small states runs very much as follows: "In a small state civic life must necessarily be petty, humble, unambitious. The game of politics must centre round small issues, and thus circumscribed in scope, it loses the ethical value of scale. Great

affairs envisaged on a large horizon have a power of stirring the passionate and imaginative elements in man, which are apt, save in the rarer cases, to respond to stimuli in proportion to their magnitude. Existence in a small state may be elegant, charming, idyllic, compatible with the production of literature and art, but it can never be swept by the great passions which move the world. A small state may create among its members a mild humdrum kind of affection for its history and institutions, but can never be the source of that triumphant pride and hope which lifts citizenship up to the plane of heroism. In a sense it may be said that the history of small states is wound up. They may linger on, preserved by the mutual jealousies of rival powers or because it is worth nobody's while to attack them, but their bodies will be starved and anaemic and their souls mere echoes of the great movements of mind and emotion which are liberated, almost automatically, by the diurnal movement in great and powerful nations of the social and political machine. Sooner or later they will go. They will be absorbed in larger political aggregates..... The disciples of Caesarism will even proceed to contend that patriotism in its fullest sense is only possible to large nations. Great states march on, little states mark time."

The author's answer to the above is summarised below, as far as possible, in the author's own language. Almost everything which is most precious in civilisation has come from the small states. Nobody needs to be told what humanity owes to Athens, Florence, Geneva, or Weimar. Through the close mutual competition which it engendered, the city-state stimulated an intensity of intellectual and artistic passion. "If civilisation is a phrase denoting the sum of those forces which help to bind men together in civil association, if it means benevolence, dutifulness, self-sacrifice, a lively interest in the things of the mind, and a discerning taste in the things of the sense, then there is no reason to think that these qualities are the special prerogative of great states." It is difficult rightly to assess the contributions which the smaller states of Europe have made to the sum of human culture. Eminent scientists and literary men prove the indisputable fact that intellectual life of the highest quality may be carried on in these communities. Dutch painting, the scholarly theological exegesis of the Dutch Universities, the Danish arts of dairy-farming and agriculture, all indicate that certain special excellences and qualities are most likely to be developed in an atmosphere of comparative tranquility. The smaller states serve as convenient laboratories for social experiment, e.g., woman's suffrage, temperance, and the application of the reformatory theory of punishment, have all been taken up by the different American State legislatures. Their continued existence, therefore, presents some guarantee for diversity of life and intellectual adventure in a world becoming monotonously drab. "Indeed, one of the principal arguments in favour of the preservation of the small states of Europe...lies in the fact that these small communities do vary from the set type which is imprinted by steady and powerful governments upon the life and behaviour of the larger Powers. The mere fact of this variety is an enrichment of human experience and a stimulus to self-criticism and improvement." Small states by their existence prevent the formation of those massive and deadening weights of conventional opinion which

impair the free play of individuality. Furthermore, there is some advantage to humanity at large arising from the fact that certain communities are withdrawn by reason of the scale from the competition of armaments. "We have still to ask ourselves the question whether...there may not be some convenience attaching to the continued existence of small oases of peace in a world nervously equipping itself for Armageddon?" Lastly, "whatever may be their shortcomings, the smaller states of Europe are not among the despots. Here at least men may think what they please, and write what they think. Whenever the small states may come up for judgment, the advocate of human freedom will plead on their behalf."

The sense of national rivalry and the danger to the supremacy of the British power make the author acutely sensitive to the loss which the Dutch, the Belgians, the Danes and the Swedes would suffer by their incorporation with Germany, but the applicability of just the same arguments to Bengal was forgotten by even a greater British statesman while he was violently bent on partitioning the province. Mr. Fisher truly says that "it is impossible accurately to assess the value to a nation of the self-esteem which is the legacy of its history." He then alludes to the necessity of preserving the historical consciousness of the small nations of Europe, points to the danger of moral impoverishment involved in an exchange of historical memories, and where such a transfer of allegiance is borne with contentment, "from such political apostasy," says the author, "no nation could ever expect to make a complete moral recovery." For, "as no individual can break violently with his past without a moral lesion, so too the rupture of the historical continuity of a state carries with it an inevitable weakening and abasement of public ideals, which may continue for several generations."

Imperial Administration is the head-note of a chapter which reproduces a lecture by the author delivered in 1915 in King's College. This is the chapter of the book which for obvious reasons, possesses for us the greatest interest. Mr. Fisher begins by pointing out the great difference between the Civil Services of India on the one hand, and those of the dominions of Great Britain on the other. "The Civil Services of Canada and Australia are responsible because they are under the immediate eye of a democratic Parliament. The Civil Service of India is irresponsible because, although ultimately subject to the Parliament of Great Britain, it is exempt from interference from any popularly constituted body in India and possesses therefore a liberty of action considerable in excess of that enjoyed by the administrative agents in our self-governing dominions." In England, "the powerful and permanent bureaucracy which has now become so important a feature in our system, functions under a quadruple safeguard. It is recruited in the main by open competition, a safeguard against jobbery and the grosser forms of incompetence. It is divided into a superior service drawn from the best men at our Universities and an inferior service drawn from men of good but average education. It is brought into continual contact with parliamentary life and parliamentary criticism by the questions addressed to ministers in Parliament. And lastly, it works under the direction of parliamentary chiefs. The Civil Service of Great Britain is never permitted to form

that it is in a true and literal sense a body of servants whose work is liable at any moment to be brought under the master's eye. That it has escaped or can entirely escape the characteristic vice of all bureaucracies cannot perhaps be confidently affirmed, but if it is comparatively free from that senseless surplussage of reglementation which is common in autocratic countries, the cause is to be found in the last two of the four safeguards which have been mentioned, the parliamentary critic in the House, and the parliamentary chief in the office. In other words, administrative questions cannot be considered in a purely dry light; they must be viewed in a political light. And it is an essential part of the skill of an experienced civil servant to feel how a measure will represent itself to the vision of Parliament, and with what modifications it may be made acceptable. The machine is continually up against the living forces of opinion which, despite, all party discipline, make themselves felt in the House of Commons, and since the members of the Civil Service are obliged to furnish answers to Parliamentary questions and apologies for departmental action to their parliamentary chiefs, they acquire a wide kind of political education, tending perhaps towards a certain spirit of caution or even timidity, but based upon a close apprehension of the views, prejudices and aspirations of the country."

In India, on the other hand, "the spirit of the administration is widely different. Here the administration is the Government, and nothing else particularly matters.... The large lines of Indian policy may be shaped by a Secretary of State in the India Office. But in reality, the last word lies with Indian Official opinion.... The Indian Councils cannot turn out a Government, and cannot make a Government. The Indian Civil Service is the Government." According to Mr. Fisher, the opposition to the Civil Service comes from the Indian Bar, and particularly from the Province of Bengal. Mr. Fisher recognises that "The British administration in India is the costliest in the world, and a not unnatural mark for Indian critics, who complain of the heavy financial drain which it involves, and in particular, of the large sums devoted to the payment of pensions." He has observed "the rift which has sprung up between the British administration and the intellectual classes of India," and that though "a little sympathy goes a very long way in India," "the finest district officer may fail when he has expended all his available stock of [verbal?] sympathy on the peasants, and has none to spare for the journalists and lawyers." Consequently the principal defect of the Indian Civil Service lies, in Mr. Fisher's opinion, in "its failure to secure for the Civil Servant easy opportunities for an understanding of educated India." What the Civilian really cares for could not however be altogether hidden from so acute an observer as Mr. Fisher, who had ample opportunity during his tours as a member of the Public Services Commission of watching him and his class. So he says: "The system has developed a very close and jealously guarded doctrine of vested interests—the higher posts in each Service being regarded as the perquisite of the Service, as a prize against which recruitment has been made, not to be abolished until the vested interests of every person recruited against them have been satisfied.... The Indians themselves not unnaturally regard these Services as manifestations of the European spirit of caste."

"The immemorial tranquility of the East has now been disturbed, perhaps only for a time, perhaps never to be resumed, and we must make our account to meet an age of political discussion and criticism among men educated on the Western model, and using the Western philosophy to obtain their Eastern ends." He observed the storm of objection raised when Lord Sydenham's Government removed English history from the subjects necessary to be offered for the Matriculation examination; for the leaders of Indian public opinion found in English history a long lesson of successful resistance to authority.

Now that the Civil Service has proved itself too strong for Mr. Montagu and has captured four out of the five provincial Governorships recently announced, it is perhaps somewhat academic to discuss Mr. Fisher's views on the subject, but they are so entirely in accord with enlightened Indian opinion that they deserve to be quoted. "It is not without interest to notice," says Mr. Fisher, "that there is a good deal of weighty opinion to the effect that a peer imported from England governs a province better than a Lieutenant-Governor who has risen through the bureaucracy of the Civil Service..... he brings a fresh eye; his mind is full of western improvements and analogies; he is not encumbered by too much knowledge of detail. His outlook is apt to be broader. He is often more conciliatory in his bearing to Indians, having less experience of the difficulty (?) of governing them, and, in general, a good Governor will possess more of the distinctive political talent of handling masses of opinion and party groups than the man whose whole life has been divided between district administration and the secretariat. It may indeed be questioned whether a life spent in the Indian Civil Service is calculated, except in rare cases, to stimulate that part of political talent which consists in the study and guidance of political opinion, or in the framing of the large legislative proposals which are from time to time needed in actively thinking political communities."

We shall bring the series of extracts to a close with the author's impressions of a Native State in India. "My impression..... is that the inhabitants of a well-governed Native State are on the whole happier and more contented than the inhabitants of British India. [Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and others are of the same opinion.] They are more lightly taxed; the pace of the administration is less urgent and exacting; their sentiment is gratified by the splendour of a native Indian Court, and by the dominion of an Indian Government. They feel that they do things for themselves instead of having everything done for them by a cold and alien benevolence..... A Native Indian State is, in fact, the most perfect experiment so far devised for bringing West and East together in a natural, pleasant and wholesome way..... The ordinary Indian seems to be more comfortable in a Native State, wears brighter colours, and goes more at his ease. And among modern Indian princes there is no little emulation in the matter of good works, such as the provision of schools and hospitals, so that these Western improvements come to be regarded there as popular possessions rather than as intrusive novelties, and are often, indeed, demanded by the public voice."

CRITIC.

LETTERS OF TRAVEL, (1892-1913) by Rudyard Kipling (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.—The Dominions Edition of Kipling's Works, 6s. net).

Whatever differences of opinion may exist in the estimate of Rudyard Kipling's genius, there can be no question of his wonderful literary energy and versatility of accomplishment. We have here a volume of *Letters of Travel* consisting mainly of descriptive sketches of life in various regions of the two hemispheres, ranging from some of the British Settlements of the Far East, to the great towns of the American Continent. The letters are in the main, quick kaleidoscopic review of the writer's experiences, presented with his usual sense of humour and ease of expression. He does not choose to see the world in any glamour of romance, as Pierre Loti for instance has done in his numerous books of travel, nor does he invest the objects he has seen with any profundity of philosophic thought. He does not consider it his mission, even as in the other literary forms in which he has won success,

To take even this poor world,
So paltry and worn and sad,
And give it back to our dazzled eyes
In the raiment of beauty clad—

on the other hand, the world is there as it is, dashed with joy and sorrow in places, and it is apparently no use, according to him trying to obscure its features even for the purposes of art. All this is exactly what one expects from Kipling, but there is enough of entertainment in the qualities of perennial freshness, vividness of touch and buoyancy of humour found abundantly in the volume and it should find a large number of readers. It is gratifying to find that in the literary expression of these characteristic qualities of his art, he is still inexhaustible.

THE SUPERMAN,—by Sri Aurobindo Ghose. (*Arya Publishing House, Calcutta*).

The unfortunate associations which the conception of the Superman has acquired by the writings of Nietzsche and by the doings of his German followers in the recent war, will create deep prejudice against any attempt at preaching the ideal. But as Aurobindo Ghose points out, the danger is not in the very notion of the Superman, of one who represents a higher type of capacity and power, but in the nature of the ends which the superior person wishes to realise in life. This brief essay is an attempt at describing a beneficent Superman, at preaching what is called the gospel of true Supermanhood, which is not "the cult of the Asura," as in its presentation by Nietzsche, but "a call to man to do in terrestrial history what no species has yet done or aspired to, evolve itself consciously into the next superior type." The average Hindu should be able to enter into deep sympathy with this inspiring ideal, for each soul holds in itself, according to the message of the Vedanta, the potentialities of a God and there are no bounds to its progressive evolution till it reaches very absorption into the spirit of God. The ideal is summed up in the concluding words of the essay: "When the full heart of Love is tranquilised by knowledge into a calm ecstasy and vibrates with strength, when the strong hands of Power labour for the world in a radiant fullness of joy and light, when the luminous brain of Knowledge accepts and transforms the heart's obscure inspirations and lends itself to the workings of the high-seated will. When all these Gods are founded together on a soul of sacrifice that lives in unity with all the world

and accepts all things to transmute them, then is the condition of man's integral self-transcendence. This and not a haughty, strong and brilliant egoistic self-culture enthroning itself upon all enslaved humanity is the divine way of Supermanhood." We are glad that the essay is made available in such handy form though we feel that it ought to be elaborated further and enriched by comment and illustration to be capable of wide and popular appeal. The writings of Sri Aurobindo Ghose are full of originality and intellectual power as all readers of his *Arya* have learnt to appreciate, and may we suggest here that at least several of his more important essays should be reprinted in such popular form, from time to time?

MASTERPIECES OF DETECTIVE FICTION, by C. A. Soorma, (*American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon*).

The volume under review is the result of considerable learning and research and consists of a series of essays analysing some of the masterpieces of the world's detective fiction. The writers dealt with include not only such successful authors of detective tales in the English language as Edgar Allan Poe and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, but such Continental exponents of the art as Emile Gaboriau. Representative plots of the various writers are analysed with care and subtlety and a very successful attempt is made to bring out the cleverness exhibited in the detection of the crime in each case. Mr. Soorma has a wide outlook on his subject and his knowledge is by no means confined to the masterpieces concerned. There is evidence of an extensive study of the literature of crime and criminology, of the books of eminent authorities on the subject like Prof. Lambroso and Dr. Hans Gross. A word of praise is due to the excellent get-up of the volume which has also a striking cover-design of Sherlock Holmes in the *Adventures of the Dancing Men* by a Burmese artist, Mg. Ba Ohn. Our appreciation of the good quality of the work embodied in these pages does not prevent us—in fact, it is itself responsible in some measure for it—from feeling the doubt whether all such care and attention should be bestowed on detective fiction, and whether its masterpieces are worthy of such honour. We are afraid detective fiction has none of the imperishable qualities of the highest literature and can only be expected to help in whiling away an idle hour, or pandering to man's love of sensation, however interesting its details may be to the student of Crime and Criminology. We wish the author finds for his next volume of literary study a more inspiring subject.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF LORD MORLEY: Edited and Arranged by Amaranatha Jha, M.A. (*Macmillan & Co., Ltd.*).

It is difficult to estimate the value of the contributions made to English literature by laymen whose professed pursuit has not been that of letters; examples like Horace Walpole in past history and Lord Morley and Viscount Bryce among contemporaries will readily suggest themselves, besides a number of others, as of writers who have enriched English literature from outside the circle of professional authors, bringing a singular freshness of outlook and independence of thought to bear upon their literary writings. It was an excellent idea on the part of this editor, to have thought of compiling

collection of passages from the writings of Lord Morley, especially as the noble lord has practically written his last literary testament, in his recent volumes of *Recollections*. From the year of the publication of his Edmund Burke (1867), it is now more than half a century and during all this period Lord Morley has been untiringly active in his literary work, in spite of interruptions caused by political, administrative or ministerial responsibilities of a very heavy kind. The volume of his literary writings is large enough to stagger even the professed student of literature and the help furnished by selections of this kind will therefore be widely appreciated. Most of the familiar passages in Lord Morley are there, though it is difficult for an anthologist to satisfy all tastes, and he is very well entitled to take refuge in the freedom of choice implied in that excellent motto from Euripides chosen by Palgrave for his *Golden Treasury*: "He sat in the meadow and plucked with glad heart the spoil of the flowers, gathering them one by one." It should still be pointed that there are several passages which cannot interest the average reader and the selections would not have suffered by the omission of passages like *Robespierre's Deism* or *Guicciardini's Self-consolation*. The editor should have grudged giving fifteen pages to a passage on Macaulay's Style—but complaints of this kind are inevitable with regard to all anthologies and we have therefore no hesitation in saying that the work is on the whole well-done. The book is badly in need of some aids which the serious student will expect, it is surprising that the editor should not have even located the passages, for the benefit of readers who are not steeped in the writings of Lord Morley—and the editor undoubtedly expects readers drawn from that class. Where Lord Morley writes, "it will soon be a hundred and twenty years since first Burke took his seat in the House of Commons," the editor could very well mention in a foot-note or elsewhere the date of the writing and there are numerous other places where similar help would be welcome. A good index for another bad need which we hope will be supplied in the next edition.

ENGLISH PROSE FOR INDIAN READERS by T. D. Dunn. (Longmans, Green & Co.).

This is an anthology of English prose literature arranged chronologically for Indian students, with introductory essays and notes. The selections are on the whole judicious and contain specimens from standard writers; their arrangement in chronological order enables an appreciation of the evolution of English prose style from Sir Walter Raleigh and other writers of the Elizabethan period to our own times. Even the section entitled *The Prose of Empire* does not contain any selections of poor literary merit, in which considerations of excellence are subordinated to the aim of glorifying the Empire. But may we ask why there should be any passages constituting the *Prose of Empire* at all, in a volume of this kind, intended to teach mastery of the English language to Indian students? Attention should be concentrated on the imperishable qualities of literary genius embodied in works of prose without the distractions of political propaganda on behalf of the Empire. Again it is desirable that the student should be enabled to read specimens of contemporary literature, but could not Mr. Dunn think of more eminent English writers

of the day than Prof. Rushbrook Williams, Major J. C. Jack and John Buchan?

TALES FROM DICKENS, by Major T. F. O'Donnell (Ram Prasad & Brothers, Agra. Price 1 Re. 4 as.)

The book is intended for schools and colleges and is made up of selections from the novels of Charles Dickens, but the pupil is not helped to appreciate the stories by being furnished with the necessary guidance. The selections are apt to be unintelligible without a brief statement of the context in each case and a summary of the plot. If the purpose of the book is to serve as an introduction to Dickens even as Lamb's Tales do to Shakespeare,—and that we are told is the editor's aim also—it is obvious some additions are badly necessary to the work.

MEMOIRS OF KALI PRASANNO SINGH, by Manmathanath Ghosh, M.A. (Barendra Library, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8 as.)

A short biographical sketch of the well-known translator of the *Mahabharata* into Bengali, with a frontispiece portrait.

P. SESHADRI.

ESSAYS ON EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA, by K. M. Panikkar, B. A. (Oxon), Professor of History at M. A. V. College, Aligarh. (Ganesh & Co., Madras).

This is a small volume of Essays on the burning educational problems of the day by an educationist who has the equipment and the training necessary to speak with authority on his subject. There are four separate essays which, however, are strung together by a common identity of purpose and outlook. They deal with 'The Problem of National Education', 'Vernacular as Media of Instruction in Secondary Schools', 'University Reform' and 'The Training of Children'. The writer commands a trenchant and expressive style and has rather strong convictions which are marked by a sane and courageous patriotism.

He is apparently a believer in the doctrine of self-determining activity in the sphere of Education. Education for the people, by the people and through the people is his plank and he makes occasionally bold slashes at the State-directed, machine-made, standardised commodity which passes for Higher Education in this country. He gives a very shrewd and interesting analysis of the Educational movements in the country since 1904 and tries to hit off the positive and negative aspects of this national endeavour. His observations regarding the National Council of Education in Bengal, the causes of its failure to arrive at any practical and positive results, the impressions it made on the University of Calcutta appear to be quite just.

His relative appraisal of the Arya Samaj educational experiment at the Gurukula and of Rabindranath's Santiniketan experiment betrays real insight. Education by rule and education by sympathy—the claims of discipline and system as against those of freedom and individual selection—the 'revivalist' Hindu National Ideal VS. the Cosmopolitan Ideal of new social values—all these contrasts and shades are brought into relief. The potential value of the Benares Hindu University as the culture-centre of a renovated, progressive India as over against its present lapses and sectarian and provincial bias—is also touched upon. The difficult question of Woman's

education is also brought in and some very acute observations are made as to the possibility of harmonising the demands of a purified joint-family with the larger call of the Community and the Country in this sphere.

The writer is a strong believer in Hindi as the national medium of an all-India education and a federated system of Provincial Universities or Communal Centres of Education, with co-related aims and purposes but with a pronounced local bias, directly catering to 'regional' needs. He is no believer in the much-applauded 'residential system'; and he apparently does not share the moderate view that a larger Indianisation in personnel and subjects of study would be the crowning apex of Modern India's educational effort.

In the essay on the training of children, the writer pleads as much for a physical 'hardening' as for a better and more artistic environment for the young hopefuls and deplores the absence of facilities for music, painting—the fine-art sense—in our schools. He is opposed to the rushing, jamming method of school instruction and pleads for a more natural and leisurely method where silent influences may steal upon the child and develop his perceptions and impulses by a slow, unconscious process of assimilation.

There is a refreshing quality and culture-atmosphere about these short but suggestive essays which are not very common. The author never repeats mere catch-words or turns a merely neat phrase; his observations are the result of his own independent thinking helped on by a wide educational outlook and braced by a fine and fastidious patriotism. We commend the booklet to all interested in the Educational Problem of today and tomorrow and we make no apology for culling a few sentiments and suggestions from it, which scintillate with a jewelled brilliance and arrest attention: "The Gurukula stands for the control and therefore for the limitation of the future by the experience or the realised ideal of the past. Bolpur stands for the ideal of free development deriving inspiration from tradition, but hindered as little as possible by the dead weight of a desire to bring back into existence an institution out of which life had flown centuries ago." (P. 31.)

"The nationalist effort in education should be directed not chiefly towards any attempt to mould the Governmental policy but in building up local institutions of a great variety of character and embodying different national ideals and culture." (P. 52.)

"A 'school' of classical humanities is perhaps as vital a necessity for India as higher research in sciences." (P. 105.)

"One of the main ideals to be kept constantly in mind in the reform of our educational policy is the necessity of recovering this lost sense of aesthetic enjoyment." (P. 122.)

"The ideal of Indian boyhood, let us not forget, is the eternal child with the flute." (P. 123.)

"Here (in India), education and instruction have become synonymous, owing to the fact that the medium used is not the mother tongue." (P. 125.)

N. C. BANERJI.

A CATALOGUE OF SANSKRITA, PRAKRITA, AND HINDI WORKS IN THE JAINA SIDDHANTA BHAVANA, ARRAH, Edited by *Suparshwa Das Gupta, B. A.*, assisted by *Pandit Maolchand Jain*. Published by The

Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah. 1919. Price Rupee one.

The Central Jain Oriental Library owes its foundation to the charity of the Late Babu Devakumar Jain of Arrah. His munificent donation to the founding of this Library has made him immortal and the beautiful half-tone block of this donor as the frontispiece has been a fitting tribute to the departed soul. The Siddhanta Bhavana has spent a good deal of money in collecting Jaina Manuscripts from various parts of India. It is a well-known fact that Jainism was the premier Religion of Southern India for a very long time and Neo-Hinduism had to struggle hard to win back its lost ground. The South was replete with numerous books on the various religious systems; and the authorities of the said Bhavana spared no pains to collect the Jain manuscripts from the South. These MSS. are mostly on palmyra leaves and old handmade papers; and written in Kanrese, Sanskrit and Hindi.

There is a very interesting collection of books in this Library regarding Buddhism. These are Buddhist Songs of a religious and philosophical character by different sages such as Saraha, Avadhuta, Advaya Vajra, Guru Maitri, Acharya Kankana, Acharya Virupa, Santa Deva and others. The songs appear to have been translated from Tibetan several hundred years ago. These books represent the last phase in the development of Buddhism. The name of Saraha occurs in the Buddhist Dohā, published and edited by MM. Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri. One of the treatises in the marvellous collection is in Tibetan and "Sahaja Gita" or songs of the Sahajiya sect of the Mahayana Buddhism in Sanskrit. The students of modern Buddhism and those interested in the origin of modern Hinduism of Bengal may find enough material from these MSS. The following books of the well-known Sahajiya sect are found in this Library, viz., 1. Karma-chandalika Doha-Gita, 2. Vasanta-tilaka Doha-Giti, 3. Vajra Chatur Giti 4. Sahaja Ananda Gitika-dristi, 5. Charya Doha, 6. Tattwa Doha-Giti, 7. Bhavana Drishticharya Phala Giti. The readers may identify at once the similarity of names of persons and books brought from Nepal and referred to before.

Next, I would like to say a word or two in connection with the catalogue. This is merely a name-catalogue of books. The author of this book seems to be a layman and he has done his best just to print out a catalogue of names of books. There are various methods of classification and cataloguing. These two things, though often thought about as separate and distinct subjects, are very closely related, and each is the outcome and complement of the other. In the past, so much importance was attached to the alphabetical catalogues, that it is very difficult to convince old fashioned people of the close affinity between the two. Modern Librarians recognise that the two branches of Library Economy are simply different aspects of the same thing and infinite pains are taken to ascertain the class of each book. The Descriptive Catalogue is the very best thing for old books; but still better is the modern system of summarizing the contents of each book with other details for illuminating the knowledge about the book. I can refer the workers on the line to Barker's "Guide to Best Fiction", "Guide to Best Historical Fiction" (Routledge), Robertson's "Best Books" and various books of this nature. Ancient books should be published in the same way and a

great deal of trouble and fruitless search for material on the part of the scholars would have been saved. The stereotyped method of printing Descriptive Catalogues serves a great deal, but the real work rests on the method I have just described.

Probhat K. Mukherjee,
Librarian, Santiniketan.

SHORT CHAPTERS OF NATURE STUDY. By M. J. Lagac, O.M.I., Ph.D. (Rom), M.A. (Cantab), B. Sc. (London), Principal, St. Joseph's College, Colombo. (Macmillan & Co.) 72 pages. 1920.

An elementary text-book of botany. Its special feature is that illustrative examples have been chosen from the plants of Ceylon.

J. C. RAY.

THE LAND OF HEALTH AND THE LAND OF WEALTH—By E. Marsden, B.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S. Pp. 224; published by MacMillan & Co.

It is a health reader in the form of stories which the author hopes, young pupils in Indian schools may understand and be able to remember. Whether the young pupils could and should remember everything detailed in connection with sanitation, which might be well compassed in one-fourth of the volume, is questionable. What necessity there was for introducing the story of Captain Smith presenting Raja Pratap Sing with a gun with which he shot a hundred tigers one cannot comprehend, except for emphasizing the fact that Smiths whether in Ganga-Desh or in Gujranwalla are always fond of shooting. The attention of the pupils drawn to the diagram of the race-horse *Prince Palatine* worth £45,000 which won prizes of thousands of pounds for their owners has not only no bearing in sanitation but is positively harmful in setting a premium on gambling. The book is full of such irrelevant stories and useless diagrams which might afford some fun to European children only. It would be expected from a layman, the sanitary portion has many inaccuracies. The assertion that "no one has died of smallpox for many years" after the introduction of compulsory vaccination is an exaggeration which affords a vulnerable point to the detractors of vaccination which never claimed this impossibility. The assertions that "germs are little worms," "cholera germs swarm in the vomit," "anti-septic killed the germs in the wound," "a mouthful of vinegar flavoured with chillies is a good preventive of cholera," will surprise the pathologist, the bacteriologist, the surgeon and the sanitarian. Little children will certainly enjoy the scene of dogs and villagers with uplifted sticks passing sleepless nights in running after and killing rats to prevent plague, but we doubt whether sanitarians will approve the scheme as safe and feasible. The chapter on chloroform might safely be omitted, having nothing to do with sanitation. The author expects that boys will read his "Health Reader" three times a week and usher the Millennium when there will be no death or disease. We doubt whether the school life is long enough for assimilating such a voluminous mixture of fiction and truth. The chapter on Temperance, however, is instructive and interesting which might be utilized by teachers and temperance workers. The dedication is still more instructive, showing how a renowned scientist like Sir Ronald Ross sought illumination from the fountain of knowledge as regards the "million-murdering cause"

of Malaria. He prayed incessantly for light which flashed after seven years of ceaseless toil and anxious expectation, and revealed to him the means of "saving a myriad men." In 1890 the Nobel-Laureate wrote while in Bangalore :

"I pace and pace, and think and think, and take
The fever'd hands, and note down all I see,
That some distant light may haply break!
The painful faces ask, can we not cure?
We answer, 'No, not yet', we seek the laws.
O God! reveal, thro' all this thing obscure,
The unseen, small, but million-murdering cause."

His prayer was heard. On the memorable August 21, 1897, he discovered the malaria-carrying mosquito and in ecstasy sang :

"This day, relenting, God hath placed within
A wondrous thing, and God be praised. At His my hand,
Seeking His secret deeds with tears and toiling command,
I find thy cunning seeds, O million-murdering breath,
Death
I know this little thing a myriad men will save,
O Death! where is thy sting? thy victory,
O Grave?"

With the poet we pray and hope, some day an Indian scientist will follow in his footsteps in that prayerful spirit, fulfil his pious hope, and save India from the ravages of malaria.

SOME COMMON FOOD-STUFFS. By Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose, I. S. O., M. B., F. C. S., Rasayan-acharya.

Dr. Chunilal Bose has been doing a yeoman's service to the country by popularising science. His popular lectures on Chemistry and Hygiene are always appreciated very highly. The one on some of our common food-stuffs delivered at the Science Convention, 1918, is highly interesting and instructive. The premature decay and utter prostration of our young men crushed under the University education wheel should rouse the conscience of our medical men who should, like Dr. Bose, lay before the public, practical methods for the amelioration of their physical condition. The improvement of the student dietary being one of the methods, it has naturally received Dr. Bose's foremost consideration. After having given an analysis of our common food-stuffs with reference to the five nutritive or *proximate principles* as they are technically called, he has fixed the following dietary standard for our Bengali youths taking a moderate amount of exercise :

	One weighing 150 lbs.	One weighing 120 lbs.
Rice.....	5 ounces	6 ounces
Flour.....	10 "	10 "
Soojee.....	2 "
Dal.....	2 "	3 "
Meat or Fish.....	6 "	3 "
Potato.....	10 "	5 "
Other Vegetables..	4 "
Ghee or Oil.....	1½ "	1 "
Milk.....	16 "
Sour Milk.....	4 "
Spices	as necessary	as necessary
Salt.....	1 ounce	1 ounce

Constipation being one of the chief complaints among town folk, we do not see the reason why "other vegetables" have been omitted in the first scale. *Dahi*, which according to Dr. Bose contains all the nutritive principles of milk and in the opinion of Metschnikoff, prevents premature old age and decay, might have been included in the 2nd scale for ordinary students who are usually affected with dyspepsia and do not generally relish Calcutta milk—homeopathic milk in higher dilutions. As regards *Ghol* Dr. Bose does not say if he agrees with the Ayurvedic sages with regard to their observation :

न तक्रसेवी व्यथते कदाचित्
न तक्रदध्याः प्रभवन्ति रोगाः ।
यथा सुराणाममृतं दुःखाय
तथा नराणां सुवि तक्रमाहुः ॥

The *Ghol* drinker never gets any pain or disease. As in heaven the Gods had their blissful nectar, so on earth mortals have their *Ghol*. As regards *Dahi* or curd-milk they valued it on account of its

वस्त्रालं पुष्टिकारित्वं ।

So the Ayurvedic sages anticipated Metschnikoff several centuries ago.

We are glad the Rasayanacharya has extolled the value of *dal* on chemical as well as economical grounds. "70 per cent of meat," he says, "is water; whereas *dal* contains only 11 per cent of water. 20 per cent of meat as purchased from the market is waste; there is practically no waste in *dal*." "If well prepared, *dal* sits as kindly on Indian stomach as meat does on European stomach. It can be prepared in a very large number of varieties of attractive dishes and it does not carry any focus of infection with it as meat does. *Dal* should be prepared in such a way that the grains should be lost sight of; cooked *dal* should have a uniformly thick cream-like consistence." "A combination of rice, *dal*, and ghee with salt and spices in the form of *Khichuri*, makes a very palatable and nourishing diet which should be more largely introduced in Indian homes." Vegetarians! Rejoice. Dr. Bose recommends the use throughout the year of jack-fruit seeds which, dried and preserved, is largely in vogue in Eastern Bengal. They are said to contain about 13 per cent of proteid or nitrogenous principle. The author will earn our eternal gratitude if he applies himself to the analysis of our Indian food-stuffs and guides us as to our dietary without relying on the European analysis. The *Kanch-Kala*, for example, cannot be without any nutritive value, which dried, pulverised and mixed with dried meat is reported to be used as a nutritive diet among some troops. It is a constant factor of our dietary and along with other vegetables, should receive the attention of the Rasayanacharya.

M. B.

GEOGRAPHY OF BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA AND ASSAM—by Professor F. W. Holme. (Illustrated). Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. London. Pp. 85. Price not known.

An excellent text book.

A FIRST HISTORY OF ENGLAND—by M. W. Keatinge, M. A., D. Sc. With one hundred and twenty

illustrations. Published by Messrs. A and C Black Ltd., London (Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras). Pp. 174. Price not known.

The book is written on modern lines. It is a suitable text book.

THE GROWTH OF RESPONSIBILITY IN SIKHISM by Teja Singh, M.A., Professor of History and Divinity, Khalsa College, Amritsar. Pp. 64. Price 5 annas.

In this pamphlet the author tries to show the evolution of a national spirit among the Sikhs. The Age of Guru Nanak is that of Renaissance or General Enlightenment; Guru Angad embodied the Spirit of Obedience; Guru Amardas, that of Equality; Guru Ramdas, that of Service; Guru Arjan, that of Self-sacrifice; Guru Hargovind, that of Justice; Guru Har Rai, that of Mercy; Guru Harkishan, that of the Elective System; Guru Teg Bahadur, that of Coolness of Judgment; Guru Govind Singh, that of the Devolution of Full Responsibility.

CASTE AND CITIZENSHIP IN TRAVANCORE Published by the Travancore Civic Rights League, Kottayam. Pp. 35.

Travancore is a small state with a population of about 34 lacs and is one of the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy. Only 20 per cent of the population are in possession of full civic rights and they belong to the upper section of Hindu society. Eighty per cent of the population, including Christians, Mahomedans, Izhavas and other castes, are labouring under varying degrees of civic disabilities and inequalities.

The League was inaugurated for the purpose of protesting against this injustice and for asserting equality of civic rights for all citizens, irrespective of caste or creed.

This movement has our full sympathy.

A PRINCE AND THE DEPRESSED by A. C. Bawdekar (Lamington Road, Bombay). Pp. 12.

Contains some of the resolutions passed by the State of the Maharaja Sahib of Kolhapur for ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes and also an extract from one of his speeches.

CASTE SYSTEM AND ITS VARIOUS PHASES—by Pitambar Muni: published by Lala Mahesh Dass, Sadanand Building, Prakash, Old Anarkali, Lahore. Pp. 36. Price Four Annas.

The conclusion of the author is :—

"It is high time that Caste System—the most obnoxious thing among the Hindus—having regard to the present aspect of time, be bidden farewell to, and, after its abolition, inter-marriage between the Hindus of different provinces should be made free."

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF SEVABRATA BRAHMARSHI SASIPADA BANERJEE—by Satindra Nath Roy Chowdhury, M. A., B. L., Sadananda. Published by Radha Charan Sen, Asst., Secretary, Devalaya Association, 210-3-2 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 102, price 8 Annas.

The author has placed before the public some characteristics of the religious life of Sevabrat Brahmarshi, Sasi Pada Banerjee, founder of the Devalaya and Sasi Pada Institute. Many interesting incidents are recorded in the book. We have read the book with interest and benefit.

SOCIAL RE-CONSTRUCTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIAN THOUGHTS—by *Bhagavan Das*. Published by *Piara Lal Bhargava, Manager, Gyan Mandal Press, Benares*. Pp. 139. Price twelve annas only.

The booklet is an English version, in a revised and expanded form, of the address delivered by Babu Bhagavan Das as President of the Provincial Social Conference held at Saharanpur, in the United Provinces, India, on the 20th October, 1919. The address endeavours to make a general survey and to offer suggestions regarding the solution of all the more important problems concerned with the well-being of mankind generally and Indians specially. The author is cautious but liberal. The booklet contains useful suggestions.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION, INDIA. PAMPHLET NO. 2. LIBRARIES IN INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS—by *L. T. Watkins, M.A.*, Published by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta. Pp. 57. Price four annas only.

This pamphlet has been written with a view to assisting the head masters of Indian Secondary Schools in the choice of books for their school libraries. It also suggests means by which these libraries may be made more popular and useful than they are at present. A useful publication.

THE TEACHING OF GRAMMAR IN INDIAN SCHOOLS, by *Madhusudan Bhattacharyya, B. A., Assistant Head Master, Serampore Collegiate School* (Published by the Author). Pp. 23. Price not known.

Recommended to teachers.

THE GITA AND THE CASTES—by *Kshirod Chandra Sen, B. A., Late of the Provincial Executive Service, Bengal*. Pp. 72. Price 8 annas. (To be had of the Author at Madaripur, Faridpur, Bengal.)

The subtitle of the pamphlet is:—"An exposition of the social degeneration of the Hindus, caused by the corruption of *varna* into *jati*, and by the tyranny of custom, confirmed by the policy of *laissez faire*, enabled by the pious appellation of the policy of non-interference, followed by the British Government in India."

The subject, dealt with in this pamphlet, is social and political—the caste system, the Hindu Society and the Patel Bill. The bill has been condemned by the reactionaries and a cry has been raised—"Religion is in danger." But was not a similar hue and cry raised, whenever a legislative measure was taken with a view to removing a social evil? What was done when the Scoble Bill was introduced into Council? Compared with the mob agitation which it gave rise to, the present agitation looks more like a consentaneous silence than a vociferous opposition. (Page 32). "The British Government, by direct legislative action, has purged off several customs. Those customs are now unknown. I may mention *Suttee*, *Gangasagar* offering, and hook-swinging. These were supported by *Smriti* or similar authority. People grumbled for a few years and then thanked Government for their considerateness and forgot about the customs. Customs are not eternal everlasting institutions. They come and go slowly in both ways. The prohibition of intermarriage has already experienced longevity. It is high time for it to go...

...The prohibition of intermarriage has no more sacred backing in the *Shastras* than *Suttee* or *Gangasagar*." (Page 72.)

"As regards the Intermarriage Bill, there is hardly anything in the Queen's Proclamation which can stand in the way, either academically or from the statesman's point of view..... The so-called policy of non-interference would thus appear to be a mere pretext for inaction, indifference and unconcern." (Page 36.)

After describing the origin and growth of the caste system, the author says:—

"It will appear from the above explanation that nothing is sacrosanct in the caste system.....plasticity is definitely depicted on the face of the system, in all its aspects, viz., in respect of multiplication, profession and social position. What is called rigidity is no more present in it than in any other system existing in the social world, oriental or occidental, savage or civilised." (P. 9.)

"Intermarriage is not a new thing in India. It has existed in parts of the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions for several centuries without leading to any catastrophe." "The practice is old as well as new." (P. 67.) "In the sense of the Gita all marriage was at one time intermarriage." (P. 58.)

Moreover the Patel Bill is not coercive, it is simply permissive.

The author congratulates the Government "on the fact that it has discovered that it has already practised interference with Hindu social custom and cannot recede from the position without compromising its character for enlightened governance for moral sincerity, or without risking the charge of partiality. It is a happy thing that the Government has shown no inclination to throw away the Patel Bill, in the way in which Basu's Bill was cast away ten years ago."

The pamphlet is recommended to our countrymen. It is characterised by broad outlook, good sense, sparkling thoughts and sound reasoning. The title of the book is rather misleading.

THE JAPJI OR GURU NANAK'S MEDITATIONS—rendered into English and annotated by *Teja Singh, M. A., Professor of Divinity and History, Khalsa College, Amritsar*. Published by the Sikh Tract Society, Lahore. Pp. 86. Price 8 Ans.

THE JAPJI SAHIB—translated by *Mr. Macauliffe, late Judge, Chief Court, Punjab*. Reprinted and issued gratis with the kind permission of *Sirdar Kahun Singh of Nabha State* by *Lal Behary Singh, Khatre, Jagser, Bhagalpur*. Pp. 21.

THE JAPJI—translated into Bengali with *Tika and Bhashya* by *Avinash Chandra Mazumdar*. Published by the Manager, Panini Office, Allahabad. Pp. 88. Price, 8 Ans.

Professor Singh's book contains, (i) An Introduction (pp. 1—6), (ii) Synopsis (pp. 7—16), (iii) Translation (pp. 19—48), and (iv) Notes (pp. 51—86).

Mr. Mazumdar's book contains—(i) A Preface by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee in Bengali, (ii) The original text in Bengali Character, (iii) The meaning of every word of the text, (iv) Notes on important words and sentences elucidating the idea conveyed, especially when there are different meanings,

(v) "Japjee-sara" giving the substance of every section of the book.

Mr. Macauliffe's book contains—(i) A translation in English, (ii) Notes, giving and discussing different meanings of important words and sentences.

Professor Singh's object seems to be to make the book acceptable to the modern mind by modernising the ideas, and giving a literary translation of the book.

Messrs. Macauliffe and Mazumdar give a more literal translation of the book.

We quote below the different translations of some verses as given by these authors :—

Section II.

"By the same Will all forms come into being. The working of that Will cannot be described." (Professor Singh).

"By his order bodies are produced ; His order cannot be described." (Macauliffe).

ভগবানের আজ্ঞাতে হৃষ্টি আকার ধারণ করিয়াছে। সেই আজ্ঞা যে কি, তাহা বাক্যে বর্ণনা করা যায় না। (Mazumdar).

"ঐহ্যার আদেশে নানা প্রকার আকার হৃষ্টি হইয়াছে। ইত্যাদি" (From the Jajji Saheb translated into Bengali by Lalbihari Singh, Khetri, published in the Bengali Era 1307.)

The first sentence in the text is "हुकमी होबन आकार". The word "Hukami" means (i) "by Will" according to Professor Singh; (ii) by His order, according to Mr. Macauliffe, (iii) আজ্ঞাতে according to Mr. Mazumdar and (iv) আদেশে according to Mr. Singh Kshetri. Professor Singh has tried to modernise the idea.

The translations of another line are given below :—

Section X.

By this instruction the disciple will obtain the sense of Truth, Harmony and Goodness. (Prof. Singh).

"By hearing the name truth, contentment and divine knowledge (are obtained)." (Macauliffe).

ভগবানের নাম শ্রবণ করিলে সত্য, সন্তোষ ও জ্ঞান লাভ হয়। (Mr. Mazumdar).

ঐহ্যার পবিত্র নাম শ্রবণ করিলে সত্য, সন্তোষ ও জ্ঞান লাভ হয়। (Mr. Singh Kshetri).

The text is "Suniai (or Suniyai) Santokha (or Santosha) giana (or giyana)." Suniai=by hearing. Sata=Satya (Sanskrit—truth). Santokha=Santosha (Sanskrit—contentment). Giana (Sanskrit—Jnana; pronounced gyana in vernaculars)=Knowledge. But according to Professor Singh, Santokha or Santosha=Harmony; Giana=goodness. His interpretation seems to be wrong. But in other places he has given the correct meaning—for example, he has translated 'Santosha' by 'contentment' in XXVIII; 'giyan' by 'knowledge' in XXIX and XXXVI; and by 'reason' in XXXV and XXXVI.

We want Nanak's thoughts as they really are and not as modernised. So we prefer the translations of Messrs. Macauliffe and Mazumdar to that of Professor Singh.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

RELIGION AND CULTURE,—by Frederick Schleier, Ph. D., (Columbia University Press, 1919) Pp., VIII+206.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. "Primitive Religion and Culture" would

perhaps have been a more appropriate title for a book which professes to be an anthropological treatise on the methods of research into the origins of culture in general and religion in particular.

The author discusses the current methods by which anthropologists seek to investigate cultural phenomena with a view to deduce universal laws from the data thus collected. Although other methods of investigation and interpretation of ethnographic phenomena come in for their share of criticism at the author's hands, the comparative method and the developmental or evolutionary theory of culture, form the main target of the author's most determined assault. "The framing of ethnographical analogs," says our author, "is a somewhat romantic procedure which is comparable in many respects to the building up of animal and plant archetypes characteristic of the Pre-Darwinian natural sciences. Both procedures supplement the positivistic knowledge with a strong dose of mysticism and are wont to ascribe ontological existence to their subjective creations." (P. 67)

With reference to Religion in particular, the author discusses and criticizes the theory of Animism and the pre-animistic or *mana* theory which the author chooses to call a 'rival' of the animistic theory. (P. 101.) As with regard to methods of research, so with regard to these theories of origins, the author's criticisms are mainly iconoclastic. No new theory is propounded or suggested to replace the condemned methods and theories. With regard to the charge that the 'mana theory' is a 'rival view' to the 'animistic' theory, it may be pointed out that Dr. Marett, the chief exponent of the *mana* theory, unequivocally declares that it is not so. Says he, "There is at least one principle that has for many years stood firm in the midst of these psychological quicksands. Dr. Tylor's conception of 'animism' is the crucial instance of a category that successfully applies to rudimentary religion taken at its widest. If our science is to be compared to a Venice held together by bridges, then 'animism' must be likened to its Rialto.....In what follows I may seem to be attacking 'animism', in so far as I shall attempt to endow 'mana' with classificatory authority to some extent at the expense of the older notion. Let me, therefore, declare at the outset that I should be the last to wish our time-honoured Rialto to be treated as an obsolete or obsolescent structure. If I seek to divert from it some of the traffic it is not naturally suited to bear, I am surely offering it no injury, but a service." (Marett's *Threshold of Religion*, p. 117) Again, "For all I know, some sort of animism in Tylor's sense of the word, was a primary condition of the primitive religion of mankind."

As for our author's condemnation of the comparative method as "a function of an

indefinite number of more or less indeterminate and indeterminable variables, which are not mutually consistent with one another and which cannot be organized into a comprehensive system," it will suffice to say that if any particular investigator brings together heterogeneous and non-comparable phenomena under one category and seeks to deduce any general rule from them, the fault lies not in the comparative method itself but in its wrong application by the particular uncritical investigator.

The Science of Anthropology is hardly over half a century old, and the workers are as yet but a mere handful, though the field of investigation is as wide as the world itself. Intensive study of the multitudinous human groups is the preliminary requisite for sound universal generalizations in Anthropology, and for this the time is not yet quite ripe. But all the same the ideal of every science is and ought to be to seek to discover so far as possible laws of universal application, by a collection, tabulation, analysis, comparison and generalization of the facts or phenomena available. And the anthropological investigator cannot neglect to follow this procedure. As in other sciences, the investigator in Anthropology cannot neglect the aid of 'scientific imagination' to arrive at theories to interpret his facts. But such theories are admitted by their authors themselves to be no better than mere working hypotheses. Every student of Anthropology is aware how Sir James Frazer has propounded one hypothesis after another to explain the origin of totemism until he arrived at the conclusion that it originated in a primitive explanation of the mysteries of conception and childbirth. But he has always taken care to inform his readers that in the present state of our knowledge all such theories can be only provisional. Other eminent anthropologists have followed the same procedure which is, in fact, the approved procedure in all sciences. The enquirer begins with a hypothetical working hypothesis suggested by available facts, and according as such a hypothesis is found consistent or otherwise with the result of further research, the theory is accepted, modified or abandoned. As Sir James Frazer, one of the greatest living anthropologists, says, "the advance of knowledge in this, as in every other field, consists in a progressive adjustment of theory to fact, of conception to perception, of thought to experience; and as that readjustment, though more and more exact, can never be perfect, the advance is infinite." (*Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, pp. 7-8).

Our author's condemnation of the comparative method in anthropological research does not appear to us quite justifiable. The devoted labours of a series of distinguished investigators beginning with Tylor and Avebury and including such names as Frazer, Haddon and

Marett, has established the evolutionary theory of culture in general on a firm foundation. The subsidiary theory of transmission or diffusion of cultures merely supplements the general developmental theory but does not militate against it, and hardly any serious investigator nowadays omits to analyse his facts and take account of the effects of contact or intermixture or transmission of cultures or of convergence of diverse causes. But analysis of culture and the historical method by which our author would prefer to supersede the comparative method, do not appear to us to be in any way antagonistic to the comparative method. In fact, Dr. Rivers from whose writings (amongst those of others) our author makes quotations in support of the historical method, distinctly rates such analytical and historical study of cultures at no higher a value than as "merely the means to an end,"—as supplying a "firm basis" for "evolutionary speculations." As Dr. Rivers says, "Any speculations concerning the history of human institutions can have a sound basis, if cultures have first been analysed into their component elements, but I do not wish for one moment to depreciate the importance of attempts to seek for the origin and early history of human institutions. It is being recognized that a study of these (customs and institutions of savage or barbarous peoples) helps us to understand much that is obscure in our own institutions or in those of other great civilizations of the present or the past. Further, there can be no doubt that we are only at the threshold of a new movement in learning, which is being opened by this comparative study." (Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1911).

Although the general tenour of the book under review would seem to be to utterly discredit the comparative method in Anthropology, occasionally we meet with a tardy and grudging partial recognition of the value of this method, in passages like the following :—

"A word of caution should be appended to the foregoing somewhat drastic critique of the comparative method and the fact made clear that we do not mean to imply that it is intrinsically vicious wherever it appears and in whatever sense employed. It has, indeed, yielded valid results in such disciplines as anatomy, linguistics, etc., and the process of comparison is frequently utilised very advantageously by way of illuminating a theme or making clear a point by parallel cases and analogous conditions. There is, perhaps, also considerable to be said in favour of the comparative method even in Ethnology. It has served to bring together similar customs, rites and ideas the world over, to stimulate investigation of them and has, perhaps, in many cases, laid the basis for their elucidation." But, says our author, "the data assembled by the comparative

method in ethnology which is based largely upon morphological considerations cannot be regarded as final, but requires to be supplemented and worked over from entirely different points of view."

One principal indictment of our author against the comparative method is what the author calls its "classificatory rubrics," that is to say, its technical terms among which the author especially mentions not only such distinctively ethnological terms as 'totemism', 'animism', 'taboo', 'fetishism', and 'imitative magic', but also such well-recognized terms borrowed from theology as 'monotheism', 'polytheism', 'henotheism', 'nature worship',—terms that have acquired a definite connotation by long established usage, but of which our author says, "the moment that we attempt to attach a clear and reasonably delimited connotation to any of them, we immediately plunge into the most serious difficulties." The author's criticisms against the use of these 'classificatory rubrics' are not at all convincing. These technical terms are, what Karl Pearson calls, the "conceptual shorthand aid," by which men of science 'briefly describe and resume phenomena.' No science can do without technique and technology. If in Anthropology they are not as yet as exact and well-developed as might be desired, further advance in research will help to make them more discriminating and varied. The science of Anthropology is yet in what may be called the classificatory stage. Without these 'rubrics', ethnological phenomena observed and recorded by different investigators in different parts of the world cannot be standardized, tabulated, compared and correlated so as to yield 'laws' or general principles which it is the aim of every science to discover.

It is easier to criticize than to construct. Although our author has criticized various methods and theories, we look in vain in the pages of his book for any illuminating theory of his own as to cultural origins or any suggestion of a new and helpful method of investigation. In the last chapters, indeed, he speaks of the application of "the concept of convergence in the interpretation of causality." But "convergence" is neither an independent method of interpretation, nor is it a new one. The name was coined by Ehrenrich as early as 1903, and the principle has been elucidated by Franz Boas in several articles in the pages of scientific journals since 1894 and finally in 1916 in his excellent book "The Mind of Primitive Man." And our author has hardly added anything to what this distinguished American anthropologist has said about it and said so well. Nor is the principle of multiple causes or convergence always overlooked by modern ethnological investigators. If the sole object of the book under review be to suggest that the logical processes of generalization and abstraction implied in the comparative method should be applied with much

more critical caution than is ordinarily, an anthropologist will quarrel with our author as no one holds the contrary. As every anthropologist feels, the great desideratum in anthropological investigation is the dearth of properly equipped workers. This is particularly true in India where we have now and then to deplore the sorry spectacle of a certain class of pseudo-ethnologists indulging in immature conjectural generalizations not warranted by adequate facts.

Finally, even a foreigner may be permitted to note that the author's language is not at all as clear and easy as might have been desired. The style is in places involved and the language stiff, and the use of such words as 'epistemological', 'obfuscating', 'noetical', 'oretic', 'mism', 'peuristic', etc., might have been advantageously substituted by simpler terms. The absence of an index is a desideratum. The general get-up of the book is excellent.

S.

A NARRATIVE OF THE INDIAN DEFENCE MOVEMENT (VOLUNTARY BRANCH) IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY—By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. [Published by Messrs. Rama Iyer & Co., Booksellers, Madras Trichinopoly.]

As President of the Committee for the motion of recruitment among Indians to the Indian Defence Force in the Madras Presidency, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer had unique opportunity of acquiring a knowledge at first hand of the conditions under which educated Indians were asked to enrol themselves and serve in the Force. In the pamphlet before us he has given a clear and succinct account of the progress of the voluntary branch of the Indian Defence Force movement in his Presidency and has set forth the numerous drawbacks and racial discriminations under which Indians suffered. The publication is a most opportune one in view of the introduction in the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council by the Government of India of the Auxiliary Force Bill as a scheme of defence and of the Territorial Force Bill for the enrolment of persons other than Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It will be remembered in this connection that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford while replying to the petitions made by Indians with reference to racial discriminations embodied in the Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 had said that such a measure was an emergency one and that it could only be satisfactorily settled after the war. His Excellency appealed to the public not to raise questions which would have to be settled at a time when there was more leisure. He further gave the assurance that all the suggestions of criticism and complaint with reference to the conditions of service of Indians in the Indian Defence Force were engaging the most sympathetic attention of the Government. Sir Sivaswamy's narration shows how the

has been the attitude of the Government of India towards the voluntary section of the Defence Force since its very inception notwithstanding the assurances of His Excellency the Viceroy. This attitude of indifference on the part of the authorities appears to have further developed into one of opposition and unfriendliness since the conclusion of the armistice. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer characterises this attitude as "step-motherly" and says: "If further proof were needed of differential treatment, it would be furnished by the innumerable orders, notifications and communiques which have been poured forth at such frequent intervals, evincing their solicitude for the maintenance of the compulsory section of the Defence Force and the entire absence of any similar interest in the formation and maintenance of the voluntary section." The authors of the Reforms Report said: "We would remove from the regulations the few remaining distinctions that are based on race, and would make appointments to all the branches of the public service without racial discrimination." Referring specially to appointments in the Army they said: "The Indian soldier who fights for us and earns promotion in the field can reasonably ask that his conduct should offer him the same chances as the European beside whom he fights. If he is otherwise qualified, race should no more debar him from promotion in the Army than it does in the civil services; nor do we believe that it is impossible to carry this principle into effect without sacrificing paramount military conditions." The racial discriminations that disfigure the Indian Auxiliary Force Bill and the Indian Territorial Force Bill show how lightly the Secretary of State and the Viceroy made their pledges in the Report on Reforms. Sir Sivaswamy concludes his pamphlet with certain suggestions for rendering the Indian Defence Force attractive to Indians and for organising it on a basis of justice and efficiency.

S. K. LAHIRI.

Acknowledgments.

The following books will not be reviewed as we have stopped reviewing books other than English.

SANSKRIT.

Vinyasa-Purikshetra-Navikarana-Varnana-Satakam—

By Vattappalli P. Paremathwara Sarma. Published by the Secretary, Vidyodayam Association, Suchindrum, South Travancore. Pages 15. Price Annas Two.

SANSKRIT-HINDI.

Atharva-Vediya-Panchapatalika—Throwing light on the arrangement, division and text of the Atharva-Veda-Samhita—

Edited by Bhagbatdutta, B. A., Professor of Vedic Theology, D. A. V. College, Lahore. Price Two Shillings Six Pence.

MARATHI.

Swami Vivekananda Yanchen Charitra—

Edited by Ramchandra Narayan Mandlik. Ninth Part. Paper 14 as. Cloth Rs. 1-2-.

HINDI.

Gandhi-Siddhant—A translation of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's "Hind Swarajya" and other writings.

By Babu Lakshman Narayan Garde, Editor, Bharat-mitra. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 1-4, Cloth bound Rs. 1-8.

Rome Ka Itihas—

By Jwala Prasad, M. A. Publisher, Tarun Bharat Granthabali Office, Daraganj, Allahabad. Pp. 171. Price Re. 1.

Vidhava Prarthana—

By Janab Mowlana Moulvi Khwaja Altan Hussein Sahab "Hali". Pp. 54. Price As. 5.

TELUGU.

Andhra Veerulu or Andhra Heroes—

By M. Somasekhara Sarma, Pp. 191, Price Re 1.

GUZERATI.

Rasa Manjari—

By Bhaishankar Kuverji Shukle. Morvi, Station Bhasar, Bankaner Junction. Pp. 118. Price As. 8.

Rasa-Jharna—

By Matiram Narahari Shankar Shukle. Published by the Vileparle Literary Union. Pp. 56. Price As 6.

Advaita Vina, or Sudhakarini Papanaiha—

By Chatak Chandra Nagar Dwivedi. Pp. 125. Price Annas Twelve.

NIGHT

In the entrancing moonlight
The trees are brooding with an ardent beauty
Beyond the dreams of man.
Dark are their shadows as the unsounded past
Whence all this world and all its glory rose.

And through them gleams the tranquil radiance
Of thoughts that are not ours, of things forgotten
By headstrong life that ever surges onward,
Its archives evanescent as the spray
Upon the troubled ocean.

Gaze not forth

From the deep tents of night, and hearken not
To that mysterious language they are uttering
Who shape the coming hours. Turn to thy sleep
In single trustfulness, that thou mayst rise
With heart attuned unto the secret music
That maketh life an heritage of joy.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

IMAGES OF ARDHANARISWARA

BY NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI, M.A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

THESE images which represent the god Siva and the goddess, his *Sakti* merged into one body, half being male, and the other half female are rather rare in Bengal. In view of the fact that the Sena Kings of Bengal were renowned Saivas and that the Catwa plate of Ballāla Sena opened with an invocation of the dancing Ardhanārīswara, it is not unreasonable to expect that more finds will turn up in future. But, as far as I know, up to this time only one image of Ardhanārīswara has been discovered in Bengal and there is one other image which may also be identified as Ardhanārīswara.

The latter one, as far as I know, is unique. It may tentatively be identified as Ardhanārīswara, but it differs from all known images of Ardhanārīswara. It was discovered in the ruins of Rāmpal in the Dacca district, the ancient capital of the Senas and their predecessors,—in that quarter of the old capital, which is still known as Kāgachipārā (the paper-makers' hamlet). The image now receives worship in a tiny shrine erected for it.

The image is about five feet in height. The lower part of the image depicts a well-carved *Siva Lingam* in bold relief. Only half of the upper part of the Lingam is shown, from which emerges the waist of a goddess in profound meditation. The goddess has four hands. The upper right hand gracefully holds the rosary and a book is in her upper left hand. The two normal hands are placed one above the other in a graceful Dhyāna Mudrā below the ample breasts.

The symbolism of the figure is sublime and the serene grace and delicacy of this piece of sculpture will be evident even from the imperfect photograph reproduced. The face of the goddess is a wonderful study and the care and ability with which even the minutest parts are finished

bespeak the hands of a master sculptor. I believe, it will not be an exaggeration



Ardhanārīswara.



Ardhanārīswara.
(Yoga-nidrā or Mahāmāyā)
Discovered at Kagazipara.

to say that the image is one of the best products of Bengal sculpture,—one that directly reminds one of the image of Prajñāpāramitā from Java, illustrated by Mr. Havell in his Indian sculpture and painting.

The image certainly depicts the United Male and the Female Energies of the

universe,—the United Purusha and Prakriti,—the Universal Father and the Universal Mother. This is why I have ventured to identify it as Ardhanārīswara. The sculptor seems to have expressed the conception of Ardhanārīswara in a novel method. My search, however, for an exact Dhyāna of the image has not been attended with success. I shall be grateful if anyone can find a Dhyāna for this beautiful image.

The description of the image of Tripura Bhairabi on page 474 of the Kālikā Purānam, Bangabāsi Edition, where she has a rosary and a book like our image coupled with the statement on page 480 that Tripura Bhairabi and all the other Bhairabis as well as the universal mothers Yoganidrā and Mahāmāyā are all identical, leads us to think that we are not far wrong in our identification. The image is in all probability that of the Universal Mother Mahāmāyā or Yoganidrā in union with the Universal Father.

The first image of Ardhanārīswara referred to above was discovered from the little village of Purapārā, situated about five miles south-west of Rāmpal. In the centre of the village, there is a big low mound called *Deul*, the ruins of an ancient temple. A pool to the west of the *Deul* is still called Tāmkunda and it was from this Kunda that the image was discovered. Babu Jogendranāth Gupta procured the image and presented it to the Rājshāhi Museum.

The image is a conventional one of Ardhanārīswara, the right half being male and the left half female. One peculiarity of this image is that it is not in relief as almost all the images discovered in Bengal more or less are, but it is a thoroughly round image. A glance at the illustration will show that the image is of excellent proportions. Unfortunately it was discovered in a sadly mutilated condition. The image appears to have had only two arms. One arm is broken away at the shoulder and the other at the elbow and the lower part of the image beneath the knee is altogether missing. The face has also been slightly scratched in places. But in spite of all damages few critics, I believe, will have any hesitation in pro-

nouncing it to be a very remarkable piece of sculpture. The contrast in the niceties of the male and female halves of the image has been ably shown and the careful observer will be delighted to mark the difference between the right and the left halves in physiognomy, ornaments and dress.

It is noteworthy that the Purapārā Deul and the neighbouring Deul at Rānī-hāti or Balāi lying about two miles west from Purapārā, are connected by tradition from time immemorial with Ballāla Sena and one of his queens.

The details of the Ardhanārīswara image given on page 898 (Ch. 260) of the Matsya Purānam, (Vangabāshi Edition) correspond exactly to the present image. The story of why Hara and Gauri were merged into one body will be found in Chapter 45 of the Kālikā Purānam and in many other Purānas and ancient literature.*

*From—"A Descriptive Catalogue of the Archaeological Exhibits in the Dacca Museum with which is incorporated notices of all important ancient images known to exist in the villages of the Dacca and Chittagang Divisions."—Under compilation

THE GOLDEN CRESTED WREN

If it were not for the crashing of red stars
And the tangled moaning of blue wind-woven
banners
That herald the Unseen Hosts,
The lovely melody of this little bird
Would fill Eternity,

Would float to the uttermost shadows of life's
long dream
And waken them that sleep,
If once, out of the tumult of the worlds,
Came Silence, the unknown.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

GLEANINGS

The Cocoanut Raft.

In the tropics the cocoanut means food, drink, shelter, fuel, utensils, textile, fiber. It is the universal thing to which the native turns in all emergencies. But even knowing this, it is a little startling to see this nut of general utility employed as a means of transportation. Nevertheless, it is so employed, as our photograph taken on one of the picturesque streams at the Philippines, testifies.

Labour Troubles 3000 Years Ago.

The labour troubles that we have with us so constantly now-a-days are nothing new in the history of mankind. Egypt was afflicted with them thirty centuries ago in much the same way that we are to-day.

The ancient Egyptians seem to have had their labour unions, their strikes, their wage scales, their lockouts and many other exact counterparts of the conflict between capital and labour as we know it. Some day the patient archaeologists may discover among the inscriptions of an old tomb or temple a copy of the first union card issued by some workingman's local of 3,000 years ago to some toiler on the pyramids or some labourer in Pharaoh's vast wheat fields.

Recent excavations at the dead city of Egypt—El-Amarna, reveal not only that Egypt had labour troubles much like our own, but that



Cocoanuts made up into a raft for floating to the mills.

at one time they culminated in what was undoubtedly the most remarkable strike in the history of the workingman's struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and better living conditions.

This strike resulted in an overwhelming victory for labour. But, curiously enough, this triumph was not due to the intelligence of the labour leaders or the determination of the men they led, great as they were. Labour in Egypt could not have escaped from the abominable slavery in which it was held, had it not been for the support given its cause by the nation's chief of police, an official holding appointment from Pharaoh himself.

Mahu was the name of this official, and some day union labour will erect a statue to his memory. He was the first public man in history to champion the cause of labour against capital. So proud was Mahu of what he did for labour's cause that he had the walls of his tomb inscribed with a complete record of all that took place.

When the workingmen of Egypt laid down their tools and went on strike in an effort to obtain better working and living conditions, the wealthy employers expected Mahu to put a speedy end to the rioting of the clamorous mobs that raged along the Nile. If his regular force was not sufficient to send the workers back to their jobs with a few broken heads, they relied on his calling out the police reserves and the militia.



Mahu, the Chief of Police, Receiving the Labour Delegation—one of the Incidents Portrayed in his Tomb.

But to their surprise Mahu did nothing of the kind. He would not interfere with the violent forms of picketing which these ancient union forces employed to win their non-union fellows to their side. He positively refused to allow an arrow to be fired or a spear raised against the angry strikers—not even when they actually had the boldness to menace Pharaoh's palace.

And Mahu did even more than this. When he saw the situation deadlocked with no sign of capital yielding, he went straight to Pharaoh and pleaded the causes of labour as it had seldom, if ever, been pleaded before. Pharaoh was so impressed with the logic and eloquence displayed by the chief that he promptly granted all the reforms which the masses of the people were demanding.

The conditions which led up to this amazing strike in Egypt were very terrible. For generations the priests and the Pharaohs had kept the masses in abject slavery. The people were supposed to exist solely for the purpose of performing the most arduous labour, fighting whenever a war was declared, and starving and suffering in other ways at all times.

In the ruins of El-Amarna there have been found records of the great uprising of the labour classes which was surprisingly turned into a complete victory through the aid of Mahu, the Egyptian chief of police.

Be Merry at Meals.

Science has proved by many experiments upon the bodies of men and animals that fear, anger and disagreeable emotions retard digestion by stopping the secretions of the digestive glands, while pleasant emotions such as those produced by a funny story, a good joke, music or delightful surroundings stimulate digestion.

Professor W. B. Cannon, who has been studying the effects of emotions on the glands, cites in his book "Bodily Changes in Fear, Hunger and Rage", the remarkable case of a refined woman who went to a physician for treatment for digestive troubles. The doctor gave her a test breakfast, and an hour later was surprised to find it in the stomach entirely un-digested and much of the previous evening's meal still there. Then the doctor learned that the husband had become uncontrollably drunk the night before and had caused her cruel anxiety.

Pleasant feelings assist digestion, provided the emotion does not become violent. Professor Cannon shows that there is a chain of nerves—"the autonomic system"—which stimulate the stomach and digestive organs when pleasant feelings are experienced and depress them when disagreeable ones are experienced.

What seems to happen is this:—The story or joke sets up a pleasant emotional disturbance in certain brain centres. Through the desire to laugh, the nerves which control the muscles used in laughter—the mouth and throat—are stimulated in a peculiar fashion. This stimulation passes along the pneumogastric nerve—which serves the voice, lungs, gullet, stomach, and heart—toning up the digestive mechanism all along the line. The salivary glands controlled by affluents of this nerve are stimulated. There is a greater flow of saliva. The digestive movements of the stomach's walls—what are called the peristaltic movements—are subjected to acceleration, as they are also controlled by this same nerve.

The gastric juices in the stomach then pour out an increased flow. The heart feels the effects and pumps an increased flow of blood to the digestive areas. The liver—which is a

glandular organ—whose activities are absolutely essential to good digestion, feels the pleasant stimulus of rippling mirth and pours forth bile

in abundance and good quality. The infectious stimulus passes to the pancreas—also a gland—and stirs it up to furnish its fluid.

The same beneficent impulse passes beyond the stomach into the duodenum—a part of the small intestines—and increases the flow of juices necessary for the digestion of fats and starches. All the secreting glands of the body are in fact beneficially affected.

Conversely, an unpleasant story or sadness or quarreling has an effect the reverse of stimulation on the pneumogastric nerve.

It seems to deaden it and, therefore, all the digestive processes are similarly checked and retarded.

The Birth of a Thunder-storm.

It is necessary to be up in the air to watch a thunder-storm grow. On the ground looking up, the bottom of it alone can be observed. The airman is the only one who sees just what is happening.

While the rain is dashing on the earth beneath, strange things are happening high up in the air. Dark masses of vapour push up above the storm and tower miles into the sky. Whirling currents of air cause the clouds fairly to boil up and down, while the lightning flashes and the thunder is deafening. All this has grown from a very small beginning. A few hours before the sky was, perhaps, perfectly clear. All at once a few white patches become visible to the eye, and if they quickly begin to dot the whole sky, it is a warning sign.

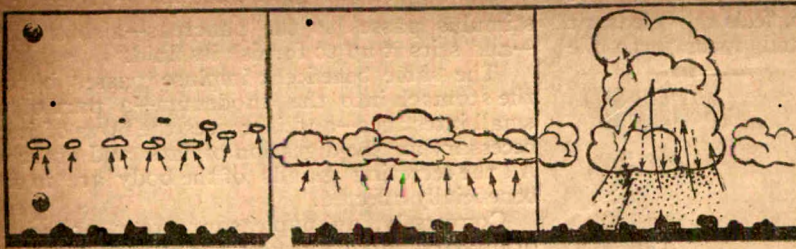
One picture illustrating this, taken at an altitude of 4000 ft., shows in a remarkable way how these clouds begin to form on a warm summer day. The idea is developed in the first diagram. Each fluffy cloud represents the point where moisture rising from the earth has begun to condense. The rapid formation of the clouds means uneven heating of the surface on the earth and the presence of lots of moisture in the air. These are the conditions which cause thunderstorms in summer. If this condition continues for an hour or so, the result will be that seen in the second diagram. The clouds grow together, forming a continuous rolling mass of dense vapour, cutting off the flyer's view of the earth. To the people below, the sky grows dark, and they say it looks threatening. Up above the clouds, the turbulent vapour disturbs the air and the flyer experiences "bumps".

So far the storm has only been threatening. The clouds have spread sideways as far as they can; now they begin to grow heavier. The heated air from the earth below pushes through the heavy layer and bulges it upward. Higher and higher it is pushed while more and more moisture condenses, and this great bulging mass of vapour, sometimes three or four miles high, has become a thunder-cloud. Its bulging tops are called thunder peaks or thunder heads, and they



On the left :—Diagram showing how the Mental Stimulus of a Good Story Co-operates with the Organs of Taste to Help Digestion (1—not shown in the Head) Beginning of Great Pneumo-gastric Nerve, which conveys Stimulating or Depressing Message to the Digestive Chain. (2—not shown in the Head) Higher Brain; Centre where Mental Conceptions are Formed and where Appreciation of Story or Joke causes a Sympathetic Stimulation of the Pneumogastric Nerve. (3) Nerve Controlling the Salivary Glands which is the First to Respond to the Stimulation. (4) The Heart, which Pumps Blood to the Digestive Organs and whose work is "Speeded Up" by the Stimulated Nerve, causing an Increased Flow of Blood to the Stomach. (5) The Stomach, whose Muscular Movements are Strengthened and Increased by the Stimulation of the same Controlling Nerve. (6) The Pancreatic Duct to which the Beneficial Stimulus Passes. Aiding in the Digestion of Fats and Starches. (7) The Kidneys, with the important Adrenal Glands.

On the right :—Your Stomach every half hour between the Noon Meal and 7 o'Clock Dinner, showing the Shape of the Organ during the Digestion of a Meal.



The Little Clouds at the Left are the First Condensation of the Rising Moisture, indicated by the Arrows. Later, these Cloudlets unite, as in the centre, into a Tumbling, yet rather Level, Mass of Vapour. At length the Vapour is turned into the Massive Fantastic Thunder Peak as at the Right,

are responsible for the lightning, the heaviness of rainfall, and the hail we sometimes have in mid-summer. One of these stupendous thunder heads, its top four miles above the earth, is shown in the photograph in the third diagram.

The energy of a thunder-storm is amazing. A single great cloud may contain billions of pounds of water vapour. The energy developed in a few hours may be more than was taken to build the Pyramids. The flashes of lightning from cloud to cloud are sometimes twenty miles in length, and when we stop to think that it takes a current of 15,000 volts' pressure to produce a spark an inch long, we can only wonder at the immense amount of electricity involved in a single flash. Sometimes the wind from a thunder-cloud, or the "squall" as it is called, is violent enough to level trees and small buildings and is improperly called a tornado. There is a big difference.

A tornado is a violent whirlpool of air that sweeps across the country and twists off trees and roofs in its



1.—When Hungry, Little Jeannette Tosses Her Head Up and Down as a Horse Does Before Its Manger.



2.—The Child Always Sits with Her Legs Crossed as a Horse Crosses Its Front Legs to Rest Them.



3.—Jeannette Has a Very Peculiar Habit of Looking Sidewise, from the Corner of Her Eyes, in Horse Fashion.



4.—She Lifts Her Head and Wrinkles Her Lips, as a Horse Does When It Wants to Stretch Its Neck.

path. The wind from a thunderstorm blows straight away from the storm and never twists. The tornado is always dangerous, while the wind from a thunderstorm is only occasionally dangerous.

Broadly speaking, there are three general stages in the development of a thunder-storm. There must be strong currents of moist air ris-

ing from the earth, as indicated by the appearance of the white patches of cloud. This condition must continue until the sky is covered. And lastly, the force of these upward currents must be great enough to push the clouds up into thunder heads. A thunder-storm then results.

"The Horse-child."

A little while before baby Jeannette Hogan was born, her mother was beaten and stamped upon by a vicious horse. Four months later the infant Jeannette came into the world with several strange mannerisms which have procured for her the name of "the horse-child". The unfortunate child, now four years old, neighs and whinnies like a horse when it is hungry, it bobs its head up and down like a nervous horse, it stands with one foot placed across the other as a horse rests its front legs, it rolls its eyes and looks "side-wise" as a horse does—and it is deaf and blind. Did that attack by the horse on the mother "mark" the unborn babe?

This question is being seriously debated by Dr. Arthur C. Jacobson of America. He suggests that if a census of the human race was taken at this moment, the note of mankind would be unhesitatingly in favour of the assertion that a child may be "marked" by a mishap of this kind to its mother.

In fact, this belief has possessed the human mind from

earliest history. And in almost any community today you can hear of somebody with some disfigurement or peculiarity of face, features, figure or mannerisms which is attributed to some peculiar mishap which befell this individual's mother before the unfortunate was born.

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Do Animals Make Tools?

A well-known German writer on natural history, Wilhelm Boelsche, recently propounded the interesting query as to whether there exist authentic cases of the use of artificial tools, i. e., of special implements to serve special ends, on the part of the lower animals. Herr Boelsche inclines to the belief that instances of such nature do occur, but considers the question still an open one and invites views upon the matter.

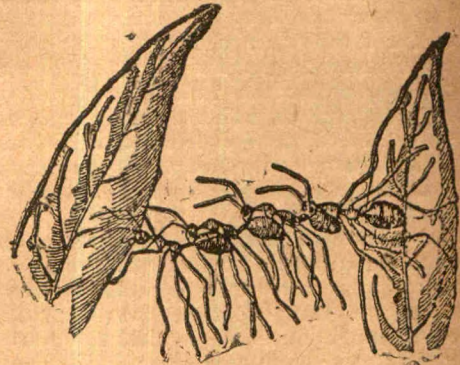
One of the first examples given is quoted from Prof. Franz Doflein of the University of Breslau. He refers to a kind of ant known as the *Oecophylla Smaragdina*. These insects do not build their nests in the ground, but high in the open air, forming them by spinning together the living leaves of bushes and trees. When Doflein tore apart two of the leaves forming such a nest he observed that a line of ants ranged themselves along the edge of one leaf, holding fast to it with all six feet and stretching out their heads until their mandibles were able to lay hold of the edge of the opposite leaf.

Then they slowly and cautiously drew backward, walking carefully backward, one foot behind the other, so that the two leaf-edges, which had been split apart, gradually approached each other. But when the two leaves have been drawn together, the domicile is still imperfect. The edges must be attached to each other, and the workers are unable to accomplish this, since they themselves possess no spinning glands. These barren but resourceful females run to the nursery, tenderly pick up their better equipped infant charges, and rush again to the breach in the walls, and let the babies bind it together once more with the tiny but tenacious threads they spin. Arrived here they clamber about behind the row of ants which hold the edges of the leaves together and move their heads in a curious manner. They hold the larvae firmly between their mandibles, seeming to exert a considerable pressure upon the middle of the body. This pressure may be of considerable significance, since possibly it exerts a stimulus upon the spinning glands.

The workers hold the larvae with the pointed head end of the latter directed upward and to the front and move them continuously backward and forward from one side of the rent in the nest to the other. While doing this they first pause for a little while on the near side of the breach, as if attaching the thread spun by the larva to the edge of the leaf by pressing the larva's head against the leaf edge: they then thrust the head across the split to the edge of the opposite leaf and repeat the same process there. As this continues, one can see the cleft gradually filled in by a fine silky web spun by the larvae. The fact cannot be doubted that the ants are using their young at once as spindles and as weaver's shuttles.

Instances of other animals which might be

cited in this connection, such as the ejection from his funnel-shaped burrow by the antlion of grains of sand which may strike some unhappy insect victim and thus facilitate his descent as earliest forefathers doubtless did, and as small boys do to-day. It has even been noted that the same monkey, or even a whole tribe, will employ the same stone—of a specially fit kind—time after time, until the stone



Ants (*Oecophylla Smaragdina*) Forming a Chain in order to Mend their Nest.

is worn smooth from use, but of course, this cannot be considered the conscious bettering of a useful implement, and never has a monkey been seen, according to Boelsche, to make use of a second stone to improve the shape of the first.

A story is known of a captive chimpanzee in Teneriffe who was accustomed to knock bananas off the bunch with a stick, and which, upon one occasion, when he had been offered a hollow cane for this purpose which proved to be too short, stuck a smaller cane inside and thus achieved his object.



Ants (*Oecophylla Smaragdina*) Mending a Rent in their Nest.

The great black Arara cockatoo of New Guinea, cracks certain extremely hard nuts in a very intelligent manner, first weakening the shell by sawing it with his hard beak and then breaking it. Furthermore, to keep his bill from sliding off the smooth and slippery surface of the nut, the bird wraps a bit of leaf about it to hold it steady while he operates on it.

A kind of woodpecker called "the blacksmith woodpecker," is accustomed to thrust hard pine nuts into holes or crevices in the

trucks or branches of trees, setting them upright so that they are held as by a clamp, thus enabling the bird to extract the seeds with greater ease.

Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose.

The publicity which attended Sir J. C. Bose's visit to England of a few months ago was no doubt to many the first intimation that India had produced an experimenter worthy to rank with the foremost scientists of Europe. His widely noticed lecture at the India Office, with Mr. Balfour in the chair, and the subsequent correspondence in the *Times* (when some of his results were called in question, only to be substantiated by a group of distinguished professors who witnessed a demonstration occasioned by this criticism) came as a surprise to many who believed the Indian mind to have too pronounced a leaning towards metaphysical speculation to assimilate the experimental methods of Western science. From the earliest times to the present day there have been great Indian mathematicians, but the quantitative study of nature has seemed to us in England unlikely to attract Indian thinkers. Sir J. C. Bose has shown, however, that Indians can not only appreciate and apply the modern technique of science, but break fresh ground, and carry out work involving the most refined mechanical appliances, yet informed by a wide, almost poetic, view of nature. In his hands the methods of physics have been made to yield a knowledge of physiological, and even psychical, phenomena which has already won wide recognition, and is likely in the future, as it becomes better known, to be awarded a distinctive place in the history of science.

To the professional physicist Bose's name has been known for twenty-five years. When the early investigations of electromagnetic—or "wireless"—waves were being carried out, Bose, then professor at the Presidency College, produced waves far shorter, far nearer to ordinary light, that is, than any hitherto detected, and carried out with them a large number of experiments to show that the invisible waves have the same properties as light waves. He devised many new instruments and his work was so well received that, when he visited England in 1896, he was invited to give a Friday evening discourse at the Royal Institution. His researches were published by the Royal Society, and were commended on all hands. It was not until his enquiries led him by way of investigations into the nature of various strains, to explore the behaviour of living organisms, that a systematic and ungenerous opposition to his work developed in certain restricted quarters. Bose succeeded in getting metals, which have long been spoken of as "fatigued" when treated in given ways, to imitate by certain responses the

behaviour of muscles, and in "poisoning" the metals by substances which inhibited the response. The extraordinary similarity which could be shown between strain in the living and non-living seemed improper to a few physiologists, who, not very straightforwardly, hereafter discredited Bose's work without being able to disprove its results. The work of the past twenty years, however, has at length established his position firmly, and the somewhat tardy award of the F. R. S. is the final token of the official acceptance of the validity of his views. The work with which his name is most frequently associated—which is perhaps most characteristic of his methods—is that on the response of plants to physical stimuli. His training as a physicist had accustomed him to carrying out accurate measurements, and he applied his great experimental skill to devising instruments which should magnify the small movements of plants, so that the growth in a few seconds could be measured, for instance. His various "crescographs", or growth recorders, have steadily increased in sensitiveness, until in the latest, the magnetic crescograph, we have an instrument which magnifies the movement ten million times. With these devices Bose was able to show that all plants are sensitive plants, only different in degree of irritability from that commonly so named, responding to the slightest change in light, heat, composition of the surrounding air, and other physical influences. He has demonstrated a wonderfully close analogy between the response of plants and animals; has proved the existence in plants of a nervous impulse travelling with a finite velocity, which can be influenced by anaesthetics and poisons; of a death spasm when plants are killed by heat; of a prompt response to rough treatment or "wounds"; and in general, to quote the words of Sir Lauder Brunton, has been able to "show what a marvellous resemblance there is between the reactions of plants and animals." Plants, in fact, have in some respects a wider range of senses than animals, since they respond to "wireless" waves, which, as far as we know, have no effect on animals. A piece of cabbage, on being scalded to death is thrown into violent convulsions, detected by Bose's instruments. Further, in his own words, "the ludicrously unsteady gait of the response of the plant under alcohol could be effectively exploited in a temperance lecture." One is forcibly reminded of the white turnip, brutally done to death by vegetarians, whose fate was recorded and illustrated in *Punch* at the time of the "Brown Dog Riots." A mere mention of the various experiments on the response of plants would take up more space than can be afforded here. They form a magnificent body of research, and, moreover, one which is accessible, in the main, to the lay reader.

Professor Patrick Geddes, in the *Life*, gives a lively and comprehensive account of Bose's researches, from the earliest on electromagnetic

waves to those demonstrated in England at the beginning of this year. He records their reception, pointing out how the physicists from the first have acknowledged their merit, while a certain limited school of physiologists, irritated perhaps that one not of their number by training should make advances in their subject, have done all they could to discredit the work and hinder its publication by the Royal Society. He is able, in the light of the present, to note this, and the way in which the well-meaning efforts of the India Office and the Government were "effectively delayed by departmental cogwheels," without bitterness. The story of Bose's life makes excellent reading. An idealist and an altruist, as appears from his actions, his great object has been to secure recognition for Indian intellect, and the foundation of the Bose Institute has crowned his efforts. Professor Geddes' sympathetic study does not err into over-eulogy, nor is he too scornful of the conservatism which

had to be overcome. He gives us the plain story of an inspiring life, which the novelty of the scientific results described and the unique character of Bose's career combine to make fascinating.

The *Life Movements of Plants*, which is in effect a volume of the *Transactions* of the Bose Institute, contains papers giving the details of many of the experimental researches on plants mentioned in the *Life*. The solution of the mystery of the "Praying Palm of Faridpur" (which has its parallel in a willow-tree in England recorded, in 1811, as prostrating itself at regular intervals) is one of the most sensational of the papers, but all the others are original and interesting. The high-magnification crescograph is described in detail, and those who want to study or criticise the work can be referred to this convenient collection of papers. A further volume is expected.

—The London Mercury.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Bamboo Paper Pulp.

I read with interest your abstract on Bamboo Paper Pulp in your esteemed periodical of August issue.

It is really astonishing that our Indian brethren are not looking into the matter with any seriousness although the scarcity of paper and its necessity are daily increasing with the progress of education.

We heartily congratulate the Hon'ble Sir A.K.A.S. Jamal, Kt., C.I.E., the philanthropist and industrialist of Burma, for establishing a Pulp and Paper Mill along with the Caustic Soda Factory in Burma.

I hope my countrymen will be glad to know that this Bamboo Pulp which was so long confined within the four walls of the laboratory is being manufactured on a commercial basis by Messrs. Jamal Brothers & Co. Ltd., of Rangoon,

under the supervision of their Paper Expert K. Saikia, Esq., B.A. of Assam and it is really pleasing to see that some Bengali gentlemen are also working hand in hand for the industrial development of their country.

A BENGALI.

"The Diamond and Its Tragic Story"

In the Modern Review for August, 1920, we are told in the above article on page 165, that Aurangzeb-i-Alamgir "killed his three brothers and imprisoned his father" for the Kohinoor Diamond. This is a mistake. There might have been other reasons for his crime, and the possession of the Diamond, at least, was not the motive of his actions.

K. A. A. JAMIL.

Student, Mission College, Peshawar.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Dr. Fisher on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

On 26th June, 1920, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore addressed a gathering of Indian students and others at the Indian Students' Hostel in London. The chair was occupied by the Right Honourable H. A. L. Fisher, who, in introducing Dr. Tagore,

said, in part, as reported in *Young Men of India* :

"Dr. Rabindranath Tagore needs no introduction. We honour him and respect his genius in this country as his genius is honoured and respected in Bengal and throughout India.

"Dr. Tagore bears a name which for many generations has been famous in the annals of

Bengal. His family has been a long-rooted one in that province and has enjoyed a quite unique and singular distinction for its intellectual energies. But I venture to think that through the whole history of Bengal there has never been a man who has combined within his own person so many aspects of literary genius.

"I had the pleasure some years ago when I was in Calcutta of listening to one of Dr. Tagore's works, 'Gitanjali', sung to me in its original Bengali by an Indian lady, and I can appreciate the charm and beauty of it in the unknown original. But what is singular in the history of literature is the fact that this body of poetry written in Bengali and written to be sung, should have been translated into a Western language by the author and translated with such grace, such elegance, such an instinct for the niceties and delicacies of English, that the translations rank as authentic contributions to Western literature.

"As Minister of Education for this country I also welcome Dr. Tagore as one of my collaborators. He has not only contributed to the literary and artistic work of his own people but he is the founder of a school and has introduced into Indian schools methods which I believe prove to be eminently fruitful.

"We often attempt to dwell upon the rivalries and differences which divide race from race and civilization from civilization; but after all what really matter are the things of the human spirit, and from Dr. Tagore we have had a body of literature emanating from an Indian mind, impregnated with the genius of India, but equally acceptable to us who are Westerners.

"I welcome Dr. Tagore as a man who has brought great honour to his own country and to his own countrymen; who has made the Western world feel what potentialities for service to humanity are to be found in the distant plains of India."

Dr. Tagore on a Centre of Indigenous Culture in India.

The same magazine gives the following summary of Dr. Tagore's address :—

Dr. Tagore's address was an appeal for the creation of a centre of indigenous culture in India. He was frankly critical of the type of university that has been created in India, pointing out that the Western university is an organic part of European civilization, and cannot be transported whole to India, like so many goods. The solid completeness of some of the new Indian universities was like a hard-boiled egg from which no chicken could be hatched. To strive after a material completeness which did not belong to the essence of a university, was to squander money on mere money-bags. Europe had not yet discovered the golden mean; how to become simple without becoming poorer was

the problem she had still to solve. But India also was to blame for her acceptance of an alien culture which she could not wholly assimilate. This education was a chariot which they dragged behind them instead of riding in it. In their eagerness for an up-to-date education, they forgot that education ought to lead beyond the present date. British culture, like that of India, had its superstitions: it had its early Victorian, its mid-Victorian periods and its post-Victorian periods. But it was always moving; whereas the Indian was too often content to accept it at a given point as static and complete. The Indian student was required moreover to absorb this body of culture through the medium of foreign language, which excluded from the benefits of higher education that considerable number of people who were deficient in the power of learning English. The use of English text-books by students unskilled in the niceties of the language encouraged cramming and memory-work; it resulted in this paradox, that while the heaviest punishment was meted out to the student who carried the text-book in his pocket to the examination hall, the reward went to the youth who carried the whole book parrot-wise in his head. He recognized the difficulties presented by the many vernaculars of India, but pointed out that European cultures had had their own difficulties to overcome, and that every true civilization is built upon the bed-rock of difficulties. There was a time when European culture, still in the bud, was concentrated, so to speak, in a point—the Latin language; only when the petals of its distinct vernaculars unfolded was the beauty of the full flower revealed. And so it would be with Indian culture when her vernacular literature and her characteristic are revived. Finally he appealed for the establishment of a new type of Indian university, which should revive the splendid memories of Taxila and Nalanda, where students flocked from the four corners of Asia—a university which should be racy of the soil, which should be self-supporting in the sense that it maintained its own life by the work of its own hands; students and teachers sharing in a common life, contributing to the life of the surrounding villages and to the solution of India's problems as they present themselves in the neighbourhood, building their spiritual life on the foundation of India's great past, and welcoming, as on the white carpet of Akbar, the spiritual contributions of every culture in the world.

Dr. Fisher's Comments on Dr. Tagore's Address.

After the address by Dr. Tagore a vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. Fisher, who said :—

"Dr. Tagore has pleaded for a greater ori-

ginality, a greater and closer cohesion of the Indian genius and development of the educational institutions of his country. I feel certain that there is no student or lover of education who will not feel that he has preached a sound doctrine.

Incidentally Dr. Fisher referred in highly appreciative and eulogistic terms to Sir J. C. Bose.

"As I listened to Dr. Tagore I could not help thinking of an occasion, only a month ago, when I had the great pleasure of presiding over a lecture given in London by another eminent citizen of Calcutta. I had the pleasure of presiding over a lecture given by Sir J. C. Bose upon 'The Sensitive Impulses in Plants.' Sir J. C. Bose has just received the honour of election to the Royal Society of this country; and as I listened to that great Indian man of science, expanding his own original discoveries, illustrated by his own delicate, subtle experiments, I could not help feeling that here at least was an example of the assimilation of all that was best in Western knowledge and Western culture, by a powerful and original Indian mind.

That led him to suggest that

"There are great spheres of intellectual activity, and I am more particularly thinking of the sphere of natural science and of the exact sciences in general, in respect of which the language, the medium of expression, is a matter of no great importance. It is very convenient to have a language that is widely known, in which there are a large number of scientific terms the same the world over. It would be a great convenience if we could abolish English, French, German and the other languages and have one common language for this purpose.

• Dr. Fisher then passed on to consider the claims of the vernaculars and any other wider-spread language.

"There are other varieties of culture—history, the fine arts—in which it is very perilous to dissociate yourself from the traditions of your country.

"In the course of the address to which we have listened, Dr. Tagore reminded us that there was a period in European history when there was one common language in Europe—when Latin was used as the vehicle of expression, not only in the universities but in the monasteries and in ordinary life, and he described how the monopoly of Latin was gradually broken down by the rushing upwards of the vernacular languages and the vernacular literature, and he suggested that we should shortly witness such a development of the vernacular in India.

"As I was listening to that, there came to my mind the famous treatise by the Italian poet Dante, written in prose. In this treatise this great Florentine of the 13th Century ar-

gues the case for the use of the vernacular, making language the medium of the finest literature and the highest forms of human expression. And after all, what was it that spread the use of the vernacular in Europe? The fight against Latin was due to one cause and to one cause only. It was due to the emergence, in every part of Europe, of men of genius, men of originality who could develop the vernacular language and write poetry and prose of distinction in the vernacular, and it won on its own merits. I venture to say that if the languages of India are to play a great part, it must be due to the development of great modern literature, written by men like our friend Dr. Tagore, in the vernacular, to appeal to the aspirations and the sentiments of India today."

In conclusion he reverted to Dr. Tagore's address, observing :

"I do very earnestly feel that the criticisms which Dr. Tagore has passed on much of Indian education are thoroughly grounded in fact. Everybody wants to see greater reality, greater spontaneity, greater originality, in the seats of Indian learning. I believe as a matter of fact that the picture is not quite so dark as Dr. Tagore has painted it for us to-day, and that I can parallel from my experience of our own English schools some of the stories, some of the experience, which he invites us to believe are weaknesses peculiar to the Indian system. I have known little English boys who have made mistakes quite as bad, quite as foolish, as the little fellow whom Dr. Tagore alluded. We are not all of us very original, and much that Dr. Tagore said can also be said of the education which is given in this country.

"Let me repeat that it has been an intellectual treat to us all. His stay in England is all too short."

After the War.

An article in the *Arya* for the month of August under this title after commenting on the disappointment of the hopes and great ideals promised during the war proceeds—

The survival of old principles and conditions is still not the important matter. However great their appearance of outward and material strength, inwardly they are sick, weakened and have forfeited the promise of the future: all their intellectual and moral hold is gone and with that disappearance there is evident a notable failing of their practical effectuating wisdom and of their sustaining self-confidenceand whether they seek to perpetuate themselves by a violent insistence on their own principle or haggle and compromise with the quite opposite principles that are destined to

replace them, each step they take brings them nearer to their ending. It is more fruitful to regard rather the new things that are not yet in possession of the present but already struggling to assert themselves against its ponderous and effective but ephemeral pressure.

The writer holds that the two great questions of the future are the struggle between Capital and Labour and the Asiatic resurgence.

The modern contest between Capital and Labour has entered into a new phase and the two incurably antagonistic principles are evidently moving in spite of many hesitations and indecisions towards the final and decisive battle. In Asia the issue has already been joined between the old rule of dependency and protectorate with their new particoloured variation, the mandate and the clear claim of the Asiatic peoples to equality and independence. All other things still in the forefront belong to the prolongation of the surviving or else to the liquidation of the dead past: these two alone are living questions of the immediate future.....

The forces of Socialism and Capitalism now look each other in the face all over Europe.....

There is undoubtedly almost everywhere a temporary stiffening and concentration of the old regime; this as a phenomenon very much resembles the similar stiffening and concentration of the old monarchic and aristocratic regime that was the first result of the war between revolutionary France and Europe; but it has less reality of force and little chance of an equal duration; for the current of revolution is now only checked and not as then temporarily fatigued and exhausted, and the accumulated rush of the ideas and forces that make for change is in our day immeasurably greater. The materials of an immense political, social and economic overturn, perhaps of a series of formidable explosions strengthened in force by each check and compression, everywhere visibly accumulate.

He then speaks of the Russian Revolution and considers its significance to be

this fundamental fact affecting future possibilities that a great nation marked out as one of the coming leaders of humanity has taken a bold leap into the hidden gulfs of the future, abolished the past foundations, made and persisted in a radical experiment of communism, replaced middle class parliamentarism by a new form of government and used its first energy of free life to initiate an entirely novel social order. It is acts of faith and audacities of this scale that change or hasten the course of human progress. It does not follow necessarily that what is being attempted now is the desirable or the definite form of the future society, but it is a certain sign that a phase of civilisation is beginning to pass

and the Time Spirit preparing a new phase and a new order.

The general situation is thus characterised.

The Labour movement is everywhere completing its transformation from a reformist into a socialistic and therefore necessarily in spite of present hesitations a revolutionary type. The struggle of Labour for a better social status and a share in the government has grown obsolete: the accepted ideal is now the abolition of the capitalistic structure of society and the substitution of labour for wealth as the social basis and the governing power.....

The existing European system of civilisation at least in its figure of capitalistic industrialism has reached its own monstrous limits, broken itself by its own mass and is condemned to perish. The issue of the future lies between a labour industrialism not very different except in organisation from its predecessor, some greater spirit and form of socialistic or communistic society such as is being attempted in Russia or else the emergence of a new and as yet unforeseen principle.

After commenting at length on the Asiatic resurgence and its political and cultural significance the article closes with an estimate of the relation of the European and the Asiatic movement to each other.

The two forces that are arising to possess the future represent two great things, the intellectual idealism of Europe and the soul of Asia. The mind of Europe laboured by Hellenism and Christianity and enlarging its horizons by free thought and science has arrived at an idea of human perfectibility or progress expressed in the terms of an intellectual, material and vital freedom, equality and unity of close association, an active fraternity or comradeship in thought and feeling and labour. The difficulty is to make of the component parts of this idea a combined and real reality in practice and the effort of European progress has been a labour to discover and set up a social machinery that shall automatically turn out this production..... It is only if men can be made free, equal and united in spirit that there can be a secure freedom, equality and brotherhood in their life.....

This can come only by a spiritual change, and the intellect of Europe is beginning to see that the spiritual change is at least a necessity...

Asia has made no such great endeavour, no such travail of social effort and progress. Order, a secure ethical and religious framework, a settled economical system, a natural becoming fatally a conventional and artificial hierarchy have been her ordinary methods, everywhere indeed where she reached a high development of culture. These things she founded

on her religious sense and sweetened and made tolerable by a strong communal feeling, a living humanity and sympathy and certain accesses to a human equality and closeness. Her supreme effort was to discover not an external but a spiritual and inner freedom and that carried with it a great realisation of spirituality and oneness. This spiritual travail was not universalised nor any endeavour made to shape the whole of human life in its image. The result was a disparateness between the highest inner individual and the outward social life, in India the increasing ascetic exodus of the best who lived in the spirit out of the secure but too narrow walls of the ordinary existence and the sterilising idea that the greatest universal truth of spirit discovered by life could yet not be the spirit of that life and is only realisable outside it. But now Asia enduring the powerful pressure of Europe is being forced to face the life problem again under the necessity of another and a more active solution.....The closer meeting of these two halves of the mind of humanity may set up a more powerful connection between the two poles of our being and realise some sufficient equation of the highest ideals of each, the inner and the outer freedom, the inner and the outer equality, the inner and the outer unity. That is the largest hope that can be formed on present data and circumstance for the human future.

Decrease of Cattle in Bombay Presidency.

The *Indian Humanitarian* calls attention to the appalling extent of the loss in agricultural and milch-cattle that is annually taking place in this country, as vividly brought out in the report of the Cattle Census taken in the Bombay Presidency in 1919-20.

No more terrible fact, from the point of view of the economic prosperity of this country, can be found than that to-day the Bombay Presidency finds itself in an actually poorer condition in point of its cattle-wealth of all kinds than it was quarter of a century ago! Taking the Presidency proper, as the figures for Sind for the year 1895-96 are not available, we find that the total number of cattle, inclusive of horses, sheep and goats, which amounted to 12,029,000 in 1895-96 declined to 10,836,000, by the year 1919-20. The Press Note of the Government of Bombay on the Census Report would give one the impression that in the official view this serious loss in cattle is due entirely to the ravages of the famines in recent years and especially of the fodder famine of 1918-1919. That this is not a wholly correct view and that a large portion of the loss is due to the indiscriminate and steadily increasing slaughter of cattle that is proceeding in this Presidency, will

be apparent to any one who casts his eyes on the figures of cattle slaughter in the principal towns of the Presidency. According to the municipal administration reports of the City of Bombay, the annual total of animals slaughtered has increased during the last five years as follows :—

7,16,713 (1914-15) ; 7,45,149 (1915-16) ;
8,64,627 (1916-17) ; 8,77,669 (1917-18) ;
9,90,024 (1918-19).

The correct figure for the year 1919-20 is not yet available, but considering the facts that as many as 967,870 were slaughtered in the principal slaughterhouse at Bandra and that on an average about 50,000 are slaughtered every year in the other slaughterhouses in the City, a million and a quarter would be no exaggerated estimate of the number of animals slaughtered in the whole of Bombay in 1919-20, that is to say, an increase of over three lakhs in the course of the last six years!

A Much Neglected Fibre.

India produces a large number of fibrous plants, and most of them can be put to some economical use or other. *Commerce and Industries* writes that—

Of all these fibrous plants there is perhaps none so common and yet so much neglected as the swallow-wort, botanically known as *calotropis gigantea*. The seed floss of this plant has long been known to the trade as "kapok", which is a *Malayan* word for the silk-cotton used for filling pillows, cushions and upholstery of every kind. Long before the war the German textile manufacturers in their quest for cotton substitutes hit upon this product, and since then the price of this substance has been mounting up steadily in the foreign markets. In India for a long time the people knew some of the uses this was put to, but it was a revelation to many when they were told that the resourceful German had discovered a method of treating it to make it spinnable. The yarn obtained was described as having a peculiarly soft, silky feeling, and it was with a view to have a good supply of "kapok" for themselves that the cultivation of this shrub was introduced into German East Africa and New Guinea. With the outbreak of the war, some interesting experiments were also made in England regarding the use of "kapok" as filling material for life-belts, waist-coats and other life-saving appliances. These experiments showed that, in addition to the seed floss of this plant, its stem fibre could also be profitably used. This stem fibre resembles European flax and has remarkable resistant properties, an experiment with a three-strand one-eighth inch cord having stood a strain of 552 lbs.

This was found to be the strongest fibre obtainable from any plant on this side of South India. Take for instance the case of one of the well-known fibres of South India, the coconut fibre. This breaks under three-hundred pounds, and the aloe fibre which comes next in rank breaks under three-hundred and fifty pounds. There is thus clear proof that the "kapok" fibre is the strongest of all. For this reason alone this plant fibre ought to fetch a very good price in the European market, if only a steady and continuous supply could be guaranteed. Another advantage this plant has over other fibrous plants and trees is that there is absolutely no difficulty in getting the fibre out of its stem. Only you will have to peel away the bark and it is so full of fibre that all you have to do is to tear it into small, thin strips.

The medicinal uses of this plant are described in *Indian Medicinal Plants*, part I, pp. 810-12. Its Sanskrit name is *arka*; Hindi, *madar*, *akond*; Bengali, *akanda*, *swet-akanda*; Nepali, *auk*; Gujarati, *akado*, *dhola akdo*; Tamil, *erukka*; Telugu, *yekka*; &c.

It seems a pity that such a useful plant is thus cruelly neglected by the Indian cultivator and the Indian industrialist. As regards cultivation, all that need be said is that it requires no systematic cultivation. It is quite an accommodating shrub in the tropics; in that it grows wild in any soil and in any weather. No attention need be paid to it when once it is made to grow. All that it requires is plenty of light, and this is assured for it in the tropics. It would almost seem as if Nature has made provisions for man's probable neglect of this plant, for the seeds of this plant have been provided with wings by which they are blown about by the wind. This accounts, in spite of the indifference with which it is treated, for the plant being seen to grow abundantly all over the country in a shelter-skelter fashion.

Once upon a time this plant had a status of its own among the fibre-yielding plants and trees of India. Through sheer indifference and continued neglect it has today been relegated to a place of absolute insignificance by the people of the country; while the people of the West, having discovered its many economic uses, are trying all possible means to get all the wealth out of it.

Intellectual Effort in Contemporary India.

The writer of "The World of Culture" section in the *Collegian* notices the fact that

In India to-day at least two branches of

learning bid fair to achieve permanent conquests. Of these the more popular one seems to be archaeology or the study of antiquities generally. The next in chronological order but by no means second in importance is positive science. Although biology and the allied sciences do not appear to have made an effective advance, mathematics, physics and chemistry—all of the highest grade—have come to stay.

The really noteworthy feature in the present state of Indian intellect is twofold. First—Young India has begun consciously to contribute to the conquest of new realms in each of these sciences by original investigations of the first rate. Its claims as an active partner and helpful member of the republic of world-culture are thus being automatically established. Secondly, and what is possible of greater significance so far as India's national evolution is concerned, these pioneering investigations are not confined to one or two giants or to a few high-brow demi-gods, as might have been the case, say, about a decade ago, but are broad-based on the independent and small but persistent activity of a daily increasing number of seekers of truth. It is this new democracy of Indian cooperative research that is arresting the special attention of the European and American learned societies as a potent young Asian force harnessed in the interest of science-progress.

The writer omits to mention the creation of almost a new branch of science by Sir J. C. Bose. And he is not now working single-handed, as at first, but has some young disciples to follow in his footsteps.

Our own knowledge of what young India is doing in the realm of philosophy is very limited; but it seems the writer is right when he says:—

We could hardly mention one great Hindu or Mussalman name in the last three generations of scholarship that is associated in a creative way with any of the schools and problems of psychology, theory of knowledge, or methodology. It is not too much to say that today the entire Indian intellect is absolutely bankrupt in the world of higher philosophical speculation, although the exploitation of ancient mysticism for current politics is a palpably noticeable feature of the times.

With regard to the paucity of historical scholarship, he observes in part:

In historical fields the brain of India is as barren as in the philosophical. The world has a right to demand that Indian scholars should be competent enough to attack the problems of Latin-American, Russian, Italian, or Japanese history with as great enthusiasm as Western students employ in the study of Oriental lore. Indians must get used to discussing Europe and

America with as much confidence as Europeans and Americans in lecturing and writing on Asia. Not until such an all-grasping world-view, a bold man-to-man individualistic understanding of things, a self-conscious attitude in regard to the events of the human world, an humanistic approach to the problems of race-development is ingrained in our mentality can we expect to see a real historical school grow up in Young India's intellectual milieu.

Even in regard to the problems of indology it were good to admit frankly that although India is co-operating with the West in producing first class archaeology, of real history we have virtually nothing. History begins where archaeology ends.

He dwells upon our shallowness in political science, and remarks :

Probably the weakest item in the present life of Indian intellect, especially of that of the Bengali *intelligentsia*, is a weak-kneed cowardice before facts and figures of the economic worldthe fact remains that currency, finance, railway, land-tenure, prices, and statistics are still unreal terms or abstract entities in the consciousness of Young India.

Some of our weaknesses in politics and economics can be successfully combatted if a batch of our best post-graduate students get a chance to live in the different intellectual centres of the world with a view to carrying on researches in regard to the agricultural banks of Japan, the tariff problem of the United States, the French and Italian schemes of colonization, the international loans of Turkey and China, local government in England, the Hague tribunals, the foreign trade of Argentina, the war finance of the late German Empire, and the industries of the new Russia.

The need of cultivating philology, anthropology and sociology are dwelt upon, and it is pointed out that the chief requisite for a science of language is the comparative study of several non-Aryan languages together with that of the Aryan groups. Two such languages are Arabic and Chinese.

A school of philology worthy the name cannot evolve in India unless the Sanskritist (and Parsianist) possesses command also over Arabic and Chinese, or the Arabist can handle with ease the Chinese and Sanskrit (and Persian) languages. Sanskrit, Arabic, and Chinese, this *trio* must have to be treated as an inseparable group by the rising linguists of India.

The social value of this scientific *trivium* can hardly be over-estimated. The Hindu-Moslem unity, of which we hear so much these days, can be founded only on such a synthetic ground-work of conscious cultural *rapprochement*. Sanskrit-knowing Hindus must

now have to learn Arabic, and Arabic-knowing Musalmans must have to be proficient in Sanskrit. And since Chinese is partly also the language of Islam in the Far East, no proper appraisal of Moslem civilization is possible to a student who is unfamiliar with that language.

Why should not the Hindu University of Benares start this new movement in Indo-Islamic expansion ?

An Achievement of Indian Womanhood.

The Collegian notes with pleasure and pride that

Women prominent in American public life are beginning to take interest in the Indian Women's University of Poona owing to the presence in New York City of Mrs. Parvatibai Athavale, whose services in the building up of the institution are eloquently described in a Hindi pamphlet by its founder, Professor D. K. Karve. It is well known that Parvatibai used to collect Rs. 3,000 a year by village to village travels and lecture tours,—an achievement of which not only any man in India but also any woman in the world might well be proud. Although she did not know how to read and write until her twenty-fifth year she has educated herself enough to be able to address audiences in two languages, Marathi and Hindi, and has successfully carried her social and educational message as far as Gujrat and the United Provinces as well as in Telugu and Kanarese speaking districts of Southern India. Parvatibai's self-sacrifice, organizing ability and spirit of adventure have raised Indian womanhood in the estimation of the world. Some American women lecturers are giving her lessons in English language and elocution.

Parvatibai is engaged in studying institutions and otherwise enriching her experience for a fresh period of activity at home. Indian women should see to it that this perhaps the greatest representative of their sex be provided with facilities for at least one year's residence in the United States.

People's Schools in Denmark.

Promoters of the working men's schools in India, says *The Collegian*, will be interested to learn that in Denmark the government contributes 100 dollars (more than Rs. 300) per head to every farmer boy and girl to be spent by him or her on a five month course in history, economics, civics, etc.

This stipend is granted to each individual at the eighteenth year, i. e., four years after the free compulsory schooling stage. But the schools which offer the necessary lessons in

citizenship are not under government control. The number of these institutions is 70 and the students on their rolls are estimated at about 10,000. It should be borne in mind that the total population of Denmark is only three millions which thus approximates to the human strength of a fairly large-sized district area of India. Boys attend in winter, and girls in summer. The system has been in vogue since 1864. Information may be obtained from Peter Maniche (Address: Svane-mose-gaards-vej 112, Copenhagen) who is at present contemplating the establishment of an International People's College. The teaching staff of the proposed institution is to consist of Englishmen, Danes and Germans. Efforts are being made to attract students from among the working classes of all nations.

Commercial Education and Economic Progress.

Prof. P. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D., thus concludes his article on the principles of commercial education in the *Indian Review* :

Indian education received a specific mould from the theories held consciously or unconsciously by the pioneers of English education in India. It is undeniable that the education imparted by the Indian Universities served a useful purpose. But, new times necessitate new methods, and educational theory must be adjusted to commercial practice, political growth, and social progress. We must take stock of our intellectual resources, and apply the lessons yielded by the modern sociological tendency in education, to Indian educational problems. The growth of municipalities; the problems of the Indian Budget; the complexities of the labour problem; the intricacies of Indian Currency; and the enunciation of the principles of Indian Tariff policy, these are some of the problems which India will have to face. We cannot succeed, our industry cannot grow, unless efforts are directed towards the solution of these problems; unless commerce is studied as a science, and its problems investigated in a spirit of truth. The work of the Historical School of Political Economy in Germany, the researches of numerous professors of Political Economy in America and the inquiries of the lecturers and professors of the London school of Economics show the intimate connection between commercial education and economic progress. Can India take a lesson from the progress of Economic studies in Europe? Upon the answer to this question will depend the economic progress of the country.

Methods of Computing National Wealth and Income.

Under the above caption Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., describes the methods of estimating national capital in the *Wealth of India*. These may be enumerated as below :

THE CENSUS METHOD.

The Census Method has been followed in Australia and is based upon a statement taken from each individual resident declaring the whole of his wealth and income. "It has the disadvantage, of course, that individuals may have very different ideas of capitalising their income or of estimating market values and that some may be afraid of the use of the census for taxation purposes and there may be omissions to make the return. In any case additions have to be made for collective wealth. But it is the only method which enables direct co-relation between wealth and income to be examined."

THE INVENTORY METHOD.

The next simple method is the Inventory Method which aims at a valuation in the aggregate of each form in which wealth is embodied without regard to the ownership by individuals, companies, etc.

METHODS BASED ON DATA OF TAXATION OF INCOMES AND CAPITAL.

The other methods of estimating wealth are either based on data arising through taxation of incomes or based on data arising through taxation of capital either annually or at irregular periods.

METHODS OF DETERMINING NATIONAL INCOME.

The chief methods of determining national income follow to some extent similar lines. They are based upon statistics of income taxation, on the occupational census method, on the computation of the average yield upon different classes of capital and on the *net output* or census of production method. The net output is the gross output (selling value) less the cost of materials used.

Such estimates have many uses among which the writer mentions the following :

(1) Tests of progress by way of comparison between different years; tests of distribution of wealth according to its form.

(2) Tests of the relative prosperity of resources of different nations or communities, either as a whole or per head of the population and in relation to their national debts.

(3) Comparisons of income with capital and property.

(4) Considerations of distribution of wealth according to individual fortunes and changes in that distribution.

(5) Considerations of the applicability and yield of schemes of taxation, e.g., the capital levy.

(6) Questions relating to war indemnities.

Of these the 2nd, 5th and 6th are most important at present.

The Hindu Policy of Non-annexation.

According to Prof. Bal Krishna, in the *Vedic Magazine*,

One thing which prominently strikes every reader of Hindu law-books is that they emphatically advocate conquering expeditions *but not subjugation* or annihilation of the independent existence of the defeated state by the act of annexing it after conquest. Even the weakening of the power of the vanquished head of the state by the annexation of a part of the conquered territory is prohibited. The imprisoned, expelled or vanquished ruler suing for mercy ought to be re-established on his throne; if, however, the head of the vanquished state has been slain in the war, the territory is to be *restored* to one of the *elected princes* of the ruling dynasty.

The texts directly bearing on the subject are met with in the codes of Manu and Vishnu, which the professor quotes.

Manu.—In case the king of the conquered country has been slain in the war, the conqueror should first summarily *know the wishes of all the citizens* of that vanquished state and *then place the chosen scion* of the royal family upon the vacant throne. After his installation he should conclude a treaty of peace with the new king and his ministers, imposing conditions that such and such obligations shall be fulfilled and such acts shall be avoided by them. But, according to *Medhatithi*, the treaty of peace may take the form of what in modern Indian history is known the *System of Subsidiary Treaties*—that so much tribute and so much army shall be supplied by the defeated state to the victor.

Vishnu.—‘A king having conquered the capital of his foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity. Let him not extirpate the royal race, unless it be of ignoble descent.’

That virtuous kings were always satisfied with the glory of their conquests and the obedience of the conquered, but did not hanker after wealth like greedy kings, or after wealth and territory like rulers of demoniac nature, has been very clearly brought out in the *Shanti Parva* and the *Arthashastra*. The words of Bhishma and Chanakya are almost identical.

German Resourcefulness.

We learn from the *Mysore Economic Journal* that

A firm of importers of German goods, *via* Holland, displayed at their offices in the Strand last evening a range of suiting sent from Germany on ‘appro’, which may be sold in this country, made up and ready to wear, at from half-a-crown to 10s. 6d. per suit. These suits ‘ready-made’ are manufactured, of paper and are cut to English style. One thousand of them can be forward f. o. b. for £120 and these are “of the very best class of paper texture.” Other samples permit English retailers to make anything 200 to 300 per cent profit. Certain samples of the completed suits were permitted to pass the Customs at the declared value of 10d. per article. The firm of agents dealing with these German goods declare that under the system of buying the German paper suitings at the present rate of exchange it would be possible for an Englishman to be ‘comfortably dressed’ in a new suit once a week and the entire cost would be less over a period of two months than for the single West-end suit, cut and style thrown in.

On What Good Health Depends.

It is a commonplace that health is a priceless treasure, but one which is very lightly esteemed by all except those who have forfeited it. *Health and Happiness* is right in pointing out that good health is the only foundation for real efficiency, either of the body or the mind, and anything which impairs the health of the body lowers the standard, not only of physical, but also of intellectual and moral worth and unfits the individual for the lightest forms of service. The same journal briefly describes how good health can be maintained.

Good health depends upon good food, proper exercise, fresh air, cleanliness and hygiene—proper dress and the protection of one's body and a clear and active mind. These things often do not cost us much. If you sleep with your doors and windows closed, nobody can help you in respect of fresh air. If you do not play in the evening, or if you neglect to take any exercise in the morning, it is impossible for you to expect good health. Cleanliness which we often call as next to godliness, is often disregarded by us through sheer negligence. Exercise and fresh air are free to all. If we do not obtain them, we have none to blame but ourselves. Even the busy man cannot afford to neglect them. Good food is not a luxury but

a necessity. The whole manhood of our nation is going to be decimated through want of nutritious food. Our poverty, no one forgets, has much to do for it. But a proper discrimination can help us to a great length. Hygiene, cleanliness, the care of the mouth and teeth, the care of the eyes, the hair, the skin and the bowels, are the privilege of all. Carelessness in regard to hygiene is inexcusable. Improper dress and insufficient protection of the body from atmospheric conditions is more the result of negligence than of poverty.

It depends upon you largely if you are to be physically fit or weak. Your future is in the palm of your hand. If you like you can mend it or mar it. You are to decide whether you will live a full, rich, productive life, or one impoverished of happiness and accomplishments.

The Educational Outlook in India.

Sir M. E. Sadler describes in *Indian Education* the many encouraging signs in English education at the present time.

Never before has there been such a demand for admission to secondary schools and universities. The desire for educational opportunity is beyond precedent. Secondly, the study of psychology is giving new life to professional training in educational methods. The old routine is being undermined. A new point of view is being introduced. Thirdly, there is an increasingly active interest in the corporate life of schools and colleges. Life in residential colleges is desired by a very large number of students. In the fourth place, the artistic side of education is more fully appreciated. The love of music is growing rapidly. The drama appeals to a larger number of young people than was the case a generation ago. There is a strong and growing interest in painting and in other branches of art. Creative ability is shewing itself in unexpected places and upon a considerable scale. Schools and colleges are responding to this new demand. Lastly, on the part of the public there is an increasing interest in methods of education and in educational aims.

He also notes that "English educational thought is vigorous. Its strong tendency is towards the encouragement of individuality in a healthy corporate life." The circumstances which are embarrassing have also been mentioned.

Road Building in China.

We read in the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* :—

"Building roads is one of the hardest jobs ahead

of China," writes Mr. Everad Thompson, investigating trade conditions in the Far East. "In much of the great coastal strip of that Republic it is next to impossible to get stone for the foundation and top-dressing of roads. For hundreds of miles the traveller encounters nothing but flat, alluvial plains where no rocks are obtainable and not even pebbles big enough to throw at a 'work' dog."

Then the "spirits" are a great hindrance.

These probably cause more trouble to the road builder or developer of property near the large cities than any one other thing. The Chinese worship the spirits of their ancestors or at least give them a great deal of thought. The spirits in turn strongly influence the lives of the living Chinese relatives. Now it is one of the first principles of a Chinese spirit that it doesn't want its resting place disturbed and the burden of this desire is on the living descendants. Someone has said that Chinese graves occupy one-twentieth of the whole area of China. This percentage may be a bit too high but it is true that a Chinese landscape even in the best farming districts, resembles a bunker filled golf course. The Chinaman has through the centuries buried his dead in the fields apparently wherever an opportunity presented itself. The graves are in no set order, nor are they gathered into lots or cemeteries as in most countries.

The Chinese do not bury their dead. The coffin is simply placed on the ground in the open field and earth heaped over it until the mound reaches a height of five feet or so, in ordinary cases. The grave is cone-shaped. So numerous are these grave-cones that they often touch at the base and cover miles of territory. They hamper farming very seriously and decrease the tillable land area, for it is not good form to cultivate a Chinese grave. It might disturb the peace of the departed with disastrous results to the living.

Thus the biggest problem in road-building is to get the right-of-way in a more or less straight line from point to point. Then comes the job of moving the Chinese graves for it is impossible to get anywhere in a straight line, for any distance in China, without running into hundreds of graves. These graves do not come in the purchase or lease price of the land itself, but each grave must be bargained for with the relatives, the ordinary price being a hundred dollars or thereabouts. All the living relatives have a say in the deal and the purchaser must re-establish the bones at some mutually agreed place.

Naturally, some odd situations result in this sort of dealing, one of which is described below :—

A contractor in one case made satisfactory financial arrangements with the departed's relatives with one exception, a very positive old lady who thought she hadn't had sufficient consideration. She therefore made an active personal and physical protest even after the grave had been removed. Every morning when the workmen appeared they found the old lady camped on the coffin site supplied with a lunch basket well filled and the inevitable cigarettes, for Chinese women are inveterate smokers. She made herself comfortable and for three days clogged the wheels of progress. She left with the laborers and

when they arrived in the morning she was on the job ahead of them.

Argument with her was unavailing but one day the exasperated foreman said to the human barrier: "All right, if you like that grave so well you may have it for the rest of your life!" and then told his men to brick her in. The walls of her narrow tomb were up two feet and the tiled roof was going on before the old lady capitulated and the road went on.

Incidents of this character typify the difficulties

actually encountered by persons courageous enough to tackle the job of road building in China. But the modern element in the Chinese race is awakening to the vast possibilities ahead of this richly endowed country. Thus it is inevitable that better roads will one day become the slogan of a new China. When that time comes China will make use of her untold wealth and take her place as one of the most powerful nations of the World.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Poet Rabindranath Tagore's Message concerning Amritsar.

The message which the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, sent to the Press concerning Amritsar, deprecating the setting up of a stone memorial to perpetuate the remembrance of the Massacre and pleading for the spirit of the Buddha who preached forgiveness and universal love, has been circulated in every country of the world as a signal instance of the spirit of India in contrast to the spirit of imperialism and militarism. The following translation in French which appeared in *L'Humanite*, one of the most widely circulated French papers, may be of interest to the readers of the 'Modern Review':—

UN MESSAGE DE PAIX

Rabindranath Tagore a ses Compatriotes

Le "Foreign Affairs" publie aujourd'hui, a propos des massacres d'Amritsar, en 1919, un admirable message de paix du poete hindou Rabindranath Tagore, dont nous donnons ci-dessous la traduction a nos lecteurs. Nous rappelons que Rabindranath Tagore, afin de protester contre les outrages et les violences perpetrees contre ses compatriotes par le gouvernement anglais, avait refuse, il y a quelques annees, le titre de chevalier.

Un grand crime a ete commis au nom de la loi dans le Punjab. D'aussi terribles explosions du mal laissent derriere elles tous nos ideals en epaves. Ce qui s'est passe a Jallianwala-Bagh etait le dernier et monstrueux apport d'une vague monstrueuse de feu et de poison qui pendant quatre ans avait souille le monde, physiquement et moralement. L'immensite du peche dans lequel l'humanite s'est complue pendant une longue et sanglante agonie a rendu cyniques les esprits de ceux qui ont, le pouvoir en main, et que ne retient ni sympathie interieure, ni resistance exterieure. La lachete des puissants qui n'ont pas eu honte d'employer leurs machines d'epou-

vante contre des villageois sans armes et sans soupcon, et qui ont inflige des humiliations indicibles a leurs semblables, tout en jouant une honteuse comedie de justice, sans sentir un moment que c'etait la la facon la plus vile d'insulter a leur propre humanite, cette lachete, dis-je, n'a ete possible que par les occasions constamment renouvelees que la derniere guerre a donnees a l'homme d'outrager ce qu'il y a de plus eleve en lui et de fouler aux pieds la verite et l'honneur.

Cet effondrement de ce qui fait la base meme de la civilisation, continuera a produire une serie de bouleversements dans l'ordre moral, et les hommes doivent s'attendre a d'autres souffrances encore. La ferocite de l'esprit de revanche pousse jusqu'au suicide et teintant de rouge toute l'atmosphere des deliberations de paix montre clairement qu'il faudra longtemps encore, pour retablir l'equilibre.

Mais ces orgies des puissances triomphatrices, déchiquetant le monde selon leurs propres interets, ne nous concernent pas. Ce qui nous touche bien plus, c'est de savoir que la degradation morale n'atteint pas seulement les peuples qui accablent leurs freres sans defense, mais aussi les victimes. La morgue et la cruelle injustice, confiantes dans leur impunité, sont laides et viles, mais la crainte et la colere impuissante qu'elles suscitent dans les esprits faibles sont non moins abjectes.

Freres, c'est lorsque la force physique dans son arrogante confiance en elle-meme essaye d'étouffer l'esprit de l'homme, que le moment est venu pour lui d'affirmer que son ame est indomptable. Nous nous refuserons a nourrir en nous des sentiments de crainte et a nous avouer vaincus moralement, par le fait d'entretenir dans nos coeurs de vils rêves de vengeance. Le temps est venu ou ce sont les victimes qui sont les victorieuses, au champ de la droiture.

Quand un frere repand le sang de ses freres et exulte dans son peche en l'appelant d'un nom retentissant, quand il essaye de garder fraiches sur le sol les taches de sang, en souvenir de sa colere, Dieu a honte des hommes et couvre cette souillure d'une haute herbe verte et de la douce pureté des fleurs.

Nous, qui avons ete temoins d'un massacre d'innocents, chez nous, inspirons nous de Dieu et couvrons les taches de sang de l'iniquite, de notre priere: "O Terrible, sauve-nous a jamais par ta grace."

Car la vraie grace vient du Terrible qui, au sein même de la Terreur, peut mettre notre âme à l'abri de la crainte qu'inspirent la souffrance et la mort et qui sous le coup même de l'injure peut nous libérer du désir de nous venger. Inspirons-nous de lui, même meurtris encore par le coup ou par l'injure recus. Il nous apprend que toute vilénie, toute cruauté, tout mensonge retomberont dans l'obscurité de l'oubli et que seul ce qui est noble et vrai, est éternel.

Que ceux qui en ont le désir, chargent les esprits dans l'avenir de pierres qui seront les monuments des torts qu'on leur a faits et de leur colère, mais quant à nous, ne légions aux générations futures que ce que nous pouvons reverer, soyons reconnaissants à nos ancêtres pour nous avoir laissé l'image de notre Bouddha qui sut se dominer lui-même, prêcher le pardon, et faire rayonner au large son amour dans le temps et dans l'espace.

Fashionable Superlatives.

Words like "Thank you" can be translated into Bengali and other vernaculars of India, but these translations or their like are not in common use. This, however, does not prove that we are never thankful. On the other hand, we gather from an article in *Cassell's Magazine of Fiction*, when British men and women give expression to profuse thanks, they may be using only conventional phrases and may not seriously mean what they say. Mr. Arnold Bennett, writing on "The Social Intercourse Business," has some very apposite things to say about "fashionable superlatives."

The real vice of the fashionable vocabulary is that it abounds far too much in superlatives, which superlatives are intended to emphasize the two emotions of gratitude and pleasure. I can remember the time when a hostess was content to say: "It was very good of you to come." She didn't mean it even then. She meant: "It was very good of me to ask you to come." But she did utter her polite phrase with a certain decency and a certain air of conviction. Then some woman discovered that "very" was not emphatic enough, and said: "It was awfully good of you to come." "Awful" is a serious word, and needs some elocution to carry it off successfully. It did not last long. "Frightfully" took its place, but nobody could give "frightfully" the right intonation, and so to-day "most frightfully" is employed. "It was most frightfully good of you to come." "It was most frightfully good of you to ask me." The greatest actress in the world could not make the phrase sound real after a tea-party, and hostesses and guests do not attempt to make it sound real. They pour it out anyhow, turning a smile on and off as if by a tap. They will, in the quite misguided effort to be convincing, soon be compelled to invent a phrase more frightful than "most frightfully." And so the cycle

will continue until someone discovers that there is naught so un-emphatic as over-emphasis, and superlatives will go under for a period.

In the meantime it is impossible for anyone to do anything for anyone else in this high world without being drenched in a treacle of thanksgivings. If you strike a match for a woman with an unlighted cigarette, your ear will hear, between puffs, words of gratitude which would be appropriate if you had saved her only babe from drowning. The phenomenon, silly in itself, is significant as an unmistakable index of general silliness.

Persia.

Persia, according to *Munsey's Magazine*, is somewhat more than three times the area of France. But its population at the outbreak of the world war was estimated only at ten millions—no census had ever been taken—or less than a quarter of that of Bengal. From remote antiquity it has been a famous country.

From the time when Darius the Great caused to be engraved on the rocks of Bagastana, in characters still legible, the list of far-flung provinces that obeyed him and sent him tribute, to the remarkable Anglo-Persian agreement of the 9th of last August, which practically brought the ancient monarchy within the ever-widening red line of British imperial dominion, is a far cry. Yet the history of Persia runs uninterruptedly through these twenty-four hundred years. Repeatedly overwhelmed by Greeks, Parthians, Arabs, Mongols, Tatars, Turks, and Afghans, and broken again and again into petty districts ruled by tribal chiefs, Persia has never failed to emerge as a distinct nation with peculiar and well-marked characteristics.

Indeed, among all the ancient nations whose names are familiar to us, Persia is almost the only one which has lived on to our own day, within her old frontiers, and inhabited by a people which has preserved its homogeneity and all the essential traits and manners of its ancestors.

THE GREAT NAMES OF PERSIAN HISTORY.

Like China and India, Persia has contributed more generously to the sum total of the world's cultural achievement than Western peoples commonly recognize. In the domain of religion, she produced Zoroaster, to whose system of thought Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are indebted in varying, but large, degrees. Manes may not have been of Persian blood, but he was a Persian subject, and he made Persia the center of a strange and original creed which also profoundly influenced both Christianity and Islam. Its wonderful literary remains have lately been brought to light by excavations in the sand-buried cities of Chinese Turkestan.

Deeply intellectual, the Persians have also made large contributions to philosophy and science. Their thirst for knowledge long ago became proverbial.

"Were knowledge in the Pleiades," Mohammed is said to have remarked, "some of the Persians would teach it."

From time immemorial Persia has been the best-schooled country in Asia; at all events, she was such until the scourges and upheavals of the past twenty years sapped her intellectual vigor.

In art and literature, too, much that the world admires and enjoys is Persian. Many in the long succession of Persian poets are entitled to be reckoned among the greatest in history. Westerners are familiar with the inimitable quatrains of the mathematician and epigrammatist Omar Khayyam—the Voltaire of the East, as he has been called; they have hardly begun to explore the vast literary realm whose recesses are studded with such lights as Firdausi, Sadi, and Hafiz.

Persian history contains the names of great warriors and conquerors. Every schoolboy knows of Darius and Cyrus; and there are many more. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century a Persian monarch, Nadir Shah, carried the country's arms from the Oxus to the Indus, and threatened to overrun all India. On the whole, however, the Persians are a peaceful people; and, left to themselves, they would not have filled many pages with their military exploits in the past hundred and fifty years.

They have not, however, been left to themselves. On the contrary, their country has been in increasing degree a storm-center of international politics. Its resources—chiefly oil and other mineral wealth—long ago attracted foreign exploiters. Its intermediate position between two great and expanding empires—the British in India and the Russian in the Caucasus and in Turkestan—exposed it to tremendous pressure and counter-pressure. Its proximity to the disputed Persian Gulf region lessened its chances of quiet. Its political backwardness afforded frequent pretexts for outside interference and dictation.

When is a man old?

When the venerable Pandit Sivanath Sastri died last year at the age of 72, Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, I.C.S. (Retired), who is older, wrote of him mourning his premature death. In reality, as Richard Le Gallienare writes in *Munsey's Magazine*, the question "When is a man old?" admits of no positive, impartial answer. The age of the answerer must always be taken into account.

Nor is there any very general agreement on the subject. In the case of certain public men, for example, who, while admittedly well into their seventh or eighth decade, retain such genuinely youthful vigor that the word "old" has merely a chronological application, we hesitate to use it in regard to them. It is plainly irrelevant in such cases, for there are so many more important things to say about these splendid veterans.

If the word "old" had merely that chronological significance, no one would mind it; but unfortunately it carries with it a certain derogatory, or, at least, condescending implication—"old and done for," or "out of the game." Now, a man need not be eighty,

or even sixty, to be that. Men half those ages, and even younger, are often "done for" and "out of the game." Failure and disability are common to young and old alike. The older a man is, the more likely he is to be successful, for he has had more time to succeed in. He is all the more likely, too, to be efficient, for he has had more time to learn. When men combine the energy of youth with the experience of maturity, to call them "old" with any other inference than that it has naturally taken some years for them to effect this valuable combination is but to be stupidly youthful.

Nervous pre-occupation with the choice of food is a sure sign of age.

Doubtless, temperance in all things is the way of wisdom; but the moment a man begins to talk, think and dream diet, he begins to grow old, however few his years, and however many more his dieting may bring him. One of the surest signs of Goethe's eternal youth was that he ate and drank everything as it came along, without thought of the nice balance of proteids and carbohydrates, and reserved his thoughts for other matters than the denatured, pre-digested menu. Really young people of whatever age don't think about their food; they eat and enjoy it, and then forget it.

Miserliness in regard to money was an earmark of age made much of by the old writers. Says Terence:

In everything else we are made wiser by age, but this one vice is inseparable from it, that we are all apt to be more worldly, more fond of money-making, more close-fisted, more grasping, than is either needful or becoming.

The old miser and the usurer have been favorite characters in drama, from Plautus to Moliere and Balzac; yet miserliness is not so much a question of years as of temperament. There are plenty of young misers, particularly, perhaps, among pretty young women; and child misers, unfortunately, are all too common. Meanness and the spirit of selfish hoarding are found in all the seven ages. Like most of our qualities, these ugly vices are born with us rather than acquired.

Not all of us are born young.

The quality of youth, too, is largely a matter of heredity, of constitution. It is assumed that we are all born young, but there never was a greater mistake. The commonplace phrase which reminds us that some are born old is true enough. The trouble with no few people is that they are born old into a young world. For the world, as any one who loves the out-of-doors is happy in knowing, is still triumphantly, absurdly, and romantically young and in spite of its countless millions of years it gives promise of remaining so for a few eons yet.

Years, indeed—and it is no flattering unction to say so—have little to do, one way or the other, with being young or old. Most of the supposed characteristics of age are also found in very young people, and *vice versa*. Some, as Mrs. Browning wrote, are "sexagenary at sixteen," while some are sixteen at sixty.

Call him not old, whose visionary brain
Holds o'er the present its undivided reign.

For him in vain the envious seasons roll
Who bears eternal summer in his soul.
Turn to the record where his years are told,
Count his gray hairs—they cannot make him old.

Some symptoms of youth are easily mentioned.

No man is old so long as he is vitally interested in his work and his play. An active brain, an innocent heart, an enthusiastic temper, and a good constitution—taken reasonable care of—defy time.

Among other symptoms, one might say that a man is not old till he begins to think too much about diet, and carries a pocket thermometer to take his own temperature, and a pocket mirror to examine his tongue. He shows signs of age when he begins to say that "times are changed," and to speak of young people as a separate and disappointing class.

The oldest of us may always be young to some one.

Paper from Cotton stalks.

As cotton is grown over large areas in India, what the *Popular Science Monthly* says of a new use of cotton stalks ought to enable Indian capitalists to make money. It says:—

There is now a pulp-mill in Greenwood, Mississippi, that turns one hundred and fifty tons of cotton stalk into fifty tons of valuable paper pulp every day. A careful study of the cotton plant has led to the discovery that a certain thin tubular fiber in the plant will make excellent cellulose for durable papers. It is strong and flexible.

If a quarter of the annual supply of the cotton stalks of the South were put to this use each year, there would be no need of a paper shortage in this country.

Twine from Eucalyptus Trees.

The same journal tells its readers that the bark of eucalyptus trees can be used for making twine, rope, and bagging. The bark is first passed through a softening machine which loosens the fibres. Next it is put through carding and spinning machines. The resulting twine is strong, durable, and does not cost much to manufacture. The supply of bark is practically unlimited and can be easily gathered and sent to the factory. The eucalyptus tree grows in India, too.

A Suggested American Foreign Policy.

The American foreign policy summed up by President Wilson in his Senate speech of January 22, 1917, was:

I am proposing that all nations henceforth should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

With reference to it, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons asks in the *Century Magazine*:—

Why? Merely because we are idealists and humanitarians, hypnotized by the doctrine of self-determination? Or because we feel that a durable world peace is possible only through the renunciation of particular selfish interests by all the great powers? To a certain extent, yes. But the most powerful factor will be our realization that any other policy, with the United States quiescent and not participating in the game of grab, means the virtual exclusion or permanent handicapping of American trade and American capital in developing and profiting by the resources of the world.

The alternatives before us, in formulating an American foreign policy are: (1) getting into the European game, as Japan has done, and claiming a share of the plunder; or (2) insisting that there shall be no plunder.

American public opinion rejects the first alternative. Colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence, and mandates do not appeal to us. The privileges and gains leave us cold. Even for humanity's sake—witness Armenia—we are loathe to accept the responsibilities, however slight they may be.

What is left to us, then, but to make "the Monroe Doctrine for the world" the foundation-stone of our foreign policy? This means the extension of our defense of the independence of small and weak nations against the encroachment of European eminent domain from Latin America to the whole world.

Limits to the Right to Strike.

"The divine right to quit work" is a new phrase coined in America. Against the unlimited exercise of this right, it has been urged that

In our modern industrialized and interdependent society there are certain key industries that have a peculiar responsibility to the public, in that the life and health of the public depend upon their uninterrupted operation. There is, of course, no getting away from the fact that in an interdependent society the men who produce the immediate necessities of life are a strategic group which, uncontrolled, has the public at its mercy.

The legislation that created the Kansas court of industrial relations was the answer of Kansas and of Governor Allen to the question, How can the general public be protected against a strategic minority that is producing an immediate necessity like coal?

The Kansas court of industrial relations is simply the machinery of compulsory arbitration of labour disputes, before an established tribunal, in those key industries upon which the life and health of the public peculiarly depend.

Mr. Glenn Frank discusses the question thus in the *Century Magazine* :—

In abstract justice, every genuine American will agree with Mr. Gompers that it is un-American to deny to men the right to quit work. Enforced labor and liberty are incompatible in a democracy. Likewise most Americans feel that individualism and the freest possible scope for individual initiative are inseparable from the idea of democracy and liberty. But a time came in the evolution of American life when we were obliged, in defense of public rights, to put certain restrictions upon individualism. Trusts and monopolies grew so powerful that their control over essential industries was a menace to the public. With not a little blundering and short-sightedness but with an undoubted sense of our right to do it, we passed laws to control big business combinations. The increasing power of big labor combinations has made necessary a like control by law of their activity.

We may grant the essential right of a man to quit work, but we are in no mood to tolerate an elevator operator's quitting work when he has a careful of men and women between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth floors of the Woolworth building just because a strike has been called for that particular time. We are in no mood to tolerate a taxidriver's quitting work on the open road when he is driving a physician to the bedside of a man who is hovering between life and death, just because a strike has been called for that particular hour. We are in no mood to tolerate a milk-distributor's quitting work and leaving his milk-wagon by the roadside loaded with milk upon which the lives of babies depend that day, just because a strike has been called for that hour. These illustrations are, of course, exaggerated. They are purposely made absurd. Strikes are not begun in this fashion. The elevator-operator will take his car to the ground floor, the taxi-driver will walk out, not on the road, but from the garage, and the milk-distributors will not begin the morning deliveries. But, in its social effect, the average strike in an essential industry is as absurdly anti-social as any of these illustrations.

Mr. Gompers, the American labour leader, describes what great things have been done by means of unions and strikes.

If it were not for the unions what would have been the fate of our boys and girls in the United States working in the mills and the factories at five and six years of age, twelve or fourteen hours a day? What would have been the fate of the boys in the coal mines, the breaker boys who, from six to eight years old, were put in the mines and seldom saw daylight? And it was the strike of the coal miners that took those boys out of the coal mines.

It was the strike of the textile workers that took the children from out of the mills and put them into the school room and in the playground, where they could imbibe God's sunshine and grow into the manhood and the womanhood of the future upon which the perpetuity of our republic must depend. It was the strike of the men and the women in the needle trades that broke up the sweat shop when all the laws of the States could not prohibit it or prevent it..... The labor movement.....has done so much, it has brought light and hope and opportunity to the

masses of labor that, make law what you will, to outlaw strikes, depend upon it your law will be futile and you will simply make criminals and lawbreakers of workmen who are honest patriotic citizens.

Mr. Glenn Frank contends that the fundamental causes of strikes should be fully investigated and the fact should be frankly recognized that the time has come when the strike must be superseded by more civilized methods.

Strikes came into use simply because of the failure of industrial statesmanship to handle constructively the transition from handicraft to machine production. In the old handicraft days workmen exerted a positive control over industrial processes and relations. Workman controlled the instruments of production, the raw materials of production, the conditions under which production was carried on, and the profits arising from production. But when production forsook the home and the small shop for the huge factory, the workmen who had been "masters of tools" became "servants of machines" and lost the old positive control.

Since then workmen have been struggling to regain at least a measure of that lost control. They have been unable to own their own factories as they once owned their small shops. Their only weapon seemed to be the strike. It came into use as a war-measure of men who felt the heavy sense of disinheritance. It was a shift from one sort of industrial organization to another that made the strike, in the absence of a better method, an apparently necessary measure. Nothing but a sound industrial organization will make it unnecessary from the point of view of labor. Certainly enforced arbitration will not.

Plainly, the choice before us is this: We must achieve either a new order in industry or suffer the increasing penalties of a new disorder in industry.

Wilfrid Blunt : Self-determinist.

The New Republic of New York records the fact that

Three admirable yet wholly dissimilar English poets have reached their eightieth year in 1920: Mr. Austin Dobson from whose delicate old-world instrument have come "sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not"; Mr. Thomas Hardy who has most clearly voiced the implications possibly inherent in the scheme of things as viewed by the modern mind; and now, on August, the seventeenth, Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt with whom poetry has been the avocation of leisure hours in the midst of a life of action and protest and adventure. Of the three Mr. Blunt is probably the least widely known, yet his work touches perhaps most closely upon the ideas and aspirations of liberal-minded men today. It is proper, upon the anniversary of his birth, to call to mind the champion of nationalism in Egypt, the defender of Irish Home Rule, and the author of *Proteus*. As a political agitator he will be remembered not for what he accomplished but as the author of a series of plain-spoken documents to serve for the history of his time. The nationalistic causes which he served seem today

utterly to have failed; and this Mr. Blunt himself realizes.

In a letter to Mr. Samuel C. Chew, Mr. Blunt says what he expects of America.

It depends entirely now upon the better thought of America whether what remains of liberty in the ancient world of Asia is allowed to survive and with it the tradition of a wiser happiness than ours in Christendom—all sympathy with which seems dead in Europe.

Two of Mr. Blunt's political poems are of more significance than the rest.

The Wind and the Whirlwind (1883) is a product of the difficult and complex years preceding and following the rebellion of Arabi when Blunt was a thorn in the side of Gladstone's government, resisting by public protest and private advice the march of events that were leading to permanent British occupation of Egypt and ardently advocating the liberation of that country alike from Turkish tyranny and English overlordship. It was regarded as unpatriotic and even treasonable when it first appeared and efforts were made, it is said, to suppress it. The inspiration was derived from the rising of Arabi Pasha who is regarded as the patriotic reformer calling upon the Egyptians to shake off the foreign yoke. The poem unfolds as an indignant protest against British imperialistic expansion.

Oh I would rather fly with the first craven

Who flung his arms away in your good cause,
Than head the hottest charge by England vaunted
In all the record of her unjust wars.

Such sentiments are in stimulating contrast to those of the host of celebrators of "the strength and splendor of England's war." He repudiates the modern patriotic idea that the man must be submerged in the countryman, that loyalty to the flag is above loyalty to the truth.

"Satan Absolved" is the other memorable political poem.

Herbert Spencer wrote urging him to employ his great gifts in protest against the imperialistic jingoism so rife in the later nineties. The result was this dramatic poem, suggestive of the Prologue to Faust. It lacks the authentic utterance of great poetry but it is still of interest as a sturdy protest against the current cant of "the White Man's Burden." Satan, reporting to the Almighty that the Anglo-Saxons have gone further than he can lead them, recites the long account of hypocrisy and corruption, reaching this climax:

The ignoble shouting crowds, the prophets of
their Press,
Pouring their daily floods of bald self-righteousness,
Their poets who write big of the "White Man's
Burden." Trash!
The White Man's Burden, Lord, is the burden of
his cash.

Awakening Asia.

L. Dumont-Wilden, writing on "Awakening Asia" in *Revue Bleue*, observes:—

While Europe is futilely groping toward its own recovery, the immense population of Asia, hitherto considered merely material for exploitation, has begun to move and agitate. Quite possibly this awakening will occasion in the near future the most serious and terrible political problem which the coming generation will have to face. The landing of the Bolsheviks in Persia, the advance of Lenin's troops toward Teheran, have obviously overthrown all the theories upon which England's plans were based. Everyone realizes that Lloyd George's reversal of policy and recent friendliness toward the Soviet government are inspired by his fear that Bolshevism will sweep over Asia. It is far from certain, even if we look at the case solely from an English viewpoint, that he took a wise course. Bolshevism is assuming increasingly the aspect of a religion and like all conquering religions, it will sacrifice everything for propaganda. Therefore it will win a decisive victory if it wins the recognition of a great western power and thus opens a channel for spreading its doctrines over Europe. But it is no less true that the fears felt by the English premier are fully justified.

The writer pays a tribute to Lenin's political genius.

It was a master stroke, a manoeuvre of genius, for Lenin, when his propaganda was checked in the Occident, to conceive the gigantic plan of employing for his ends Russia's historical function of intermediary between Europe and Asia and of accommodating his chimerical internationalism with that mystical nationalism which unites all the peoples of the Orient in common distrust and dislike of the rule of 'European capitalism.'

The writer's views on the situation in India are worthy of notice.

Possibly the most disquieting aspect of this situation is the extension of the movement in India. There, too, the emissaries of Mussulman Bolshevism have started their propaganda. We have already seen what profound discontent the threat of depriving the Sultan of Constantinople caused among the Mohammedan Hindoos. The English occupation of their sacred city has added to their irritation.

Of course, England still has ample military forces to hold these vast territories, even though revolts may break out at isolated points. But the officers who are returning from these regions are not over-confident. The native army is unreliable. The common soldiers, and above all, the officers of Hindoo blood do not show the same respect for their English superiors as heretofore. It is becoming increasingly difficult to enlist English troops to serve in India. Before the war there were plenty of recruits. Soldiers liked the prestige which they enjoyed in India; and the promise of an easy billet attracted many to the service. But as an officer just returning from Bombay recently said: "The situation has changed entirely since the new labor legislation in Great Britain. Men now work less in Manchester factories and earn more than they do in the Indian regiments. We cannot keep our quotas filled; furthermore, the troops already out there have no hope to being relieved, because the new recruits at home are being sent to Ireland or to Egypt." Let us admit that Downing Street has reason to be

seriously worried. That is the first indication of the progress of Bolshevism in the Mohammedan-Asiatic world, which is already distracting the attention of England from the Rhine.

The Yamato Society.

Arrangements have been made between the Yamato Society and the *Japan Magazine* to the effect that a part of that magazine shall be used as the Society's organ. The following rules printed in the *Japan Magazine* give an indication of the objects of the Society.

Art. I. The Society has for its object to make clear the meaning and extent of Japanese culture in order to reveal the fundamental character of the nation to the world; and also the introduction of the best literature and art of foreign countries to Japan so that a common understanding of Eastern and Western thought may be promoted.

Art. II. In order to accomplish the object stated in the foregoing Article the Society shall carry on the following enterprises.

1. Publication in foreign languages of works relating to various branches of Japanese history.
2. Translation of Japanese literary works.
3. Publication in foreign languages of works of Japanese literature and art.
4. Publication in foreign languages of a periodical relating to Japanese literature and art.
5. Such steps as may be necessary for the introduction into Japan of the best literature and art of foreign countries.
6. Exchange exhibitions of foreign and Japanese art objects to be arranged between Japan and other countries.
7. Investigation and application of means necessary for the maintenance and improvement of Japanese art.
8. Despatch to foreign countries of qualified persons for the study and investigation of important matters relating to or arising out of the purposes of the Society.
9. Investigation and application of means neces-

sary for the improvement of the customs and ideals of the Japanese people in general.

We ought to have a society like this in India.

The Problem of a Filipino National Language.

In India the problem of an Indian language for the whole of India has been discussed for some years. The Filipinos also have their problem of a national language. In order indirectly to help in the solution of that problem, Otto Scheerer has commenced to write a series of articles in the *Philippine Review* on "The Problem of a National Language for the Philippine Islands in the Light of the History of Languages." In the first article he briefly tells the stories of Greek, Latin, Spanish and French, and says by way of introduction :

The Filipinos are generally agreed that it is proper that the national personality to which they aspire should find its expression in one sole language which, spoken by all the native inhabitants of the Archipelago alike, will form a strong bond and make them feel as one people in all the manifestations of their public and private life.

They are not agreed, however, as to which of the native and foreign tongues at present spoken in the Islands should be that national language. On account of their descent and for other reasons, some advocate English and others Spanish, and inasmuch as the great mass of the people continue speak their own native tongues or dialects, there are some who believe that the Filipino nationality would find its most genuine expression in a native language, although the advocates of this idea are not very sure with respect to the manner in which the large number of vernacular tongues now existing can be blended into one uniform language.

ISLAM AND SATYAGRAHA

LAPSE of time causes self-estrangement in conscious entities. Show to an adult a photograph of his infancy and it would be hard for him to discover any common features between his present and past. Materialise before an octogenarian the pranks and frivolities of his early youth and he would be simply astonished. The ego, no less than

its physical vehicle, has thoroughly changed. The change has been very gradual, perhaps imperceptible; yet the metamorphosis is complete.

The aforesaid law holds equally good in the case of corporate and collective egos. Nations, peoples and sects are as completely transformed in the course of time as indivi-

duals. They become aliens, to their own egos, strangers in their own eyes, and unrecognisable not to outsiders alone, but also to themselves. How difficult for the modern Greeks to believe that among them were born and bred Pythagoras and Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, Homer and Sophocles, Galen and Hippocrates! Is it easy for modern Persia to believe that she once produced poets of the eminence of Sadi and Jami, Hafiz and Omar? Is it possible for the present-day Christian nations and the Japanese people to honestly reconcile their conduct with the teachings and conduct of the Christ and the Buddha respectively?

Islam is no exception to the rule. Its large deviation from its original pattern is visible from inside as well as outside. For, in the mind of an average non-Muslim to-day the conception of Islam is nothing more than that religion is the creed of hatred and violence, of war and discord, and of intolerance and militarism. And the conception of an average Muslim himself regarding the nature of his religion hardly differs in any material respect from that of an outsider. In fact the more bigoted, the more intolerant and the more militant a Muslim, the greater is his sanctity in the popular estimate of his co-religionists.

Such a religion can have but little in common with Satyāgraha, i. e., the religion of love,—the one must be directly opposed to the other. Yet the fact is that Islam not only encourages and supports Satyāgraha but is Satyāgraha in essence. Islam and Satyāgraha are almost interchangeable terms.

This would sound odd to those who have hitherto looked upon Islam as the religion of the sword. So it is necessary that the subject should be dealt with at some length; and direct injunctions of the Quran are required to establish the almost complete identity of Islam and Satyāgraha.

But first, what is Satyāgraha? Its constituents, when analysed, are seen to be as follows:

1. Uncompromising loyalty to the truth, without wavering, without faltering.
2. Absolute freedom from aggression, revenge and anger.
3. Endurance of all pains with perfect equanimity and cheerfulness.
4. Willingness to suffer rather than to inflict suffering on others.

5. Total abstinence from violence even in case of self-defence.

Now, turning to the Quran, one finds the introductory formula recurring at the opening of each chapter worded thus:—

"In the name of God, the *most Compassionate, the Merciful.*"

Note the words italicised. Does it stand to reason that the Book preaching the gospel of the sword should be so insistent on these two attributes of its Author?

Then the first Chapter opens with the words "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most Compassionate, the Merciful." The context of the passage makes it quite clear that the Lord's qualities of compassion and mercy refer to "all creatures" and not to Muslims alone. Is it without significance that this all-comprehensiveness of the Lord's mercy should be made the very starting point of the Book?

Next, we come to the special mission of the Prophet of Islam. What special message was he charged with? What was the object of his mission? The Quran answers the question in unequivocal terms:—

"We have not sent thee otherwise, O Mohammad, than as a mercy unto all creatures" (xxi, S. 108).

Can there be a more effective way of saying that the message of Islam is a message of peace and toleration, of harmony and goodwill, of sympathy and brotherhood, towards the entire Universe, irrespective of sect and creed?

But apart from these general lessons in universal sympathy and brotherhood, to expatiate on which would be to go beyond the scope of this essay, we have to find out the teachings of Islam when direct occasions for the adoption of Satyāgraha arise. When one is confronted with unrighteous opposition, when one is wronged or oppressed and when one's work of reform is subjected to ridicule, obstruction and prosecution; what course of action does Islam prescribe on such occasions?

The answer is plain and simple. It can be expressed in one word "*sabr*", of which the sense in English can, perhaps only be conveyed by "forbearance",¹ which has as its

1. It is sad to note that none of the various English translators of the Quran (Sale, Rodwell, Palmer, etc.) have been able to render this word *Sabr* in English even fairly accurately. They generally interpret it as "patience," "steadfastness," and "perse-

main ingredients, harmlessness, coolness and truth.² In times of the greatest distress Muslims are enjoined to "seek help with forbearance and prayer" (ii, Section 5).

Muslims are commanded to practise as well as preach forbearance. Says the Quran :—

"O true believers, forbear and preach forbearance unto each other" (iii, S. 20).

God loves those alone who practise the virtue of forbearance :—

"O ye who believe, seek help with forbearance and prayer, for God is with those who forbear" (ii, S. 19).

And further :—

"God loves those who forbear" (iii, S. 15).

Only those who practise forbearance shall profit by the Lord's blessings and favours, for they are the rightly-guided people :—

"Convey good tidings to the forbearing, who when a distress overtakes them only say, 'Verily we are God's and to Him shall we return.' On them shall blessings be showered from their Lord and His mercy, and these are the rightly-guided men" (ii, S. 19).

The distinctive mark, according to the Quran, of good and right-minded people is that "they practise forbearance in times of distress, trouble and fear" (ii, S. 22).

For forbearance the reward is unmeasured :—

"Verily those who forbear shall receive their recompense without measure" (xxxix, S. 2).

The habit of forbearance is a proof

verence," all of which words have far narrower connotations than *Sabr*, which is the noblest quality of the soul.

2. It would be interesting here to observe that according to the great Hindu divine Patanjali the first accessory of *Yoga* is Forbearance, which he defines as follows :—

"Forbearance consists in harmlessness, truth, abstinence from theft, continence and freedom from avarice" (*Yoga Darsana*, Pada ii, Sutra 30). Vyasa in his authoritative commentary explains "harmlessness" as in no way and at no time wishing ill to any living being. And 'truth', he explains thus :—

"A word is spoken for the transference of one's thought to another, and as such if it is not deceptive or mistaken or devoid of comprehension, then it is true ; but it is so only when it is used for the good of others and not for their evil. If being spoken as such it leads to the injury of others, then it would not be truth, it would be a sin and by this semblance of virtue the agent would suffer endless troubles. Therefore one ought to tell the truth with a due consideration of the good of all beings."

against all doings of the enemy, and to the forbearing Muslims is given the following assurance :—

"O believers, if you forbear in the face of all provocations and be not aggressive, their (the enemies') tactics cannot injure you in the least" (iii, S. 12).

It is natural to resent opposition and long for retaliation ; yet forbearance on such occasions is a work of distinctive merit. For we read :—

"O believers, you will surely have to hear much of evil speech from those who were given the Book before you and also from those who worship many gods ; yet if you forbear and remain clean, that would be an act of very great courage" (iii, S. 19).

Further :—

"Forbear on what befalls thee, for to do this is an act of very great courage" (xxxi, S. 2).

A very important proposition advanced by its chief protagonist, Mahatma Gandhi is that non-violent resistance is not only morally the most elevating, but in practice also the most efficacious, as it completely vanquishes the oppressor without any shedding of blood. The Quran strongly supports this, and promises certain victory to those who forbear, however powerful their persecutors. Speaking of the great tyrant Pharaoh and of his erstwhile victims, the people of Israil, the Quran says :—

"And We gave to the people who had been rendered weak the eastern and western lands, which We had blessed with fertility ; and the gracious word of the Lord was fulfilled on the children of Israil, because they had forborne ; and We also destroyed the works and structures which Pharaoh and his people had erected and raised" (vii, S. 16).

Pharaoh was the very embodiment of tyranny and impiety. Islamic history does not know of any greater oppressor of the weak and tormentor of the righteous. Yet even in his case the messengers of righteousness were commanded not to do violence, but to adopt the most amicable attitude. Moses and Aaron are definitely instructed to "speak to him with gentle speech" (xx-12). And Moses asks his people to practise patience and forbearance.

"Moses said unto his people, 'Ask help of God and suffer patiently ; the earth is God's'" (vii, S. 15).

The Apostles have always been noted for their quality of forbearance :—

"And remember Ismail, Edris and Dhulkifl, all steadfast in patience" (xxi, S. 6).

Whenever these emissaries of God have been subjected to cruel persecutions, they

have been directed to address their enemies thus :—

"We will continue to bear patiently your persecutions (as we have hitherto done). It behoves the trustful to trust in God" (xiv, S. 2).

Job was an apostle who maintained patience and perseverance through untold afflictions. Therefore his name comes in for special praise.

"Verily, We found him patient. How excellent a servant was he, one who turned to Us" (xxxviii, S. 4).

The story of Joseph must be familiar to every intelligent reader and his ultimate glory and miraculous victory over the most adverse circumstances was due, so says the Quran, to his great powers of patience and forbearance. When his envious step-brothers were awe-struck to discover on the throne the figure of Joseph whom they had plotted to murder, and had very nearly succeeded in their designs, he remarked :—

"Aye, I am Joseph, and this is my brother (Benjamin). Now hath God favoured us. For, whoso feareth and forbears (shall at length find relief). Verily God will not suffer the reward of the righteous to perish" (xii, S. 10).

Forbearance does not arise out of helplessness. It is not caused by want of power or means. It signifies one's deliberate avoidance of retaliatory measures while they are within easy reach. The Quran takes special care to emphasise this aspect of the question. David had been one of the mightiest sovereigns and he was forbearing withal. Addressing the Prophet of Islam in the second person singular, the Divine Author observes :—

"Forbear on what the enemies say, and remember Our servant, David, a man strong of hands" (xxxviii, S. 2).

The persecution of the Apostle of Islam at the hands of his people was so terrible and persistent that even he had to be occasionally reminded of the virtues of forbearance. For instance :—

"Suffer patiently the calumnies which the infidels utter against thee" (xx, S. 3).

Again :—

"Bear patiently the calumnies against thee, and leave them alone in a decent way" (lxxiii, S. 2).³

3. This injunction, as the reader will recognise in current phraseology, is tantamount to saying, non-co-operate with them in a peaceful way.

And again :—

"Forbear, and thy forbearance can be sought in none but God" (xvi, S. 16).

The above is by no means an exhaustive enumeration of all the verses of the Quran enjoining forbearance, but is quite sufficient to dispel the idea prevalent among the vast majority of Muslims and non-Muslims that the doctrine of non violent resistance is foreign to the religion of Islam. The fact is just the reverse. It is the very heart of the Islamic code of morals, and Gandhi's Satyāgraha is in essence merely a re-enunciation of the Quranic doctrine of *sabr* or forbearance.

In the field of ethics the utmost difficulty is experienced where two apparently equally right causes of conduct collide. Conflict of duties is one of the greatest stumbling blocks in the world's systems of morals. It is here that some of the best systems break down. To take an instance, a person is being pressed by his father to do something which the former believes to be positively immoral,—filial duty and the sense of right are pulling him in opposite directions. What is he to do on such an occasion? An open rupture with the father, or submission to the wrong,—these seem to be the only two alternatives.

Yet Islam has the most perfect solution to offer, which effects a full adjustment between the individual's liberty of conscience and his filial obligations. It enjoins upon the son, if his parents are pressing him to worship false gods, not to obey them in this matter, not to co-operate with them in this particular respect and to stand firm by his conviction; yet also not to boycott them altogether, not to forget their claims upon him in all other respects and to behave himself properly in general.

"We have enjoined upon man to show kindness to parents; but if they strive that thou join that with Me of which thou hast no knowledge (i. e., other deities) obey them not" (xxix, S. 1).

"We have commanded man concerning his parents. His mother carrieth him with weakness upon weakness; nor until after two years is he weaned. Be grateful to Me, and to thy parents. Unto Me shall all come. But if they importune thee to join that with Me of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not but conduct thyself towards them in this world kindly" (xxxii, S. 2).

Could any decision be in greater harmony with the spirit of Satyāgraha? Could any commandment be a happier combination of truth and steadfastness on the one hand,

and of filial obligation and respect on the other ?

It should not be imagined for a moment that the scope of forbearance and forgiveness is restricted to the very special nature of the relation between parents and their offspring. The passages quoted above amply prove that the teaching of tolerance, forbearance and forgiveness in Islam is all-comprehensive,—its scope is not limited to one's relatives or co-religionists. Friends and foes, the righteous and the erring, believers and infidels, can equally partake of the blessings of the Lord, who proclaims "My mercy comprehends every object" (vii, S. 19).

Abraham, "the friend of God", who was the first Muslim and who is commended to the Muslims as an "excellent model", and as one of the greatest Apostles, when subjected to the most inhuman persecution, was constrained to raise his hands in prayer before God. But even then he did not pray for the destruction of his enemies, but only said, "He who follows me is mine, and as to him who belies me, Thou art Forgiver and Compassionate" (xiv, S. 6).

Another great Apostle, Jesus Christ, when he will be asked to answer on the day of Resurrection, for the sinfulness of his people who worship him as a Divinity, will not denounce them altogether, but will only remark, "If Thou chastise them, they are Thy creatures, and if Thou forgive them, Thou art Mighty and Wise" (vi, S. 16).

The Quran relates the stories of these Apostles as models for the Muslims to imitate, and the lesson they carry with them is obvious.

If there be still any doubt as to the identical teachings of Islam and Satyāgraha, let the sceptic ponder over the following passage of the Quran narrating the story of Adam's two sons, Cain and Abel :—

"Relate to them exactly the story of the two sons of Adam, when they each offered an offering, accepted from the one of them but not accepted from the other. (Thereupon) the one (burning with envy) said to the other, 'I will certainly slay thee.' The other answered, 'God only accepts from those that fear Him. And even if thou stretch forth thine hand against me to slay me, I will not stretch forth my hand against thee to slay thee. Truly I fear God, the Lord of the worlds, Yea, rather would I that thou shouldst bear my sin and thine own sin, and thou become one of the companions of the fire, for that is the recompense of the unjust.' But his (i.e., Cain's) passion suffered him to slay his brother and he slew him and he became one of those who perish" (vi, S. 5).

Could even Gandhi's Satyāgraha be more Satyāgrahic ? The story is the very embodiment of the doctrine of suffering, of non-violence, and of patient forbearance.

True, Islam is not at all times and on all occasions for non-violent and peaceful Satyāgraha. On occasions it has allowed Jehād or resort to the power of arms. But the circumstances in which it becomes a duty are so exceptional, and the conditions under which it is allowable and the restrictions which Islam imposes on its soldiery are so difficult to observe,—all of which points require a separate article for their exposition,—that for all practical purposes Satyāgraha may be regarded as the most powerful weapon in the armoury of Islam.

ABDUL MAJID.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

The Problem of National Education in India : by Lajpat Rai, London. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1920. S. Ganesan & Co., Madras. Pp. 256 (with an exhaustive bibliography).

THE book can be divided into two parts, the first containing the following chapters—National Education (Introductory), National Ideals, Broad Aims of Indian Education, The Problem, occupying nearly one-

third of the volume ; the second part may be said to consist of the rest of the volume dealing with such subjects as physical and vocational education, the teaching of patriotism in European and American schools, Mr. Fisher's scheme of national education in England. The first part is Mr. Lajpat Rai's own original contribution, and decidedly the most interesting portion of the book. The

second part mainly consists of extracts from books, speeches and reports not usually available to us in India, and contains many useful suggestions. We are entirely at one with the author's exposition of the true aims and ideals that ought to govern our outlook, not only in matters educational, but in every sphere of life. We have not seen them stated with greater boldness, precision and mastery of grasp, and it seems to us that the second, third and fourth chapters of his book should be circulated by the million among our countrymen in order to produce the effect that they ought to produce. The author is a Hindu, who has travelled largely in England, Japan, and America, and has an intimate knowledge of his countrymen, having taken a prominent part in social, educational and political movements in upper India. He is moreover a thinker and an observer. It is consequently of deep interest to all of us to know what he believes to be the fundamental defects of our national character, defects which render us unfit to take our rightful place in the march of life in comparison with the great modern nations which he has studied at close quarters. There are few among us who care to point out these defects, for fear of losing popularity. But the author's love of the motherland cannot be doubted, in fact the country has set its seal of approval on his patriotism by acclaiming him President of the special session of the Congress just over. But while his Presidential speech on the Punjab atrocities will be read and admired by thousands; his discourse on our true national aims and ideals will, we fear, find much fewer sympathisers in the present aggressive temper of Hindu revivalists, and yet if we can but look deeply enough, it is the adoption by the entire nation of precisely those aims and ideals, and not any tinkering political propaganda, which will make a second massacre of Jallianwala Bagh utterly impossible. If our national outlook on things in general be fundamentally sound, we cannot go far wrong in detail, and can easily right the wrong; if however our aims and ideals are radically wrong, any amount of right-doing in particulars will not remedy the unsoundness at the core, and our labours will prove fruitless like those of Sisyphus, and we shall have to begin anew from the very beginning. The teeming millions of India are strong only in numbers; they count for little else in the world to-day. But mere numbers do not

contribute to real strength; Professor Seeley has truly said that there have been great populations cowering in abject misery for centuries together who, if they cannot live, die, and "if they can only just live, then they just live, their sensibilities dulled and their very wishes crushed out by want." It is from this position of abject misery that we have to rouse ourselves by cultivating national efficiency. And the only sure and lasting way of cultivating it is to build from the foundations by taking stock of our aims and ideals and overhauling those which are radically unsound.

In the introductory chapter Mr. Lajpat Rai says that our efforts at national education have hitherto been more or less characterised by sectarianism, and institutions like the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Benares College, Aligarh College, "have not, except by their failure, made any substantial contribution towards the solution of the problem of "national education." He then proceeds to discuss in the following chapters what our national aims and ideals are and ought to be, and we shall take the liberty to make extensive quotations from them.

"Some will say that salvation is the ultimate end we desire. But what is meant by 'salvation'?"..... The real salvation lies in freedom from misery, poverty, disease, ignorance, and slavery of every kind, in this life, now and here for ourselves, and hereafter for our successors..... some modern and educated men, who are neither priests nor monks, and who, in most cases, do not lead a life of asceticism, are holding up that ideal for their younger countrymen.....the most ancient literature of the Hindus makes no mention, except by far-fetched implication, of Sannyasis. All the great Rishis and Munis of the past had property, as well as families. They preferred to live away from crowds for purposes of research, for *Yoga* and *Samadhi* and concentration of mind on the problems of life. That condition was not an end in itself, but a new social means for a social end.

"It was not a desire for *Mukti* that led them to do it, but the very social and admirable desire of helping humanity by a rational solution of the problems of life. Look how this ideal was degraded in later times, until we came to exalt a life of mere *tyag* (renunciation) as such, and to place it at the top of life's edifice as a goal, an end, and a light-house..... today a good part of the nation (sometimes estimated at one-fourth), having abandoned all productive economic work, engages itself in preaching the virtues of *vairagya* (asceticism)..... So deep-rooted is the sentiment that iconoclastic reforming agencies like the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, and the Vivekananda Mission among the Hindus often drift in the same direction.....

• "Now it must be owned that the present awaken-

ing, the protest against this tendency, owes its birth to foreign education, however godless it may have been. Sometimes I feel thankful for its very godlessness. But for this education there might have been no awakening, or to be more accurate, the awakening might have been indefinitely delayed. To my mind the first need of India is the absolute destruction of this tendency towards the negation of life. It is the fundamental basis of our whole national weakness.....

"What India needs is an earnest, widely spread, persistent effort to teach and preach the gospel of life. That life is real, precious, earnest, invaluable, to be prized, preserved, prolonged and enjoyed, is not so obvious to our people as it should be. Not that the Indians do not value living; not that they have no respect for life as such; nay, in fact some of them care for life so much, as to preserve inferior lives even at the sacrifice or the detriment of human life.* The vast bulk of them prefer mere living to honourable living.....

"The attempt to live in the past is not only futile but even foolish; what we need to take care of is the future..... Personally, I yield to none in my respect for the ancient Aryans. I am as proud as any one else of their achievements.....but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the world has since then advanced much further in knowledge. And if knowledge is wisdom, then we must presume also that the world is wiser today than it was three thousand years ago..... I would beg of my countrymen not to be carried off their feet by the praises which the foreigner sometimes bestows on our literature and on our system. Some of them do so out of sheer disgust with their own systems of life. They do not wait to make proper comparisons, but rush from one extreme to another; others only mean to pay a generous compliment. Some perhaps mean mischief. We should not be affected either by their praise or by their condemnation. We are in a critical period of our life, and it behoves us to weigh things in their true perspective..

"With the 'discovery' of Sanskrit and the literature contained therein,...the European world began to appreciate the achievements of the ancient Indians in the domain of thought and knowledge quite enthusiastically, and the Indians themselves rose one morning to find that the best minds of the world recognised in them the descendants of men who were their equals in brain power of every kind. This raised them considerably in self-estimation, and they began to use the greatness of their past as a lever and as an inspiration for aspirations of greatness in the future. In this they achieved a notable success. The renaissance in India is its outcome.

"In this process, however, some of us lost the sense

* Compare Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India*, 2nd. Ed.: "In practice, indeed, the sanctity of animal was placed before that of human life; and the absurd spectacle was witnessed of a man being put to death for killing an animal, or even for eating meat [p. 165]...It is recorded by contemporary testimony that in the seventh century king Harsha, who obviously aimed at closely copying the institutions of Asoka, did not shrink from inflicting capital punishment without hope of pardon on any person who dared to infringe his commands by slaying any living thing, or using flesh as food in any part of his dominions" [p. 170].

of proportion. In our anxiety to reply to our critics tit for tat, we began to make extravagant claims for our ancestors, and to trace to India all that is good, true and beautiful in the world. Even this, perhaps, would not have mattered, had we not started making extravagantly disparaging statements about modern civilisation, thus claiming for ourselves a sort of monopoly in truth, and wisdom and art.....

"A people constantly belittled by the foreigner, as well as by their own leaders, gets no chance of cultivating the necessary qualities of self-respect and self-confidence. People wanting in those qualities are on the surest road to decay and annihilation. Hence the necessity, the absolute necessity, of counteracting the evil effects of such sweeping denunciations of all our institutions.....But the process of self-praise and the glorification of our past has its dangerous side also. It has the tendency of making us look to the past, rather than to the future, thus sometimes blinding us to the progress which the world has made since ancient Aryan times.

"If modern truths (truth is truth and is neither ancient nor modern) are to be tested by the sanctions of the ancient times, and to be promulgated only if they accord with the teachings of our *Rishis*, then woe to India.....To reject them [modern improvements] because of their being opposed to, or inconsistent with the dicta of the ancient *Rishis*, is blocking the road to progress. No progress is conceivable unless we have an open mind and do away with the superstition that all truth was revealed to us in the beginning of the world and that all that was worth knowing was known to our ancestors, and that they had said the last word on all questions, be they religion, or sociology, or politics, or economics, or art, or even science. It is essential that we should realise that we are living in a new world, a world quite different from the one in which our ancestors lived, in many respects much more advanced than the latter, in some respects possibly not so advanced. Our progress will depend on our capacity to strike the golden mean and to preserve a well-balanced attitude towards the past and the present, with the determination to chalk out a future for ourselves greater than our past. Under the present circumstances there is little danger of our enemies succeeding in persuading us to believe that we are an inferior race, or that we have nothing to be proud of in our past, or that we lack the necessary quality of adjusting ourselves to the needs and requirements of the present. On the other hand there is some danger of our being self-complacent by overestimating the merits of our own civilisation to the disparagement of the modern. We cannot be too much on our guard against this danger.....

"We have to be very careful against self-complacency, self-conceit, and an assumption of perfection in our institutions and ideas. Not to be alive to our weaknesses, to the correction of our social standards, to the degeneration of our religious values, and to the reactionary and even barbaric nature of some of our customs will be a fatal hindrance to progress. We must go to the root-causes of the same to apply fundamental cures. In our march onward, we shall have to destroy a good deal before we can put up new structures necessary for our progress and worthy of our position in the family of nations. We cannot assume that everything ancient was perfect and ideal. Some of the ideas held by our ancestors have been proved to

be wrong ; we have to readjust them. Some of their methods were faulty ; we have to improve upon them. Some of their institutions, very well-suited to their age and conditions, are absolutely unsuited to modern conditions of life ; we must replace them. We do not want to be a mere copy of our ancestors. We wish to be better. With that object we have to revalue our standards and ideals.....We do not want to be English or German or American or Japanese ; true, we want to be Indians, but modern, up-to-date, progressive Indians, proud of our past and aspiring to a greater and a nobler future.....

"There are some good people in India who do, now and then, talk of the desirability of their country leading a retired, isolated, and self-contained life. They pine for good old days and wish them to come back. They sell books which contain this kind of nonsense. They write poems and songs, full of soft sentimentality. I do not know whether they are idiots or traitors. I must warn my countrymen most solemnly and earnestly to beware of them and of that kind of literature. We must realise once for all that no country on the face of the globe can, under modern conditions, live an isolated and self-contained life, even if she desires to do so. The world would not let us alone, even if we wished to be let alone.....let us understand once for all, that under modern conditions of life, the distinction between this country and the others is destined to be much less than it used to be before the introduction of steam and electricity in human affairs.....The world is tending to become one family..... weak, backward, effeminate, soft, unadaptable people will either be exterminated in the end or will continue to be exploited by others..... Linguistic and climatic differences will remain, but social and political and economic differences will disappear or at any rate will be effectively lessened... This great war has proved the intensity of existing national differences, but in my judgment it has also established the oneness of humanity and the probability, in the not very remote future, of world unity and a world culture..... One can have no idea of how fast Japan is being Europeanized. One may deplore it, one may rebuke the Japanese for adopting Japanese manners, but the fact remains that the Europeans could not and cannot help it. The process is almost universal..... Fear of Europe will unite Asia, and then the fear of Asia in its turn will bring about the unity of Europe and Asia. With Asia and Europe united, the world becomes one....."

Mr. Lajpat Rai is strongly opposed to the idea of making Sanskrit a general medium of instruction and uplift. In his opinion, the first aim of a national system of education should be to destroy our fatal tendency towards the negation of life, towards belittling it and killing desire with a view to escape from the pain of rebirth which almost all of us believe in. Sanskrit literature "is overfull with this false view of life's aim," and the attempt to resuscitate its wholesale study is "a flagrant misuse of energy" and "deserves to fail." As to national methods of education (the *tol* system), it will be a folly to revive them.

"They are out of date, and antiquated. To adopt them will be a step backward and not forward." It is bound to harm the general efficiency of the nation. When Macaulay wrote in favour of the Western system of education, "we are mighty glad that the system then prevalent was rejected in favour of the Western school system. The degeneracy which has resulted from the latter would have been greater and much worse if the former had received the sanction of the State and had been adopted. The present school system is atrocious, but the ancient system was better only in certain respects. The relationship of the *Guru* and *Chela* supplied the human element which is now missing, but on the other hand it had a tendency to enslave the pupils' mind. "The discipline enforced was too strict, too mechanical, and too empirical. The religion taught was too formal, rigid and narrow." The habit of slavish submission to authority cannot be acquired without inflicting awful injury on the manhood and womanhood of the nation. Besides, bringing up boys and girls in a hot-house atmosphere of isolation, as in the *Gurukula*, keeps them ignorant of the conditions of actual life, and renders our future citizens unfit for the battle of life. If we want their character to develop, instead of segregation, they should be brought up together, so that when they grow up they may not succumb to the first temptation they come across. "I come to the conclusion, therefore, that any widespread revival of the ancient or medieval systems of education is unthinkable. It will take us centuries back, and I am certain that the country will not adopt it."

National education, Mr. Lajpat Rai repeats, is not education in Sanskrit literature.

"Let me say once for all, that except for historical purposes, it is sheer and unjustifiable waste of time to insist on the dissemination of theories that have been superseded by and discarded in favour of others proved to be better and truer than the former.... [The *Dharmashastras*] are full of crude, absurd, inconsistent, diametrically antagonistic views and theories. We cannot afford to tax the mental capacity of our children by placing in their hands the current editions of *Manu*, *Narada* and *Apastamba*, without subjecting them to major operations. They must form a part of the courses of higher study... A study of the modern laws, of civics, of the modern world, of the forms of government prevailing in other countries is a *sine qua non* of future progress on healthy lines."

This is necessary because

* "The Indian mind has for some centuries been more

or less in a state of captivity. The strict regulated life of the *shastras* and the *sharā*, the rule of the priest, the lack of opportunities for education, the constantly disturbed conditions of the country, the philosophical pessimism of the creeds and the cults, the belittling of life by centuries of monasticism and asceticism, all had for sometime combined to make life in India static rather than dynamic. Voices were from time to time raised against the gross forms of worship and ritual followed by the people, but they were not powerful enough to make an effective crusade against ignorance. The result is that the India of the last thousand years has been more decadent than progressive—often going backward, rather than forward."

We must remember that "not being populations, but sound, efficient, integrated populations, are potentially progressive," and that as the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, said, "the capital of a country does not consist in cash or paper, but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it."

On the subject of patriotism, the author remarks.

"No scheme of national education in India could be complete without including the active teaching of patriotism and nationalism as a regular subject of study. In this matter we should borrow a leaf out of the book of Europe. Every European country, and the United States also, makes it a point to cultivate the spirit of patriotism through its schools. In every living community inspired by national ideas and ambitions the national consciousness expresses itself through the school as perhaps through no other institution."

Mr. Lajpat Rai quotes from a book showing how patriotism is taught in French schools

by giving direct instruction on the following points: (1) love of France, (2) the military spirit and the obligatory service, (3) the duty of cultivating physical courage, (4) the necessity of taxation for national welfare, (5) loyalty to republican principles and ideas of democracy and the like. On the question of Indian loyalty Mr. Lajpat Rai observes as follows:

"Our loyalty must be rational, reasoned, and sincere. Let me make it clear that any attempt to enforce the teaching of loyalty to the established British Government in India as such, without pointing out the road to make it truly national and truly democratic, will end in fiasco."

We shall conclude our extracts with the following observations of the author on cosmopolitanism *versus* nationalism:

"Vague, undefined, indeterminate cosmopolitanism is often a disguise for gross selfishness and a life of sensuous inactivity. We cannot do better than caution the younger generations of Indians against the fallacies of the cult of vague cosmopolitanism. Sometime ago, when addressing a meeting of a Cosmopolitan Club attached to one of the famous Universities of America (Columbia), the present writer took occasion to point out that while cosmopolitanism meant something noble when coming from the mouth of an Englishman or American, in the mouth of a Hindu or a Chinese (there were Hindus and Chinese in the gathering) it means only an attempt to escape the duties which patriotism lays on them. While I respect the former, I added, for their cosmopolitanism, I despise the latter for their lack of patriotism. For them it will be time to become cosmopolitan after they have cultivated patriotism and raised their respective countries to the level of other independent self-conscious, self-respecting nations."

POLITICS

TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Mine be eyes of youth
That have seen the western sun
Through cold skies his long course run;
Seeking after Truth
They have watched the western noon
Reach and pass her highest moon.
But those deeper skies
Of the East, where, poets say,
Phoebe turns the night to day,
Are wrapt by distance far away
From my wond'ring eyes.

Thou hast lived full years,
Thou hast climbed up Wisdom's hill
And thy mind is calm and still.
Youth is full of fears,
Nor pain nor trouble brooking
Goes, like a lover, looking
For the golden day.
Yet, O Seer, declare it now,
Dost thou see the dawn's red glow
Turning into gold the snow
On hills far away?

X.

NOTES

Mr. B. Chakravarti's Address.

Mr. B. Chakravarti's address as chairman of the Reception Committee of the special session of the Congress was a straightforward and courageous utterance. In his opinion,

The Britisher came to this country as a commercial adventurer and has stayed here as a commercial exploiter. This cause is the root cause and affects the very life of our people. We have been decaying since a very long time past as a race, but to-day we are threatened with not race-decadence only, but almost with positive race-extinction. While in the other parts of the civilized world, birth-rate is steadily increasing in relation to death-rate, in various parts of India our death-rate is increasing and birth-rate simultaneously dwindling down year after year. In the course of a few centuries, unless we are able to find means to reverse these figures as we see in the other countries of the world, we shall be overtaken by the fate of the American Indians or the Australian bushmen. Economically ever since the British came to this country there has been an almost open war carried on by the representatives of British commercial interests against the economic interests of the people of this country. When the British came to India, we were both an agricultural and a manufacturing nation. But they deliberately killed our manufactures, because they found it impossible to compete on fair terms with these.

Britishers call the exploitation of the material resources of the country "development." Development it, no doubt, is; but it is the foreigners who have profited most by it, the people of the country getting only the wages of labour for the most part. Mr. Chakravarti's reading of the economic situation is correct so far as it goes and it goes almost as far as it ought to; only he should have added that Indians in all provinces should have followed the example of the Parsis and other classes of the inhabitants of the Bombay presidency engaged in industries and trade, and not taken their economic defeat as a settled fact. When there is economic usurpation, both parties are to blame, as in political usurpation, though not to the same

extent. We do not certainly mean to say that it is just as easy for an Indian to succeed in industry and commerce in India as it is for an Englishman; for we know the latter can get help and advice from the Government Departments concerned, and also financial facilities from banks, more easily than the former. What we mean is that we have not fought as obstinately and strenuously against difficulties as we ought to have done. And we have not exercised, for the sake of safeguarding our economic position, even the small amount of watchfulness which we have shown in defending or winning political rights. So that the present state of things is that in vast areas the foreigner has obtained concessions which have made him the master of the situation so far as the mineral and vegetable resources of those areas are concerned; and no amount of declamation or straight talk or righteous indignation on our part can dislodge him. But all is not lost. We should make every effort to take possession of, keep for our own use and develop what remains.

In the course of his address Mr. Chakravarti quoted the following passage from *Outspoken Essays* (p. 91) by Dr. William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's :-

"It was not till the accession of George III that the increase in our numbers became rapid. No one until then would have thought of singling out the Englishman as the embodiment of the good apprentice. Metern, in the sixteenth century, found our countrymen 'as 'lazy as Spaniards'; most foreigners were struck by our fondness for solid food and strong drink. The industrial revolution came upon us suddenly: it changed the whole face of the country and the apparent character of the people. In the far future our descendants may look back upon the period in which we are living as a strange episode which disturbed the natural habits of our race.

"The first impetus was given by the plunder of Bengal, which, after the victories of Clive, flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years. This ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating English

industries as the 'five milliards,' extorted from France, did for Germany after 1870."

There is not the least doubt that the plunderers did a shameful thing. But it was an indelible disgrace for our ancestors also that they were so weak, disunited and foolishly selfish as to make it possible for a handful of foreigners to plunder and enslave them. The Bengal plunder enabled England not only to enrich herself by commerce and industry, but also to enlarge her Empire by conquering many foreign lands. The sin of all these enslavements rests partly on the head of Bengal, as it does almost entirely on that of England.

Mr. Chakravarti is right in holding that the main purpose for which Britain maintains her political supremacy in India by military domination is commercial supremacy, which means the economic exploitation and enslavement of the people. And when the people of a country are economically exploited they suffer from chronic malnutrition, which makes them powerless from a military point of view. Says Dean Inge (quoted by Mr. Chakravarti) in his *Outspoken Essays*, p. 94 :

"A nation may be so much weakened in physique by underfeeding as to be impotent from a military point of view in spite of great numbers ; this is the case in India and China. Deficient nourishment also diminishes the day's work.

"If European and American capital goes to China and provides proper food for the workmen, we may have an early opportunity of discovering whether the supporters of the League of Nations have any real conscientious objection to violence and bloodshed. We may surmise that the European man, the fiercest of all beasts of prey, is not likely to abandon the weapons which have made him the lord and the bully of the planet. He has no other superiority to the races which he arrogantly despises. Under a regime of peace the Asiatic would probably be his master."

The speaker endorsed every word and suggestion of the Punjab Report of the Congress Sub-Committee.

I am struck with wonder and admiration as often as I consider the fulness and clearness of evidence upon which it has been based, the care and scrupulous firmness with which the evidence has been sifted, the force and cogency with which facts have been marshalled, and the broad, massive impartiality which characterizes its findings. My only quarrel with the report is

that its recommendations are too mild and lenient ; that in its anxiety to avoid overstatement it has been guilty of some considerable understatement ; and that having marshalled its facts with inimitable force and vigour, it stops short of the conclusions which it might legitimately have drawn. And this I say, not simply as a public man interested in the full threshing out of matters of grave and public importance, but also as a lawyer having some little experience of the handling of proof and the drawing of conclusions.

As regards the Hunter Committee Mr. Chakravarti asked :

Why were sundry individuals permitted to give evidence in camera ? and why were not men like Bosworth-Smith and Frank Johnson promptly checked and brought to book by the President in the midst of their gross and flippant impertinences ? Or are we to suppose that the English members of the Committee—themselves treated with all consideration—enjoyed the insults that were put upon their Indian colleagues ? Above all, why did Lord Hunter refuse to receive the Congress evidence, when on the 30th of December, after the release of the Punjab leaders, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as well as the Punjab leaders themselves offered to lead evidence at their disposal ?

The speaker's disproof of "the cuckoo cry that the Punjab was in a state of open rebellion" was thoroughly convincing. He also showed that there was no case for the continuance of martial law in the Punjab. As regards the plea that General Dyer acted from "an honest belief" and "a mistaken sense of duty", he said :

"I protest against these expressions, not simply because they are false, but because they are a prostitution of holy and sacred phrases. What honesty, what duty, was there in this naked act of unmitigated butchery ? And why should Mr. Montagu and the Government of Lord Chelmsford seek to cloak the hideous barbarity of the deed by expressions of sanctimonious hypocrisy ? Whether you punish Dyer or not is your own concern ; it lies between you and your conscience ; but we must protest against this impudent attempt at bluffing the world with pious phrases."

The Punjab debates in Parliament show "that the British public, at least the British governing classes, care nothing for the wrong of India ; but they care much for the wrong or, fancied wrong of one of their own race. The little finger of General Dyer is worth more to them than many hundreds of Indian lives." The

also show that "in point of fact it was the Secretary of State who was put upon his trial, not for punishing Dyer too leniently, but for dealing with him too harshly!"

As regards the lessons of the debates in Parliament Mr. Chakravarti said:

Fellow delegates, I cannot speak for others: but speaking for myself, these repeated lessons have been enough for me—enough and too much: they have disillusioned me finally and for ever: they have cured in me—I hope they have cured in all of us—the last, lingering vestige of belief in that extremely hypothetical and illusory quantity—the justice and good faith of the British governing classes: they have reinforced in me the great outstanding lesson of history, viz., that a nation in leading strings is a nation in helotage and that for all justice, strength and help in evil, you must look within and not without.

Mr. Chakravarti summed up the Mahomedan position on the great question of the Khilafat and the terms of the peace treaty with Turkey in the pregnant words of Mr. Mohamed Ali, and observed in part that though with non-Moslems "the Khilafat may not be a question of religion, yet "it is a question of high international morality. To the allies we say, your talk about mandates and mandatories will deceive none but children. With all your falutin about self-determination, how dare you partition the Turkish Empire among yourselves?"

On the question of non-co-operation, the speaker held that "on the principle of non-co-operation we are all united, and..... that upon details we differ. Yet, if non-co-operation is to be used as a political weapon, if it is to be used as a weapon for checking and paralysing the activities of the Bureaucracy, it is these details of policy which will really count." Neither the doctrine of non-co-operation nor some of the methods of practising it, are new things. "Our experiences in Bengal in the past, I regret to say, do not justify us in taking a very hopeful view of the success of the non-co-operation programme adumbrated."

In our opinion, the most important passage in the address is the following:

Why not grant India the same kind of independence to deal with her own affairs as you

have done in Egypt? Have a commercial treaty with India in the same way as you are having with Egypt to safeguard all your vested commercial interests and leave us to ourselves to find out our own salvation.

Mr. Chakravarti said this "to protect ourselves and to protect our self-respect."

Mr. Andrews on Egyptian and Indian Independence.

In a letter to the press, printed below, Mr. C. F. Andrews makes the same suggestion as Mr. Chakravarti.

(To the Editor, "I. D. News")

Sir,—Having witnessed with my own eyes the humiliation of Indians in the Punjab, Fiji, East Africa and South Africa and watched with bitter shame, the last humiliation of the infamous Turkish Treaty, I can see no possible recovery of self-respect except by claiming an independence from British domination not less than that of Egypt. This required absolute unity of moral purpose for its fulfilment, not compromise or concession. I deeply regret that at such a critical time I should have personally added one pang to Indian humiliation by weakly countenancing repatriation in South Africa.—Yours. etc.,

C. F. ANDREWS.

Bolpur, Sept. 19.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's Presidential Address.

The greater portion of Mr. Lajpat Rai's long and able presidential address was, for obvious reasons, devoted to the affairs of the Punjab. In the introductory paragraph of his address, the Lala says that Calcutta has always been associated in his mind with the best and the truest ideals of Indian Nationalism. "It was at Calcutta that the ideals of the new Nationalism, that has since then grown into a mighty tree, were first expounded and explained by one of the purest-minded and the most intellectual of Bengal's gifted sons; I mean Sri Aurobindo Ghose."

Mr. Lajpat Rai recognises the momentous character of the situation.

The country is at the present moment in the throes of a momentous struggle. The Anglo-Indian Press has designated it as revolutionary. There are many people to whom the word 'revolution' is like a red rag to a bull. I am not one of them. Words do not scare me. It is no use blinking the fact that we are passing through a revolutionary period, nay, we are already in the grip of a mighty revolution, a

comprehensive and all-covering one, religious, intellectual, moral, educational, social, economic, and political. We are by instinct and tradition averse to revolutions. Traditionally, we are a slow-going people; but when we decide to move, we do move quickly and by rapid strides. No living organism can altogether escape revolutions in the course of its existence. Our national history records many such.

In the opinion of the president of the special congress the root cause of the Panjab disorders is to be found in the character of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Panjab.

To arrive at a proper understanding of the position, one has to look into a whole lot of circumstances which preceded the agitation against the Rowlatt Act and to bear in mind that the person who is principally responsible for the Punjab tragedy, the man whose general policy created the atmosphere which made it possible for a Dyer, a Bosworth-Smith, an O'Brien, a Doveton, a Frank Johnson and other smaller fry, to commit the unmentionable outrages of which they were guilty, in the five days immediately preceding the introduction of Martial Law, and all through its continuance in the spring of 1919 in the Punjab, is Sir M. O'Dwyer. From the very moment he took charge of the Province he set before him an ideal of Government which was Prussian in conception, Prussian in aim and Prussian in execution. For six long years he occupied himself in working out his ideals and in carrying out his plans. Every item was carefully thought out, and with equal care entrusted to agents who were most fitted and willing to achieve the end desired by the Head of the Government. If ever there intervened an obstacle or a hindrance it was removed without the least pang of conscience, and without the slightest consideration of its morality or even legality, so much so that even the European members of the I. C. S. who refused to endorse his opinions or to carry out his mandate had to retire into the background.

The only alternation we would suggest in the foregoing extract, the opinions expressed wherein we fully support, is with regard to the epithet "Prussian". For, whenever and wherever their self-interest has demanded it, British men have equalled and sometimes out-Prussianed Prussians. Why then pillory the Prussians alone? Similarly, we sometimes speak of some human actions as brutal or diabolical. But the brutes are certainly not as bad as some human beings are; because their actions are determined by their natures, whereas man can

act both rightly and wrongly: and as for the devil, he is an imaginary being whose existence has been assumed in order to palliate or explain away the conduct of some human beings or to keep them in countenance. However, whatever may be the case with the devil, there is no doubt that we are often unjust to the brutes in characterizing some kinds of human conduct as brutal, and we are also unjust to the Prussians in attributing to them pre-eminence in certain bad qualities.

Mr. Lajpat Rai has brought the following twelve serious charges against Sir Michael O'Dwyer:

(i) I charge him with having deliberately intensified the policy of 'divide and rule' by keeping apart the Mahomedans from the Hindus and both from the Sikhs.

(ii) I charge him with having created fresh political divisions between the people of the Province by drawing purely artificial and mischievous distinctions between martial and educated classes and between the rural and urban interests and creating unhealthy rivalry between them.

(iii) I charge him with having made illegal use of the processes of law and of his authority for recruitment purposes, and for getting contributions for the War Loan and other war funds.

(iv) I charge him with having condoned and in a way encouraged the most brutal and diabolic deeds of those who were his tools in Recruiting and War Loan campaigns and with having failed to check bribery and corruption among the subordinate Police and Magistracy.

(v) I charge him with having debased and misused the forms and processes of law for the purpose of crushing those who would not bend his knee to him and who showed the slightest independence of spirit and a desire for political advancement.

(vi) I charge him with having deliberately deceived the Government of India as to the necessity of Martial Law, and as to the necessity of trying cases of ordinary sedition under the processes of that law. He was guilty of a clear falsehood at this stage when he suggested to the Government of India that the General Officer Commanding in the Punjab agreed with his views.

(vii) I charge him with having deliberately manipulated the continuance of Martial Law for vindictive and punitive purposes when there was no rebellion and there was no likelihood of a recrudescence of disturbances in that Province.

(viii) I charge him with having been instrumental, by express or tacit consent and by encouragement, by word or deed, in the promulgation of barbarous orders and the infliction of

barbarous punishments and humiliations on the people of the Punjab.

(ix) I charge him at least with being an accessory after the event of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. By his unqualified approval of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre he made himself responsible for all the outrages committed by the Martial Law administrators in pursuance of his policy.

(x) I charge him with having connived at perfectly illegal exactions from the people of the Punjab in the shape of punitive fines and penalties.

(xi) I charge him with culpable neglect of duty in not going to Amritsar, first on the 11th after the deplorable events of the 10th, and then on the 14th after the massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh.

(xii) I charge him, lastly, with having extorted addresses from the people of the Punjab, on the eve of his departure, by illegal and mean threats, one of them having been altered in a material particular when in the custody of his minions, and having made a dishonest use of them in his defence in England.

Mr. Rai has proved these charges to the hilt. Much of the evidence which he has so ably marshalled is known, but one or two points may be repeated. With regard to the banking crisis of 1913, he says:—

The Banking Crisis was brought about by an unholy alliance of the officials of the Punjab Government and some personal enemies of Lala Harkishan Lal, the chief figure in the then industrial life of the Punjab. I was at that time on the Directorate of the Panjab National Bank, the only Indian Bank that survived that crisis, and had, by personal knowledge, opportunities of observing how frequently those Indians who had engineered the crisis, waited upon a certain official representative of the Panjab Government. The Panjab Government did practically nothing to relieve the sufferings that were caused by the crisis and, when the Panjab National Bank applied to the Government for an assurance of help in case of need, they sent a reply that large sums of money had been placed at the disposal of the Bank of Bengal to give relief when and where needed. The Panjab National Bank then applied to the Bank of Bengal for similar assurance, offering Government Promissory notes as security, which they flatly declined to give. The impression that was left on our minds was that the bureaucracy was very happy at the misfortune that had befallen the Province and that as far as it lay in their power they would do nothing to relieve this distress. While relief was promptly and freely given to European establishments, every Indian establishment was allowed to go under for want of timely aid and presumably for "moral effect." There was thus no help but to conclude that it was intended to crush all the

industrial and financial enterprise in the Province, with a view to remove any vestige of economic independence that had found expression. The Banking Crisis made us realize, as perhaps we had never before realised, the absolute helplessness to which we had been reduced by the present system of Government. We felt the situation keenly which had made it possible for the foreign capitalists to impose upon us not only their system but also their terms and their business, by the use of the very moneys that were realized from us by the Government in the shape of revenues. When the Industrial Commission visited the Punjab, these and other facts were related to them by Lala Harkishan Lal in his evidence, and on some Commissioner reminding him if he realized what he was saying, he replied by an emphatic 'yes.'

If the cases of the numerous persons tried under martial law could be considered individually, the grave injustice done to most of them, if not to all, could be brought out. But as that is impracticable, the following paragraph will give some idea of the wrong done to the people as a whole:—

In all 2537 persons were tried before different Courts under the Martial Law regulation, of whom 1804 were convicted, i.e., about 72 per cent. If we compare the result with the percentage of convictions in ordinary Courts and the percentage of convictions in cases arising out of the South-Western riots of 1915 (viz., 700 out of 4000), we will see the difference between ordinary trials and trials before the Martial Law Tribunals of 1919. The main purpose of Martial Law, as stated by official witnesses before the Hunter Committee, was the speedy trial of these offenders.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's address contains sufficient facts to prove that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's "idea was to get rid of every political leader, actual or potential, and have the Punjab entirely at the mercy of the bureaucracy."

Having concluded his indictment of the tyrant of the Punjab, the President said:—

It is our duty also to repudiate as emphatically as we can the fundamentally erroneous, I was going to say, vicious and Prussian conception which found frequent expression in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches, that the security of life and property is the primary duty of Government. The security of life and property is only a means to an end. What is the end? The uplifting of the human race and its progress towards the fullness of freedom, which means towards divinity. PEACE IS A GOOD THING, BUT LIFE IS STILL BETTER, says Rabindra-

nath Tagore in one of his essays on Nationalism.

If the British rulers of India propose to give us mere security of life and property by denying us honour and liberty, we must refuse to have them. THERE IS NO LIFE WITHOUT FREEDOM AND THERE IS NO FREEDOM WITHOUT "SWARAJYA" OR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

He has paid a tribute of respect to the numerous men, women and children who, as soon as the first shock was over, 'recovered almost instantaneously.'

"Those who were arrested and prosecuted behaved most heroically, those whom they had left behind, including little children and women, bore their misfortunes nobly.

"To the eternal glory of Indian womanhood, Ratan Devi defied the curfew order of General Dyer, and watched all night by the corpse of her dead husband in the Jallianwala Bagh. The boys who were accused of waging war against His Majesty the King, never showed the slightest anxiety about their lives.

"Of the victims of official aggression there is one man whose name I must mention, who by his cool and calm behaviour, his bold and defiant attitude, his manly notions of self-respect and honour, his stoic indifference to consequences, set an example for others and earned the everlasting respect of his countrymen. I refer, of course, to Lala Harkishen Lal.

"Having passed through the fire of Martial Law, the Punjab is today purer, stronger, more advanced, more determined, more patriotic and very much more united. The so-called backward Muslim masses are vying with their Hindu countrymen in showing a united political front, and the Sikhs (young and old) are outdoing themselves. No words can describe their enthusiasm for political regeneration and their readiness to suffer and sacrifice.

"If Martial Law has produced such good results in the Punjab itself, it has done still greater wonders in the cause of Indian unity. The political consciousness of the people of India has advanced by at least ten years."

The second question that was referred to the special session of the Congress was the question of the Khilafat.

Seventy millions of our Muslim countrymen are stirred over it. The question has two aspects: the religious and the political. We of the Indian National Congress have no jurisdiction to go into the merits of the Khilafat question from the religious point of view. In the words of Mr. Leland Buxton, "it does not in the least matter what Professor this or Doctor that thinks the Muslims ought to believe. What does matter is, that the vast majority of *Sunni* Muslims do believe that the Sultan of Turkey is their Khalifa and the interests of Islam require him to be the head of a large, powerful and

independent State." The Mohamedan Law-books define the boundaries of such a State.

The Muhammadan position, from the religious point of view, is well-known. That great injustice has been done to Turkey from the view-point of international justice and morality, too, is the belief of the Indian public.

But there are in my judgment other issues also involved in the Turkish Peace Treaty which deserve consideration. I maintain that any further extension of the British Empire in Asia is detrimental to the interests of India and fatal to the liberties of the human race. The British have frequently used Indian troops to conquer various parts of Asia and Africa. For a long time there was an unwritten law which every European Chancellory considered binding on itself, that non-European troops were not to be used in any European War. This was abolished in the last war. African troops and Indian troops were in occupation of Germany and possibly they may be still there. Gurkhas were, for some time, stationed in Ireland. I do not, of course, resent the abolition of the invidious racial bar. From that point of view, I may even welcome it, but surely it widens the scope of militarism. British suzerainty in Arabia and the British occupation of Mesopotamia involves the practical absorption of Persia and Central Asia, and perhaps later on of Afghanistan as well, into the British Empire. What has happened in India will happen in these countries too, i.e., the general population will be disarmed and a number of them enrolled and drilled in the army. With the memory of the Dyer Debates fresh in our minds, let my countrymen imagine the effect of that procedure on their own liberties as well as those of the rest of the world. The prospect of having Arabian, Persian and Afghan regiments in India cannot be pleasant to those of us who are working for the freedom of this country. It may be said that the contingency is very remote and perhaps fanciful. I am afraid I cannot agree in that view. What is remote to-day becomes near to-morrow. If the British Imperialist has no scruples in using Indian troops in Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Central Asia, why will he have any in using the troops he raises in these countries against us? The Hindu-Muslim problem will become ten times more troublesome and dangerous, if this turns out to be true.

Then there is another aspect of the question. If the Muslim population of these countries continue to resist British attempts at occupation which they are likely to do for years, the Indian Army will be in constant requisition to fight their battles in those regions, which means a constant and never-ending drain on our resources, both human and economic. The best interests of India, therefore, require that the

in countries in Western Asia should remain free and independent. Their amalgamation in the British Empire, even under the pretence of mandatory jurisdiction, is likely to be extremely harmful to us. We know what these mandates really mean. The British have to maintain 89,000 troops in Mesopotamia and the French the same number in Syria.

Mr. Lajpat Rai thinks "it is a perfectly legitimate and constitutional demand that the Indian troops should no more be used anywhere outside India. They were taken out to defend the Empire when the Empire was in danger. The war which threatened the whole Empire is over and the troops sent by the Dominions have returned to their homes. So should ours. The Indian army exists to defend the Indian Empire and not for an aggressive Imperial policy of extension and expansion."

It having been pointed out to the President that in supporting the Muslim claim for the maintenance of the Turkish Empire, he was advocating Imperialism, to which he was otherwise bitterly opposed, he replied :

"I do desire the destruction of Imperialism, but I do not desire the destruction of some Empires for the benefit of others. In my judgment, Imperialism should be eliminated from the affairs of men, and a federation of sisterly states should take its place ; but so long as there are Empires, it is not in the interests of humanity that some of them should be dissolved for the enlargement and glorification of others. In the present state of world politics, the liberty of such states as are now being created by the dissolution of the Turkish Empire is not worth even a day's purchase. Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia are being absorbed in the British and French Empires. Arabia and Kurdistan and Armenia cannot but be vassal States. Turkey itself, under the Treaty, is hardly in a better position than the Nizam of Hyderabad. In an ungaurded moment Lloyd George has said : 'We have got Constantinople. We have got Mesopotamia. We have got Palestine.' The Allies would have been perfectly justified in insisting on establishing autonomous Governments in all the component parts of the Turkish Empire, with a tie of federation joining them all for purposes of defence. But as the matter at present stands, Muslim independence is entirely gone. What Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, Kurdistan and Anatolia are getting is only a shadow and not the substance.

Some of the President's observations on the Reforms may now be quoted.

"My attitude towards the Reform scheme may be summed up in one sentence. It was one of partial elation in 1918, it sank into one of depression in 1919, it changed almost into one of despair in 1920."

"The Rules and Regulations have been framed by the bureaucracy and represent their mind. The people of India have had very little to say in the drafting of them, and what little they said has gone unheeded. The restrictions imposed on the selection of candidates, the refusal to enfranchise the wage-earning classes and women, the constitution of the territorial constituencies and the almost autocratic powers given to the Governors, have considerably reduced the value of the Reforms, even such as they were. The distinction between dismissed Government servants and dismissed or suspended lawyers and between rural and urban constituencies is on the face of it absurd. The tenderness shown towards European commercial interests is significant and even more significant is the anxiety to keep out of the Councils the leading victims of Martial Law. In the Punjab, Indian Trade and Commerce remains unrepresented and also the Depressed Classes and the wage-earners. The Rules of Procedure are as reactionary as the ingenuity of the bureaucracy could make them. In fact, all round, so far as the Rules and Regulations are concerned, the bureaucracy have won and the Indian people have lost. The bureaucracy is so adept in the art of mixing and cooking that the half which they propose to retain, contains all the nourishment of the whole, leaving the other half worse than chaff. They manage it so skilfully that in the process of doughing they mix many a germ of disease in the half which they propose to let you have. It will be a marvel of good fortune, if with all the distinctions of Hindus, Mussulmans, Sikhs and Christians, of urban and rural, of Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, of residents and non-residents, of British subjects and those of Native States, of military and civil, made in the Rules and Regulations, we are still able to evolve a national spirit which will rise above these differences and consolidate us into one people, with a will to live and prosper as a free nation.

The President chose to say nothing on "non-co-operation" in the inaugural address, and we think he chose wisely. But on co-operation he made some important remarks which deserve to be quoted in full.

Before we consider Non-co-operation, let us start with Co-operation. Co-operation of the people with the Government is based on one of two assumptions, either that the Government represents them, or that the Government is there to protect their interests. Now in India the first of these two assumptions cannot hold good.

The second is unhappily in the course of being shattered to pieces, if not already gone. Co-operation with Government is of two kinds; one enforceable by law and therefore compulsory, for example, the payment of taxes, or serving in the army under conscription; the other is voluntary, for example, accepting Government service or joining the Councils, and so on. In the case of the former, every refusal is punishable. As for the latter, there again you have to distinguish between co-operation which is obviously for the country's benefit and that which is not so. Co-operation determined solely or mainly by economic considerations can only be refused, if we can find economic alternatives. Co-operation inspired by considerations of honour and dignity can be easily refused if the mentality of the people regarding honour and dignity can be changed. Last, but not the least, in the same class you may consider co-operation which gives you opportunities of serving your country by attacking the citadels of power and privilege from the inside.

Co-operation or refusal of it, then, must be judged by (a) its obligatory or voluntary nature, (b) by its economic consequences, (c) by its inherent morality and (d) by its utility as a weapon of attack or defence.

Co-operation which is immoral or which makes you a tool of a foreign bureaucracy or which leaves you no option but to give effect to their orders, stands on an entirely different footing from one which is obviously for the benefit of the country. Similarly co-operation, which is inspired by economic necessity stands on a different footing from the one which is solely or mainly based on considerations of honour and dignity. Then again you must consider if your refusal of co-operation proceeds from the desire to make an immediate effective impression on the Government or from the motive of habituating the people to take their destiny in their own hands.

He urged the Congress to pay special attention to the opinion and welfare of the masses.

It is our duty to take into consideration more than we ever did before, the interests of those who are for the present mere men and women, with no adjectives or prefixes before their names to enable them either to vote for the legislative assemblies of the country or to exercise any other political right, giving them a voice in the determination of their destinies. These men and women have begun to think. Not that they did not think before. Thank God, the masses of this country have never been unthinking animals. But what they used to think of before is different from what they are thinking now. In one word, they have begun to think politically. Bitter experience, economic want, Rowlatt Bills and the Martial Law orders, have indeed not only taught them to

think politically but also to think vigorously. They feel and realise more keenly and more actively than they perhaps ever did before the difference between politically free men and those that are not so. In certain respects they are already ahead of those who are supposed to have a stake in the country. They feel that the men without property have a greater and more real stake in the country than men with property. The latter can go and settle and live wherever they like. The whole world is open to them. They are perfectly welcome in every civilised country. But the former can go nowhere except as indentured coolies or as mercenary soldiers, privileges of which they are already quite sick. They want their country for themselves and they are keen on getting it as soon as circumstances permit. Under the circumstances, let me beg of you to think well before you decide the momentous question before you. Whatever you decide, be prepared to act up to your decision regardless of the consequences to your personal interest. Let not your decisions be vitiated by considerations of personal or class interests.

The general public, including the masses, are in no mood to be trifled with, either by the Government or by yourselves. They have waited sufficiently long, and they want immediate relief from political bondage. They may not understand complicated questions of Finance, Currency, Military Organisation, or the like. They may not be able to express opinions on abstract theories of State, but they do know that the country, at present, is not being governed in their interests. They are quite aware of the supercilious claims that are being put forward by British statesmen of all kinds from the O'Dwyers, Sydenhams and Sumners of the Tory school to the Mestons, MacDonnells and Montagus of the democratic wing, that the British can and do look after the interests of the masses of this country even better than their educated countrymen. They know that when the question arises whether the vote should be given to "the man on the soil, the man behind the plough, and the man whose life is a question between a crop and a crop," it is the British statesman who stands between them and the right. They know also that when the question arises of how best to spend the revenue raised from them, the people whose interests get precedence over theirs, are the British Civilian, the British Army man, the British manufacturer, the British banker, and the British trader. They have seen through the newspapers how lavishly and generously the British Secretary of State has been solicitous of conciliating the British and the allied highly paid Indian servants of the Crown by giving them large increments in the princely salaries which they were already enjoying. While the British Government readily recognises that the man drawing from Rs. 500 to Rs. 3000 or 4000 a month is

hard hit by the increase in cost of living, they shut their eyes to the fact that the said increase has cut the very ground from under the feet of the ordinary wage-earner, the small agriculturist and the low-paid clerk. Last, but not the least, they have seen that, however tyrannical and oppressive the conduct of a British or Indian officer may be, the greatest punishment that can be meted out to him is to be compulsorily retired on a pension, a punishment which really falls on the tax-payer.

The greatest need of the situation is the uplift of the masses, educational, social, as well as economical. Co-operation or non-co-operation, that must be our aim and purpose and that must be our motive and inspiration. The masses must feel that we are working for them, and in their interests.

The President does not leave us in any doubt as to what, in his opinion, our attitude towards the masses should be.

How far we must lead or be led by the masses? During the last 6 months since I landed on the 20th of February last, I have been in close touch with the masses of my countrymen. I have seen them in their thousands, in processions or meetings and have met their representatives in private. I have seen their political awakening. It has exceeded my wildest expectations. Under the circumstances, we have to remember that in any programme we make, we must carry the masses along with us. While it will be wrong on our part to allow our deliberate judgment to be overruled by the masses, it will be equally unwise and perhaps fatal to ignore them. There are some worthy men who are disposed to confound the people with mobs; they believe that true leadership requires the disregard of the opinions and wishes of the people. With due respect to them I have no hesitation in saying that I do not share their belief. The masses change their character into mobs when they are inflamed by passion and anger, and are filled with a desire for revenge, and as a rule this happens only under grave provocation. In that situation it becomes the duty of the leaders to be firm, and save the situation by tact and skill.

Under ordinary circumstances wise leadership involves understanding of the mass mind in a spirit of sympathy and respect. There may be occasions when, majority or no majority, one has to go by the voice of one's own conscience, but in practical politics such occasions are not frequent nor many.

We must arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to the general body of our countrymen in whose interests and for whose welfare we are striving. We must not lose the lead of the people either by marching too far ahead of them, or by lagging behind. Both will be fatal to the best interests of the country.

In their present mood, the masses demand

that we shall do something over and above the mere passing of resolutions. But I believe they want also that we shall not lose such opportunities of alleviating their condition and helping them in their little things, as we possess, or which the law allows us.

What Mr. Lajpat Rai said should, no doubt, receive full consideration. But it should also be noted that the masses have all along been without direct representation in the Congress meetings, including the latest, and that under the present constitution of the Congress it is practically certain that they can have little, if any, direct representation.

The President's concluding observations are worthy of all attention.

There is no such thing as benevolence in international politics, although there is such a thing as enlightened self-interest. The despotism of a democracy is in my judgment more fatal for a subject people than that of an absolute monarch. The situation which you have to face is from this point of view more difficult and complex than the one your ancestors had to face.....

I would therefore very much like to warn my countrymen against being under any delusion as to the justice-loving nature or high-mindedness of any democracy in the world, British or other. I was in this matter disillusioned by my first visit to England in 1905. Since then I have had many opportunities of studying the nature and the character of several democracies (British, American and Japanese), and you may take it from me, that although there are men and women in these democracies who are absolutely just and high-minded, guided by the purest of motives in dealing with subject peoples and backward races, the bulk of them, be they of England or of America, not to speak of Japan, know only one thing, namely, their own interest or the interest of their race. There are sections of these democracies whose own class interests require the destruction of militarism and imperialism and who will therefore sympathise with those of the subject people who are struggling for emancipation. It is wise on your part to ally yourselves with them.....

Have as many friends as you can have, among Englishmen and others, but have faith in yourselves and yourselves alone.

Our progress depends more than anything else upon the volume and vigour of our own public opinion in this country. It will be wise to have this supplemented by the moral support of the great nations of the world, since by virtue of being a member of the League of Nations, we can now legitimately appeal to them for such moral support.

The time has come when we must decide between the freedom of body and soul and the

life of convenience and comparative ease which is allowed to a few of us under the present system. If we decide for the former we must be prepared for the consequences. But if we choose the latter we must not cry if we do not get the moon. That is the real issue before you and I know I can leave this issue with confidence in your hands.

Mr. Lajpat Rai on the Non-co-operation Programme.

In his concluding address Mr. Lajpat Rai said he was absolutely whole-hearted in support of the Non-co-operation movement, but he was not convinced that the programme accepted by the Congress was the best and the most effective one. He had his doubts about several of the items. He was whole-heartedly opposed to the withdrawal of boys from schools and colleges. He did not accept the proposition at all. He did not yield to anybody in his desire for national education, for establishing National Institutions and giving his life for National educational problems. He was a boy of 18 years of age when he started in life. In April 1910 he gave the best part of his income to the building up of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. After a great deal of study and experience he has come to the conclusion that a national system of education cannot be constructed without a National Government. We must direct all our energy to have a National Government, and unless we have a National Government, to talk of National Education was, in his opinion, not fruitful. After 25 years of experience he has eventually come to the conclusion that the conception of National Education in the country is very defective. What is National Education, how it should be carried out, will it be a Hindu system or a Mohamedan,—these questions bristle with difficulties. They are not inseparable, insoluble, but they are very difficult. He did not know of any nation that had solved the problem of education by any other body except the Government of the country which takes the revenue. It would, in his opinion, be absolutely suicidal to withdraw our boys and girls from schools and colleges. Even

in this country, an attempt was made, it was the National Council of Education in Bengal. It was found impossible to carry it out.

I want the whole attention of the country to be directed to and concentrated on this, that you must have a National Government before you have National Education. There is a great deal in the contention of Mahatma Gandhi that the education is a false education which you receive. You want to be Indians, but what you want to be is not a body of the ancient Indians, but modern, up-to-date and progressive Indians. You should not go backwards but must go forward. You must combine Western and Eastern cultures together.

As about the withdrawal of boys and girls from Government, aided and recognised institutions, so as regards the withdrawal of lawyers from the Government law-courts, Mr. Lajpat Rai dissented from Mr. Gandhi's resolution. He was afraid that the withdrawal of lawyers from courts would be impracticable. Not that he was in love with lawyers or with courts. He has long ceased to be a practising lawyer, and all that he earned by law he has given away long ago. He however held that the gradual withdrawal of lawyers from courts was an unpracticable proposition. He was in favour of the idea for establishing courts of arbitration. "Establish them and take your cases to these courts but so long as the British Government is in the country it is impossible to avoid the courts altogether. In political cases, I may tell you, that those of us who were foremost in denouncing the British Courts are the first to ask the assistance of lawyers." If his own son were accused of murder, did they think he would leave him undefended?

His own idea was that the other two or three measures which had been stated were very fine, but they were more like flies on the cart-wheel. "I may say that you will not be able to paralyse the Government unless you strike at the root of economic exploitation. Economic bondage is the root of political bondage. If you want non-co-operation to be carried into actual practice, you must strike at the root of the economic bondage. Now you have added another clause, that is,

boycott of foreign goods. You have passed that resolution, and I wish you complete success from the bottom of my heart, absolutely."

As regards boycotting the councils, he confessed that his sympathies were entirely with Mahatma Gandhi, but his head sometimes reeled and began to go over to the other side. There was a great deal of force in what Mahatma Gandhi said with regard to these councils; there was an insidious poison which demoralised the men who went to the councils. He was not himself going to the council, the decision was final for him.

What have you been doing for the last 35 years? The leaders of the nation have been crying for co-operation. In the course of a year you cannot change 315 millions of the population of this country from an attitude of co-operation to an attitude of non-co-operation. If you do so, you are liable to fall into pit-falls. You require time to face that. I am afraid that the time is inadequate. I am entirely in favour of that programme provided it is considered by a joint committee consisting of the best men of the country to give details, but at the same time not to give away the programme of Mahatma Gandhi, who is a national asset.

Referring to the deputation to England, which had been suggested, the President said that he had no faith in the usefulness of such a body. From experience as a member of the Congress Deputation in 1905 he could say that he had no faith in the British public, but he had great faith in publicity to the whole world. He wanted an independent campaign of publicity in America, France, Japan and other countries. This was the very suggestion which we made in the *Modern Review* for December, 1919, with reference to the work of the Amritsar session of the Congress which was to come off later during the same month. We wrote :—

"There is one simple matter which may, however, be lost sight of. There ought to be publicity work done in as many free countries including England, as possible. A Lala Lajpat Rai and his co-laborers may not always be available in America or elsewhere to do publicity work or to prevail upon a citizen Malone to place India's case before a civilized public. The political publicity workers should, in co-operation with the Industrial Conference, do publicity work in the field of commerce and industries, too."

"Non-co-operation" at the Moslem League and the Khilafat Conference.

The Non-co-operation resolutions adopted by the Moslem League and the Khilafat Conference are practically the same as Mr. Gandhi's resolution, accepted at the Congress by a majority of the delegates who voted.

Number of Persons Directly Affected Pecuniarily by the Non-co-operation Resolution.

"As Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice, without which no nation can make real progress," it would be interesting to find out the number of persons who might be affected by the carrying out of the different items in the Congress non-co-operation resolution. This cannot be done in connection with all the items, but some figures may be given.

According to the census of 1911, the population of British India was 244,267,542.

Items (a) and (b) of the Resolution are :—

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;

(b) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour.

As far as we know, no book of reference gives the number of title-holders, *darbaris*, &c. It does not probably exceed a few thousands. The number of nominated members of local bodies may be ascertained with some labour. But as the carrying out of items (a) and (b) do not, generally speaking, involve any loss of income, we need not do it.

Item (c) runs as follows :—

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various Provinces.

According to the census of 1911, professors and teachers of all kinds (except law, medicine, music, dancing and drawing) and clerks and servants connected with education, and dependants of the

foregoing classes of persons, numbered 530,579 in British India. The professors and teachers may find employment in national institutions. According to "Indian Education in 1918-19" (Bureau of Education in India), the number of pupils in educational institutions in British India on 31st March 1919, was 7,936,577 or 3.25 of the whole population.

Item (d) is worded thus—

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes.

The number of litigants cannot be ascertained, though the number of cases in any year may be. In any case, litigation is not a profitable productive occupation for the litigants, though it is profitable to the lawyers. In 1911, lawyers of all kinds, including kazis, law agents and mukhtars, and their dependants, numbered 140,014; and lawyers' clerks, petition writers, &c., with their dependants, numbered 115,649.

The numerical strength of the military, clerical and laboring classes who have been asked in item (e) to refuse to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia cannot be ascertained; and they can find various other kinds of occupation.

"Candidature for election to the Reformed Councils" is not a profitable occupation, nor is voting for any candidate such, except in a few cases of corruption. The number of candidates does not exceed a few hundreds.

Item (g) is the boycott of foreign goods. It would not be possible to give the exact number of all dealers in all foreign goods, but statistics of the principal classes of such dealers with their dependants are given below.

Trade in Textiles	...	901,365
Trade in Metals	...	44,273
Trade in Chemical Products	...	149,552
Trade in Clothing and Toilet Articles	...	251,656
Trade in Articles of Luxury and those pertaining to Letters and the Arts and Sciences.	...	401,988.

So far, therefore, as the exact figures

can be ascertained, the number of persons whose means of livelihood would be affected is 2,535,076, or, say, three millions, out of a total of about twenty-five millions. And the number of those who would be deprived of the advantages of education (unless independent institutions of all grades and kinds in adequate numbers could be provided) would be about eight millions and their percentage to the total population 3.25.

This shows that practically the first seven items of the resolution call upon a small minority of the population to make sacrifices, and, therefore, if the vast majority were unfeeling and callous and unneighbourly, they could without great difficulty assent to the carrying out of the items. A cynical investigator might be curious to know whether the eighteen hundred and odd delegates who voted for the resolution belonged to the aforesaid vast majority, whether they had received education in schools and colleges, and whether they were giving or wanted to give their children such education; but it is to be hoped that a decent proportion of them were men who would have to face loss of income by giving effect to the resolution in their own cases, and were ready for such sacrifice.

Practically, the sacrifice which the nation as a whole is required to make is described in the following paragraph:

And inasmuch as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

The sacrifice involved in the adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods consists in the wearing of coarse cloth and the payment

for it of higher prices than for foreign cloth of the same or better quality. For this, large numbers of persons are ready ; but there is no adequate supply and distribution of goods.

The Supply of Hand-spun and Hand-woven Goods.

We know Mr. Gandhi has been doing his very best to stimulate hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and his efforts have borne fruit in many places. But unless there be energetic lieutenants to help him in every district of every province, the adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, which is so very desirable and necessary, will remain a mere paper resolution.

The Marwaris revere Mr. Gandhi, and they are also dealers in foreign piece-goods on a large scale. If he can induce them to give up trading in foreign cloth and to stimulate the manufacture of and deal in Indian piece-goods instead, it will be a great blessing to India. The Bhatias also deal in piece-goods, and over them, too, Mr. Gandhi has great influence. They also ought to follow his lead in practice. Some time ago, so far as Bengal is concerned, we asked in the *Prabasi* where in Bengal hand-woven cloth made of hand-spun yarn could be had, promising to advertise freely the business of those who dealt in such goods ; but it is to be regretted, no reply has yet been received. It seems to us, the habit of industry requires to be created in our households, and both hand-spinning and hand-weaving should be largely adopted in our homes, so that as many homes as possible may be made self-reliant in the matter of clothing.

For several years past, under-production and profiteering have made the lot of the poor very hard in respect of food and clothing, even many young women having been at times reduced almost to nudity. In the case of the poor, and they are the majority of our people, no further self-sacrifice is imaginable. It is only to be hoped, that their lot will not be made harder in the coming cold season by speculators and profiteers. Naturally, higher prices are asked for goods which are in

demand but whose supply is inadequate, than for goods whose supply is larger. That has been our experience from the year 1896 when we began to use *Swadeshi* piece-goods. Even during the palmiest days of *Swadeshim* in Bengal, Indian dhotis and saris were dearer than foreign dhotis and saris ; and that is the case at present also. We know economic prices are not subject to moral influence, but profiteers' and speculators' prices may be controlled by such influence, if they be amenable to it. We would earnestly appeal to Mr. Gandhi to exert the great influence which he has over Marwaris, Bhatias and others in order that the situation may not be aggravated by profiteers and speculators. For, should *Swadeshi* be fortunately again in vogue, speculators and profiteers may create a corner in Indian piece-goods and thus raise prices all round.

In Calcutta and other large towns, there are wealthy Musalman dealers in foreign articles. If Maulana Shaukat Ali and other Moslem leaders, in combination with Mr. Gandhi, can prevail upon at least some of these rich and enterprising persons to divert their capital, enterprise and energy to the manufacture and sale of *Swadeshi* goods, not only would the Non-co-operation movement be on the way to success, but India's economic progress also would be placed on a solid foundation.

Co-operation and Non-co-operation.

All achievements, individual and collective, are due to mental and bodily labour. When we have a common aim and wish to achieve something in our collective capacity, we work together, mentally and bodily. That is co-operation. We do not co-operate with those whose object is different from ours—so far, of course, as that object is concerned. But if we simply rested content with not co-operating with those who have a different object from ours, we should be unable to achieve anything that is good for ourselves. So, non-co-operation to be useful must always imply co-operation with those whose object is the same as ours.

• It has been amply demonstrated that

the British governing classes in Britain and in India—we cannot pronounce any opinion in respect of the whole British nation—have not got the same political object in relation to India as we have. They may have given expression to lofty sentiments, they may have declared that the object of the Reforms is to give India responsible government in course of time, but there has been little real correspondence between their professions and practice. They are unwilling to do justice to India, unwilling to inflict real punishment on those who have oppressed and insulted the Indian people. In these circumstances there cannot be any real co-operation between the British governing classes and the people of India, as regards our principal object. There never has been any such co-operation. What has been called co-operation by the British officials and non-officials interested in India, is really the carrying out of British aims by Indians in a subservient and subordinate capacity. Such “co-operation” there can still be.

We may be asked whether it is our opinion that British rule and British rulers have never done any good to India. Our answer is, they have. But this good has been a by-product, an inevitable indirect result of seeking to gain their own selfish objects. The country could not and cannot be exploited and kept in subjection without maintaining peace and order, improving communications, imparting some education to the people, administering justice, &c. So all these things have been done, and we have derived some advantage, too, from them. At the same time, these very activities of the British Government have done us harm, also. The maintenance of peace and order as a supreme object has resulted in our emasculation and incapacity to protect ourselves; railways have killed our indigenous industries, made many regions malarious, helped in the spread of disease, depleted the stock of foodstuffs, &c.; English education has partly induced a slave psychology in us; the British judicial system has increased litigation to a ruinous extent, incapacitated the people to settle their own

disputes themselves, increased perjury, &c.; and so forth. British policy has always professed to be beneficent, but this professed beneficence has never been such as to clash with the selfish object of the governing classes. The liberalizing of the administration and the reform of the constitution of India (if she has any) have been undertaken only when these could no longer be delayed and deferred without serious mischief or inconvenience and loss and without making it impossible for Britain to continue to pose before “the civilized world” as a liberal and beneficent ruling power. And the liberalizing and the reforms have always been inadequate to the needs of the situation, behind the times, and more or less of a camouflage.

Therefore, we say, the political main object of the British and of the Indians not being the same, there can be no co-operation in politics so far as essentials are concerned. Subservience and subordination there may be, and those Indians who are prepared to work in a subservient and subordinate capacity are at liberty to do so.

In certain minor things, without accomplishing which British selfishness cannot gain its object in India and which are also useful to us to some extent, there can be co-operation. Those who think it worth their while to spend time and labour to co-operate in furtherance of these minor aims—forgetting for the time being that they are co-operating with a governing class which has not recognised the claims of justice and humanity and the dignity of Indian womanhood and manhood—may do so.

It is probable that there are some leading Indians still left who have faith in the British Government, the British governing classes, and, ultimately, in the British people, and therefore also in the latest British-made Government of India Act with its rules. They will, of course, “co-operate.”

We do not take it for granted that whoever becomes a member of a legislative council, goes into it to “co-operate.” One may go simply or mainly to criticize, to prevent mischief, to elicit information, and

to obstruct harmful measures, occasionally co-operating in minor measures that may do good to us. But it should be considered whether it is profitable to expend the large amount of energy and time needed for such a purpose. Moreover, on the whole, criticism in councils has been hitherto of little avail; so far as we remember, on not a single occasion have the Indian members been able to prevent any serious mischief or to obstruct any important harmful measure involved in the carrying out of the objects of British policy; and the bureaucrats have managed to evade or disallow questions intended to bring out essential information. Important resolutions, too, have been occasionally disallowed. There have been also resolutions carried, to which effect has not been given.

There are persons who hope that things will be better under the new constitution. Our opinion, too, is that in some details that will be the case. But in things that really matter, the will of the people will still be not supreme, the bureaucrats will still have their way. Those who are ready to take great pains for small gains may go into the councils.

There are persons who hope that the Reform Scheme will bring us nearer to the goal of responsible popular government and that the goal will ultimately be reached. We, too, believe that we shall be able to win self-rule. But we do not believe that the antecedent is always necessarily the cause of that which follows it. The establishment of a republic in Poland, for instance, is not a direct result of the natural evolution of Russian or German or Austrian policy, though the Polish republic has come after Prussian, German and Austrian rule. Similarly, though we are sure there will be democratic government in India, it may not come naturally in the course of evolution of the Reform Scheme. The determining factor in such evolution in our favour is the *bona fides*, the sincerity, the love of liberty for others, the sense of justice for others, the generosity, and the liberalism of the British governing classes, as it is they who have been made judges of our fitness for self-rule, it is for them to

grant us the boon of self-rule. But we have no faith in the existence of the foregoing qualities in them. Those who have, may "co-operate."

But, it may be asked, what then is the reason for the faith that is in us that democracy will be established in India, and in what way will it be established. The reason for the faith is, human beings love liberty and have the power to win liberty, and we are human beings; and the way is the way of strenuous endeavour and struggle, involving, it may be, the utmost sacrifice.

There may be some who may think that the Government of India Act has placed weapons and means in our hands which, used skilfully and with consummate strategy, may lead us to victory in spite of the bureaucracy. We believe character and intellect, discipline and sacrifice, organisation and joint endeavour, tact and strategy will lead us to victory. But so far as the Reform Scheme is concerned, the most effective weapons in its armoury have been reserved for the bureaucracy, whose citadels have also been very strongly safeguarded. The Government of India Act will not enable us to outmanoeuvre and outwit the bureaucrats. The very fact that the British people are a ruling people and we are a subject people, the very fact that India was won by them not by the sword alone but also by superior fraud, ought to convince us that in statecraft, we cannot overmatch them with the weapons forged by themselves. For that purpose we must adopt means of our own devising, weapons of our own forging.

The main object of the British governing classes in respect of India is to exploit us and keep us in subjection as long as possible (of which the latest confirmatory evidence is the Auxiliary Forces Act), but our main object is to put an end to our economic serfdom and political thralldom as soon as possible. Such being the case, there can be no co-operation as regards the main object. But in minor matters, really meant mainly for their own benefit, but which may be of advantage to us also, there can be co-operation. If any

one feels that he is not fit for any better kind of work than such co-operation and that such small gains may gradually and cumulatively lead us to the goal, and if he thinks that, after all that has taken place during and after the Panjab disorders, there is no question of national self-respect involved, or if he thinks some insults must be pocketed in the interests of the country, he may render such co-operation in these smaller matters.

For our part, we think that there are various kinds of urgent and vital national service of the highest importance, calling for stout and loving hearts and strong intellects, which may be rendered outside the councils. Personally, we prefer these (though we are ourselves incapacitated for them) to seeking directly or indirectly that which is in the gift of strangers. And that for two reasons. It is always better to seek that which, under Providence, may be achieved by our own efforts than to expect anything which depends wholly or mainly or partly on the favour or generosity of others. In the second place, supposing expectation from others were a desirable or unobjectionable disposition of mind, in our case these others have shown by their conduct that they have neither the desire nor the power to give that which we seek.

The foregoing observations are supplementary to or repetition or a modification of what we have written on the subject in previous issues. We have not tried to be consistent. If we have been inconsistent, that would show that we have changed. If we have not been inconsistent, that would show that we have ceased to change in the direction of growth or decadence. The subject is such that, to our mind, there can be no concise formula which will suit all persons and circumstances. And as we are not leaders of men, we do not feel called upon to lay down the law, even if we had the capacity to do so, for all and sundry to implicitly obey. Our object has always been to provoke thought with a view to self-determination by all individuals.

The Programme of Non-co-operation.

The greatest significance which attaches

to the adoption of a programme of non-co-operation by the Congress is the change in the mentality of the people which it definitely indicates, though it is neither a sudden nor an entirely new change. After the partition of Bengal there was such a change, but it was confined for the most part to the Bengalis. Before and after that period there was the resignation of about 30 municipal commissioners of Calcutta and a similar attitude of many municipal commissioners in the U. P. after the passing into law of the Jahangirabad amendment. The change that has now taken place has affected all the provinces. Speaking generally, the mental attitude of the people has hitherto been dependence on the sense of justice and generosity of the British people for the attainment of political freedom. That is no longer the prevalent attitude. The Indian people now want to win their right to freedom by their own strength. It is evident that a section of them would have resorted to physical force if they had arms and if they had not been kept under control by wiser heads. So the choice has fallen on the adoption of non-violent methods. The programme adopted may or may not be effective; but what are most noteworthy are the revolt from previous methods and the confidence of the people in their own strength.

The programme of non-co-operation may have two objects in view. One object may be to paralyse the administrative machinery, and another to perform all those functions which are usually discharged by the State—thus forming a state within the state, like the Sinn Fein republic in Ireland without its methods of violence. The first stage of the programme may also be meant to be mainly disciplinary, the striking of the effective blows coming afterwards.

Our opinion is that even the carrying out of the whole of the first stage of the programme sketched out in Mr. Gandhi's resolution will not paralyse the Government. What can paralyse it is the non-payment of taxes by all or a majority of taxpayers and the resignation of their posts by all or most Indian officials and

military employees of the Government without others coming forward to take their places. In *Young India*, September 15, 1920, Mr. Gandhi mentions the first of these means but not the second, saying :—

My resolution adopted the principle of the whole of the Khilafat Programme, even non-payment of taxes, and advised for immediate adoption, boycott of titles and the honorary offices, law courts by litigants, schools and colleges and reformed councils.

But in the Congress resolution we do not find any mention of non-payment of taxes. That, however, may be a somewhat remote contingency. As against non-payment of taxes, Government might no doubt adopt the use of physical force, in which case the non-co-operators or passive resisters must be able to bravely suffer without yielding. For, non-co-operation being a non-violent method, there can be no question of meeting force by force, and, even if there were, a disarmed and unarmed people cannot use physical force. If, however, the principle of non-co-operation were accepted in that distant future by the Indian civil and military servants of the state, Government might find it inexpedient and somewhat difficult to coerce non-taxpayers. The adoption of Non-Co-operation by Government employees is not unthinkable from the economic view-point. With dependants their number in 1911 (including municipal and village employees) was three millions. Surely an industrially developed India can support this additional number.

Leaving the future to take care of itself, we may say for the present that we wholeheartedly support items (a) and (b),

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies ;

(b) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour.

True, the carrying out of these clauses would not paralyse the bureaucracy ; but it would make them, the British people, and "the civilized world" think on what foundation British rule in India really rested. In course of the Dyer debate in

the Commons Mr. Churchill contended that "British rule had never stood on the basis of physical force alone," but on the good will and co-operation of the people as well. The surrender of titles, &c., would show that Government had forfeited that confidence and good will.

Members of local bodies have a little real power to do good, and *elected* members can exercise this power freely ; so it has been rightly decided that *elected* seats should not be vacated.

Item (c),

gradual withdrawal of children from Schools and Colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such Schools and Colleges establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various Provinces,

should not have been included in the programme at all. Some of the reasons for this opinion have been given by Lala Lajpat Rai in his concluding address. We will add a few observations of our own. There need not be any felling of loss of self-respect in taking advantage of Government or aided schools, for the money of the state is really our money. Things which form a part of our permanent duty, things which we must do and go on doing, whatever the character of our government, should not be mixed up with a political movement which is not expected or intended to be permanent. If Swaraj were won, if the oppressors of the Panjab were adequately punished, and if justice were done to Turkey, our educational system would still require to be nationalized. When in the nineteenth century education was nationalized in England, it was a free and independent country. That was the case with Japan, too. As in the warfare of physical force, so in a non-violent struggle, blows, to tell, should be struck swiftly. But it takes a long time to think out and perfect an educational system, to establish educational institutions, to choose and get together the right kind of teachers, and to select or write text-books which, instead of denationalizing and inducing slave psychology, would make the pupils enlightened and progressive patriots and give them the mentality of free and strong men. With the despotic powers of

the Press Act and some other Acts with which the bureaucracy has armed itself, even the selection and composition of text-books of history, economics, politics and literature may be beset with political difficulty. "National" Schools and Colleges to succeed must lead to some careers other than those of Government service, law, &c. It is not very easy to provide independent careers and education leading thereto. All this the Council of National Education in Bengal have found by their experience. The hurry of a political emergency does not provide a suitable atmosphere for calm, deep and sane educational thought. Western education is not so fatally injurious or unmixed an evil that we must get rid of it as soon as possible even before a substitute, better than itself, has been provided; for almost all our greatest modern men are its products. There is one more reason, derived from our experience in Bengal, which we wish to urge against the mixing up of an educational problem with a political movement of opposition to Government, though of a non-violent character. "National" schools, their pupils and teachers and managers, in Bengal, have long been the object of the special attention of the C. I. D. Many boys, young men and elderly men have suffered greatly in consequence. In fact, this is one of the main causes of the failure of the national education movement in Bengal to make headway. When men and women who have reached years of discretion decide for themselves to do things which lead to political persecution and sufferings, they cannot blame anybody else for their misery, and their troubles have a disciplinary, formative, chastening and strengthening effect on their character. But in Bengal, boys reading in national schools suffered for being connected with a political movement which they neither started nor were responsible for in any other way;—in fact, many of them were not old enough to be responsible for what they might have said or done. These facts prevent us from supporting any step of which the probable untoward consequences would have to be reaped not

by ourselves or men of our age but mostly by juveniles, though good private institutions started independently of a political movement have our support. It should also be clear from what we have said that to start an educational movement as an integral part of a political movement of "non-co-operation," would be tantamount almost to courting the greatest opposition to it on the part of the bureaucracy, and consequent failure.

Some of our observations on item (c) are applicable to item (d) also,

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes.

Litigiousness, whether under a foreign or under a national government, is a great evil, and must be combated. So even if all the objects for which Mr. Gandhi's resolution has been passed were gained, it would still be the duty of patriots to decrease litigiousness by fostering the growth of fraternal feelings and neighbourliness and of a sense of common citizenship, and by the establishment of arbitration courts. For this reason, we are unwilling to make the establishment of arbitration courts an adjunct to a political movement of a more or less temporary and emergent character.

Of course if by arbitration we be able to settle disputes among our countrymen to any extent, to that extent we cease to depend upon British courts, to that extent we attain swaraj by forming a sort of state within a state. Everything depends, however, on our ability to establish such courts in adequate numbers and on people's confidence in them and their disposition to resort to them. All this is likely to take a long time. So with this weapon we are not likely to be able to deliver a swift blow at the bureaucratic citadel—and swiftness, as we have pointed out before, is a great factor in winning victory. Without such courts the mere withdrawal of lawyers from British courts would be more of a disadvantage to the litigants than an advantage. Moreover, there would be an influx of British barristers to the higher courts.

We have not much faith in the effectiveness of this method as a paralysing blow. If British courts could be very largely, closed that would undoubtedly be a blow to British prestige and would show that people had no longer any confidence in Britain. But Sinn Fein courts are not a precedent for us. Ireland is a small, compact, mainly Roman Catholic, armed, and considerably self-governing country. India differs in every one of these respects. Still those who believe in the feasibility of supplanting British courts should make the endeavour. The awards of arbitration courts can, however, be made binding only by the British courts. Mr. Lajpat Rai's adverse arguments need not be repeated here.

If the British courts continue to exist, and if our lawyers withdraw from them, which we do not think they will in any considerable number, we do not see how that is going to help in paralysing Government. At the best such a step can only produce a "moral effect." But the bureaucracy can afford to ignore such moral effect. In the Santal Parganas the law-courts have for decades done their work largely without the "co-operation" of lawyers; and where and when they have been allowed to practise, it has been in response to the prayer of the litigants, the courts have not of their own accord asked for such "co-operation." In the Punjab during the martial law regime, the work of the tribunals was rather facilitated, in the opinion of "the strong men" of that province, by the absence of lawyers. Mr. Gandhi says,

We, lawyers, have been the *bête noir* of the magistracy, but that was when, in their opinion, we caused the greatest trouble. But you will see that when we ourselves abandon the Courts, the process will not be relished by the bureaucracy.

It may or may not be relished, that is a matter of opinion; but how is it going to paralyse the bureaucracy?

The editor of this review is not and never was a lawyer, nor is any one in his family a lawyer or intends to be one. He is, therefore, able to observe quite freely

that of all classes of men, Mr. Gandhi's resolution demands the greatest and the most conspicuous sacrifice on the part of the lawyers; and, therefore, it should be made quite clear how their sacrifice is going to be the greatest blow at the bureaucratic machinery. We can quite understand that a "beginning [in non-co-operation] should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion"; but we have still to understand how the "beginning" to be made by the lawyers is going to storm the British administrative citadel, or how the beginning, as regards the establishment of arbitration courts, can be made within a comparatively short period. Nor can we understand how in the case of the lawyers, the giving up of practice by them can be said, in the words of the resolution, "to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object." To ask a man to give up his means of earning a living is to demand great sacrifice on his part; and, therefore, it may be incidentally observed, the lawyers in good practice who are giving it up are worthy of praise for their sacrifice. A passage in a letter written by Mr. Gandhi to Babu Nares Chandra Sinha of the Patna Bar gives us a glimpse of the great leader's mind. Says he :

The lawyers to-day lead public opinion, and conduct all political activity. This they do during the few leisure hours they get from their tennis and billiards. I do not expect that by dividing their leisure hours between billiards and politics lawyers will bring us substantially near Swaraj. I want at least the public workers among them to be whole timers, and when that happy day comes, I promise a different outlook before the country.

If this be the real main object of Mr. Gandhi's resolution so far as it relates to lawyers and courts, and we agree that it is very commendable and desirable, the object expressly stated in the resolution was to some extent somewhat of a astute manoeuvre; but people do not usually associate astuteness with Mr. Gandhi's name. In any case, the lawyers, whom and whose profession Mr. Gandhi does not like (*vide* his "Indian Home Rule"), have received a shrewd blow. If a lawyer were

to criticise clause (d) in the way we have been doing, his criticism would be liable to the misinterpretation that it proceeded from self-interest. Those who would not give up practice might give cause for similar uncharitable judgment. At the same time, it is a real hardship to have to make a sacrifice against one's conviction or when not yet quite convinced. The lawyers are thus in a perplexing position. But whatever the misconception, no one is bound to take a step in whose utility and necessity he does not fully believe.

Lawyers co-operate with the bureaucracy indirectly, Government officials do so directly. If British courts continue to be resorted to by litigants in large numbers, and yet somehow lawyers have to withdraw from them, that may indirectly result in the increase of candidates for Government service; for men must have some means of livelihood. That would be an evil.

Clause (e),

refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia,

we fully and whole-heartedly support. It is wrong to have anything to do with the political and economic subjugation and exploitation of any foreign nation. It is for this reason that we found fault with Mr. Gandhi for giving active help in the wars against the Zulus and the Boers, and taking pride therein. If this clause (e) could be fully given effect to, it would to some extent be a check on the unrighteous British policy of extension of empire. If we had political power in our hands we would also recall all Indian troops from Mesopotamia, Persia, etc., and prevent fresh troops being sent there.

About clause (f),

withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice offer himself for election,

we have already written much. Had there been no candidates at all for election, it would have produced a searching of hearts among the British governing classes and the ministry, though it would not have

paralysed the administration. It would also have been an additional proof of want of faith in Britain. But as in this matter, far from there being unanimity of opinion among all political parties, there is difference of opinion even within the Congress party, there is in consequence a sufficient number of candidates for the councils, Voters also are not unanimous.

The seventh clause relates to the boycott of foreign goods. If foreign goods, among which British goods are included, could be boycotted, that would be a great step towards our economic emancipation, and as one of the two main objects for which British domination is maintained in India is economic exploitation, it would be a step towards *swaraj* too. British commercial interests in India are so important and Britain's trade relations with us are so very advantageous to her, that, when in May 1818, the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, wrote that 'a time not very remote will arrive when England will.....relinquish' her domination over India, he expressed the opinion that even then England would find a solid interest in commercial intercourse with India. Therefore, one of the most effective means of awakening British interest in Indian affairs would be undoubtedly that which would affect Britain's commercial interests. Therefore, should it be considered wise to declare a boycott, it should be given an effective form.

But, unfortunately, the declaration of a universal boycott of foreign goods betrays more hysteric wrath than wisdom and practical sense. The paper on which Mr. Gandhi's resolution was printed was foreign, the printing machine which printed it was of foreign manufacture, all our newspapers, periodicals and books, including Mr. Gandhi's *Young India*, are printed with machinery made in foreign countries and for the most part on foreign paper. The postage stamps affixed on our newspapers, including Mr. Gandhi's *Young India*, to transmit them all over the country, are made in a foreign land. But it is not necessary to give a complete list of the foreign articles in daily use among us to show that a boycott of all

foreign goods is impossible, even were it right and wise, which it is not. For all foreigners are not our enemies and opponents, and mutual dependence of nations for their material needs is a providential means of promoting human brotherhood and solidarity. Even the *gradual* boycott of *all* foreign goods is impossible and undesirable for a civilized community.

The particular goods or classes of goods to be boycotted should be specified and the declaration of universal boycott modified as early as possible. Otherwise, all who have voted for the resolution would be justly considered guilty of having taken a vow which they cannot keep and never meant to keep. But such persons cannot be the saviours of their country.

It would have been well if Mr. Gandhi had stuck to his own mature and deliberate opinion and declared himself in favour only of most energetically stimulating *Swadeshi* in all forms. Boycott smacks of anger and provokes retaliation. We know from our experience in Bengal that boycott led to the use of compulsion and force on the part of some *swadeshi* workers, which gave the much-sought-for handle to the police and the executive to put down and thwart both boycott and constructive *swadeshi*.

It is this constructive *swadeshi*, without which boycott also to any appreciable extent would be impracticable, which we advocate most of all and with all our heart. We are prepared to do our utmost for it and promote the sale of genuine handspun and hand-woven piece-goods by freely advertising them.

The Congress "Mandate."

Many persons who voted against Mr. Gandhi's resolution or did not vote for it, have nevertheless in their individual conduct voluntarily conformed to its terms, because they wanted to obey what they consider the Congress "mandate" and wished not to break the solidarity of the Congress ranks. Their conduct is quite praiseworthy. In the case of such voluntary conformity it is not necessary for the public to enquire whether there has been

a Congress mandate, what is the binding character of such a mandate, and whether the Congress is sufficiently representative of the country to make its mandate binding. But if the nonconformity in practice of those who did not vote for Mr. Gandhi's resolution or voted against it, is taken to imply any censure on them, it becomes necessary to make an enquiry of the kind indicated above.

Let us start by saying that no mandate is binding on anybody as against the dictates of his conscience, nor is the mandate binding on those who do not belong to the Congress party.

On the penultimate day of the special Congress session the president declared the resolution carried by a majority; but no votes were counted on that day. So it is difficult to say whether on that day a majority of *all* the delegates were in its favour. Next day, votes were counted. It was then found that out of more than 5800 delegates, only 2728 had voted for and against, more than three thousand not voting at all. So the majority did not vote at all, whatever that fact may be interpreted to mean. Out of the minority of 2728, the number voting for the resolution was 1855. This makes it quite clear that less than one-third of the total number of delegates actually voted for it. In these circumstances, we, who belong to no party, cannot admit that there has been a clear mandate.

In the constitutions of some free countries, if any fundamental change has to be made, it is necessary that there should be an absolute majority of votes, that is to say, more than half the total number of the representatives of the people should be in its favour. In the case of the Non-cooperation resolution this absolute majority was far from being obtained. And we think that in a matter like Non-cooperation, involving a new departure, a fundamental change in the attitude of the Congress towards Government, an absolute majority in its favour was essentially necessary. It is not necessary to prove that Non-cooperation implies such a fundamental change, it is obvious Mr. Lajpat Rai himself declared in his

concluding address that for the previous 35 years the Congress leaders had been preaching co-operation with Government.

As regards the representative character of the Congress, that we raise the question at all is because in our opinion a fundamental change in its attitude would naturally and rightly have an importance attached to it in proportion to the representative character of this most representative public gathering of ours. We neither believe nor suggest that the delegates to the special Calcutta session were less representative of the whole country than the delegates to any other session. For years since the beginning of the Congress movement, the most urgent need was to interest as large a number of persons in its deliberations and to attract as large a body of delegates, no matter from where, as possible. Therefore it has always been the case that the province and town where a particular session was held has generally furnished the largest number of delegates, some of the most distant places sending very few or none. But for the last few years, the number of delegates has been felt to be rather unwieldy. And in the absence of a limit to the number of delegates which any province, district, town, &c., may be entitled to return, the danger has become apparent of the advocates of particular views getting together a large number of delegates and swamping the others. In fact, it is alleged that such a thing was done at the Calcutta special session itself. Whatever that may be, as there has been a talk of a Congress mandate, it has become incumbent on the Congress leaders to limit the number of delegates and assign a particular number of delegates to each district, sub-district or town of every province. After that has been done, if any place or region failed to return its quota of delegates, it would be its own fault, and there could be no legitimate complaint of the Congress being non-representative, or of a particular region being unrepresented or under-represented, or of any place or party being overwhelmingly over-represented. Talk of mandates would then be appropriate, not now.

Distress in Flooded Areas.

Plenty of help and helpers are still needed for the flooded areas in Puri, Cuttack, Kanika, Jamshedpur, Midnapur, Dinajpur, &c. The Non-co-operation movement should not make us forget our duty to co-operate to relieve human misery. Relief-workers should send mentioning *brief* appeals to the papers, their names, addresses, and requirements. We give below two addresses to which help may be sent. For Puri,—Secretary, Sadharan Brahma Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. For Tamluk (in Midnapur)—Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Barrister-at-Law, Tamluk.

Publicity about Refusal of Concessions.

Vague complaints occasionally reach our ears of refusal, by the Government departments concerned, to grant Indians permission to prospect for minerals, to work mines, or to exploit forest produce, etc. As Europeans have obtained big concessions and are seldom refused any, all refusals of applications of Indians should be published in our newspapers with definite details. Publicity is power.

"The Times" on Reforms in Burma.

London, Sept. 22.

The "Times" in a leader says that the present proposal for constitutional reforms in Burma are likely to produce maximum of discontent among the Burmese, who are not really inferior in political capacity to the bulk of the Indians. The spokesmen from the Burmese are justified in claiming that they shall not be left in tutelage while cultivators from Assam and Central Provinces receive far larger political boons. The paper trusts that the Burmese will obtain fresh hearing and not be driven from their present loyal and peaceful tendencies by official insistence upon the scheme clearly opposed to popular sentiment, and it hopes that the separation scheme will not be passed. True interests of the Burmese do not lie in preserving their immemorial isolation, but in breaking it down. The Burmese should press for linking up of their own with Indian Railways. Consideration of joint defence make the unity imperative, and there are many other reasons why the mischievous separating agitations should be discontinued.—*Reuter*.

The Burmese certainly ought to have the kind and degree of self-rule they demand. As regards separation of Burma from India we would not lay stress on our own opinion.

the matter, which is that if Burma can have political connection with Britain with which it has nothing in common except common humanity, surely it can have political connection with India, with which country it has much more in common than with Britain. Of course, it requires no courage and involves no risk to demand separation from India, whereas to claim independence of Britain is somewhat risky. But let Burmans decide for themselves. This linking up of Burmese with Indian railways should have been an accomplished fact long ago.

"The Daily Herald" and Russian Gold.

Men have been deported, interned, transported for life, or hanged, in India, on infinitely more vague and less serious charges than have been brought against the directors of the *Daily Herald* of negotiating with the Bolsheviks for financial help. In many cases in India there have been no charges at all, but only suspicion.

"Raksha-Bandhan."

We are glad and proud that the gifted Lady Principal of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya (Women's College) in Jullundur has honored us by sending us a *Rakhi*. This is a new and happy application of the ancient custom of *Rākhi Bandhan* by which Rajput ladies in distress could obtain the help of any man to whom the *Rākhi* thread was sent. The Lady Principal has written to us :—

"At the present day the sex is in the hard grip of rank ignorance, The Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Jullundur is making a great effort for the protection and the amelioration of the sex. To help the Vidyalaya is the right observance of this festival. This *Rakhi* is submitted to you on behalf of your daughters and sisters with a prayer for help in the name of female amelioration, national uplift and the spread of education."

We desire earnestly to deserve the great honour.

"A Sacred Trust" !

In defending Government action in the matter of the strike of employees at the Government Press, Sir Thomas Holland is reported to have said that "interests of taxpayers were a sacred trust," implying thereby

that Government were prevented from meeting the demands of the strikers by considerations of economy, which was a sacred duty. What impudent hypocrisy ! Where was this sacred trust when increments totalling millions were granted to the Imperial and Provincial Services ? An additional expenditure of a few thousand rupees would suffice to satisfy the half-starved strikers, who simply demand a well-deserved living wage, not luxuries. But a "sacred" trust stands in the way !

Strike of Bombay Postmen and Strike-breakers.

Postal peons and clerks are a very hard-worked and deserving class of men. Even to double their pay would not be too much. It is said that owing to the strike of postmen in Bombay the local Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have helped in the delivery of letters. Their desire to help the public is commendable. But they should also remember that by helping the public they stand in the way of a large number of poor men getting their just dues. To help in strike-breaking is not, generally, honorable work. Have the public ever made any strenuous efforts to see that the poor postal employees get adequate pay ? Why then this anxiety to help the public as against the poor strikers, who are struggling against semi-starvation ? Letter-famine for a few days is not so great a misery as chronic food-famine.

"A Strike at the Imperial Council."

Mr. Sastri's proposed resolution on the Punjab disturbances having been disallowed by the Viceroy, the other Indian members who had given notice of resolutions, one after another withdrew the resolutions that stood against their names, 23 in number, in protest against the Viceroy's decision. They did the least that could have been done. They ought to have walked out of the Council Chamber in a body. Some of the members showed by dining with the Viceroy afterwards that their resentment, or the wound to their national self-respect, was not palate-deep. The public servant who insulted the Indian nation and did not keep the promise of his government to give a day for the discussion of the Hunter Committee's Report, would not have been entitled to complain if his invitation to dinner had been refused.

The Viceroy pleaded "public interest" in defence of his action, meaning that the memory of the Panjab horrors should be buried in oblivion; as if the best way to heal a wound is to cover it up—specially with lists of contributions to Dyer Funds!

Cow Protection.

Everything should be done to increase the number and improve the breed of milch, agricultural and draught cattle. We are in entire sympathy with the objects of the Cow Conference. "Dry" cows, and calves should be either purchased from the milkmen and kept in dairy farms, or pastures provided for them in rural areas at small cost to their owners.

We value sentiment, but mere gushing sentimentality has no value. Considering the ill-treatment of milch cows and other cattle by Hindus (though not by them alone), we were not much impressed by the newspaper report that at the recent Calcutta Cow Conference "the whole audience burst into tears." Why, no audience anywhere burst into wholesale tears at the recital of the sufferings and indignities of the Panjab! Human life is certainly as sacred as bovine life. It is things like these which give cause to the white "mlechchhas" to blaspheme and suggest that the reason why we feel for the misery of cattle more than for that of human beings is that we are more akin to the former than to the latter—an insinuation which, of course, we repudiate with scorn.

Political Sufferers' Conference.

At the All-India Political Sufferers' Conference, Babu Pulin Chandra Das, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said in part:—

We shall belong to no party but to the nation—whoever is for the nation shall command our services, whether he carries a party label or not. The ideal of Indian brotherhood for which we stand is not to be limited in its application to the educated classes alone; it must embrace all the Brahman and the Non-Brahman, the high caste and the so-called "untouchables." In fact we have determined on erasing the word "untouchable" from the category of our thought and the page of our country's history.

We shall expect the Sufferers to be perfectly true to their words.

Babu Narendranath Seth unfolded a tale of oppression and woe of which we quote a part.

I and my brother Jatindra, a Harvard gradu-

ate, were made State Prisoners under Reg. III; another brother, one of my sister's sons, our cook's son, our clerk's grandson were made internees; my eldest brother, a medical practitioner of 20 years' standing in Calcutta, my youngest brother, a mere student, my brothers two sons, my son-in-law, were all arrested and had their sufferings and harassments. Two of my cousins were interned. One of them, Manindra, the Vice-Principal of the Daulatpur Hindu Academy, a gold medalist of his year, died, in his internment, of phthisis. My brother Jatindra's wife sacrificed herself by going to serve her husband in his forced domicile. And lastly, my father breathed his last, speaking of persecution even up to the last hour of his life. I hope you will not hesitate to take it from me that in spite of four searches of our house, mostly after our arrests, they could not lay their hand on a single piece of evidence in support of any story that they might circulate. I hope when passion and prejudice of the times die out, the history of this suffering of the young men of Bengal will not be an unconstructive reading for the study of people struggling for manhood.

Principal Paranjpye's Suggestion regarding Non-co-operation.

Principal Paranjpye had sent a telegram to the Congress President suggesting for consideration before passing the non-co-operation resolution that the Congress should prepare a questionnaire asking each delegate to state in writing what personal act of non-co-operation he solemnly undertook himself to carry out. It was added, answers should be examined by experts, tabulated and published and the question of non-co-operation should be decided after seeing the results, otherwise many will vote in the excitement of the moment, expecting everybody else to carry out the programme. The very publication of the result, it was pointed out, would be a measure of the strength behind the movement.

It was a good suggestion.

"Buddha, Yasodhara and Rahula."

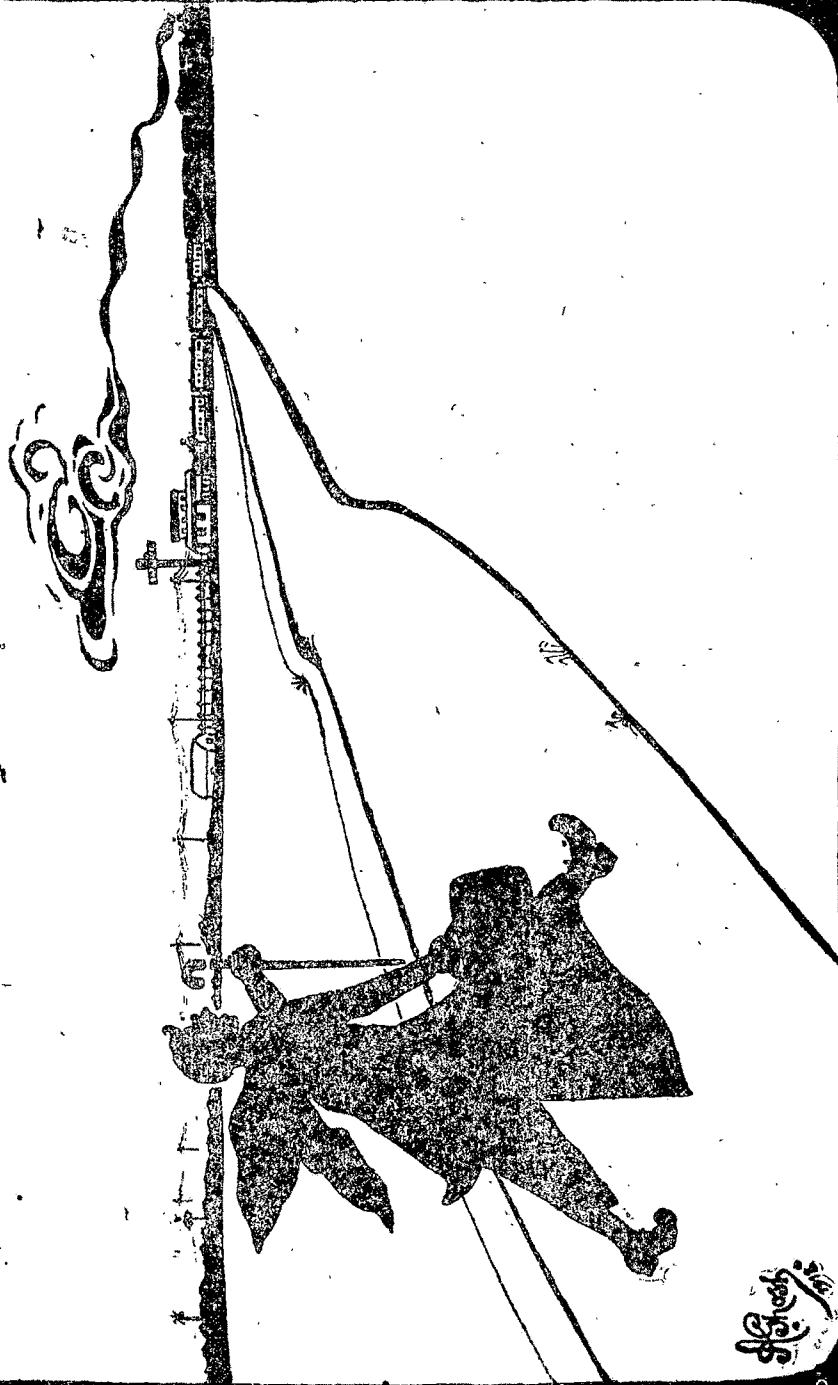
This picture in the Ajanta style, which forms the frontispiece to the present issue, relates to the time when the Prince Gautama returned to his father's palace after attaining Buddhahood, and his son Rāhula, at the instance of his mother Yasodharā, asked him for his patrimony.

Date of Publication and Despatch of our November Issue.

Our subscribers will please note that our November number will be despatched on the 15th October current. All changes

of address should, therefore, be notified to us before the 10th instant, *mentioning the subscriber's serial number.*

Our office will remain closed from the 17th to the 31st October, during which period no business will be transacted.



The Beauty of Trying to Be Just in Time.—By Apurba Krishna Ghosh.

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INDIAN LABOUR RECRUITING FOR FIJI—AN IMMINENT DANGER

ONE thing the War has taught us in this country with a bitter fullness of realisation. It is that no trust whatever can be placed in the pledges of modern governments if self-interest or commercial advantage stand in the way.

We have had two pledges from the Government of India repeated again and again with regard to Indians abroad. One of them has been, that the Government of India is prepared to uphold the equal status of Indians in the Colonies and Protectorates. We shall see, in the course of the next few weeks, how much or how little that pledge is worth, with regard to East Africa and in relation to Lord Milner's recent pronouncement. The second pledge was this, that it would be left entirely to the Indian people to decide whether Indian labour recruiting for the Crown Colonies of Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica should be renewed or not. This was the final word of that prolonged struggle, which stirred India from one end to the other, called the struggle for the abolition of indentured labour.

How is the Government of India intending to keep this second pledge? We must remember that this Indian recruited labour is immensely lucrative to the capitalist. It exactly suits the needs of the great exploiting sugar companies. Even a hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand pounds, spent in London and elsewhere in bringing about a renewal of this labour, would very easily be recouped in a single year out of the profits. There are ways of spending money in propaganda without

actual bribery and corruption; and I know for a fact that large sums were spent in London in the years that are now past in endeavouring to bring about a continuance of indenture. We have still to fear these hidden forces: for the Lloyd George Government is a Capitalist Government.

There have been very alarming signs indeed of an attempt to minimise the pledge that has been given to the Indian people and we must be strictly on our guard.

(i) The Government of India has refused to take any steps to enquire further into the labour troubles in Fiji. It has even refused to ask the new Labour Commission, which is about to go out, to make enquiries. Yet the only Report, which has hitherto been published, was, on the very face of it, an *ex parte* statement by the Governor. Even an Imperialist Quarterly such as *The Round Table* writes as follows about the Fiji Government's action:—

"The Fiji Government took the easy course of ascribing the trouble to 'agitators' and ordered a Hindu Barrister to leave the affected area.' But the matter cannot be cured thus. The Nemesis of an economic policy of cheap oriental labour and a large profit is upon us, and like the Negro problem in America it will tax the resources of statesmanship to counter the results of reckless immorality."

It is strange indeed to see our Imperialist British Quarterly taking this view of the situation and the Government of India

remaining absolutely passive and indifferent.

But worse is to follow. The Bishop of Polynesia and Mr. Rankine,—the official delegates from Fiji who came to India to demand a renewal of Indian labour recruiting,—have declared in the Fiji newspapers *that they have brought back from India a written statement, given them by the Government of India*, that, if the new Labour Commission, with Mr. Marjoribanks as its Chairman, reports favourably concerning labour conditions in Fiji, then recruiting will be immediately reopened in India.

This, then, seems all that the pledge of the Government of India amounts to, when they promised that it would be left entirely to the people of India to decide whether recruiting for the colonies should be renewed or not. The Government first appoints an official Chairman, Mr. Marjoribanks, whom the people of India thoroughly distrust, because of his white-washing Ceylon and Malaya Labour Report. They then choose two Indian members, whose names are not yet known. Then, if this Commission reports favourably, the Indian people (so it appears) *are to have no voice at all*. The matter is to be settled over their heads.

I wish to be quite fair to the Govern-

ment of India and to state that I have little doubt they are trying to get good and trustworthy Indian members to join the Commission. But we cannot forget the record of Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. Macarias: nor can we forget the record of Mr. Mc Neill and Mr. Chimman Lal. However estimable they may be, we may well doubt if these new Commissioners will be any more a match for the tactics of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company than the earlier Commissioners were who went to Fiji and reported unanimously that the advantages of the indenture system greatly outweighed its disadvantages.

What then is to be done? The Government of India needs clearly to be warned, that it will be kept strictly to its own pledge. It must not be allowed to act in this high-handed manner over the heads of the people, and make secret treaties with the delegates from Fiji. The Government of India can have no doubt whatever as to what the feelings of the masses of the people are today about the professional recruiter. Let them do, as they have promised, and refer the matter to the people and all will be well. The answer of the Indian people will be unanimous against recruiting for Fiji.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE WAR-OFFICE OF HINDU EMPIRES

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A.

IN no branch of national life was the administrative genius of Hindus more in evidence than in the organization of the army and the navy. It was not only in the numerous aggressive wars within the Indian continent that the efficiency of the race in generalship and as a fighting machine was put to the fire test. Hindu military might was also equally manifest when pitted against foreigners who threatened the freedom of India. From Seleukos to Menander (B. C. 305-B. C. 155) the Hellenistic Greeks of the Afghan bufferland

were successfully driven back within their own folds by Hindu archers, horsemen, and elephant corps. In later times, the Huns also had to sustain severe defeats, first, from Skanda-gopta between A. D. 455 and 458, and, secondly, from Narasimha-gopta about 528.

Indeed the Charlemagnes and Fredericks, by whose *parākrama* (prowess) the frontiers of India were advanced so far as to include, on several occasions, Afghanistan and Central Asia on the land side, and the islands of the

Indian Ocean to the south, had their hands always full with the problem of training and equipping the soldiers and sailors. The profession of arms and the command of the fleet called forth as a matter of course the administrative capabilities of Young India from age to age,—in the northern, eastern, central, western and southern provinces. And the spirit that pervaded these disciplined forces is what came out in the fourth gymnosophist's reply to Alexander's query. Alexander asked him as to why he had persuaded Sabbas (Shambhu) to revolt. Because, as we read in Plutarch's *Lives*, said the Hindu sage, "I wished him either to live with honor or to die as a coward deserves."¹

And this was not an empty word of the philosopher cited like a maxim, as it were, from the *Mahabharata*. We are told by Plutarch that Alexander experienced no less trouble from the priests, preachers, and religious teachers of India than from the warriors who "used to fight for pay." It was the endeavour of the "philosophers" to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes, who, like the king of Taxila, declared for the Macedonian and became traitors to Indian independence. The free republican nations also were excited by what appear to have been the learned or priestly classes, i. e., the *Intelligentsia*, to take up arms against the alien invaders. Many are the Hindu philosophers who therefore had to espouse the martyr's doom meted out to them by Alexander's vindictive court-martial.

In order to appreciate the age-long militarism of Hindus and their organization of the general staff it is necessary to have an idea of the Roman institutions of national defense and war-machinery.² In B. C. 225 the republic placed 65,000 soldiers in the field and had 55,000 in reserve at home.³ At Trebia (B. C. 218) as Polybius writes in his *History of the Roman Conquest* (B. C. 264-146) the strength of the army was 38,400. And the largest force that the Romans are known to have mustered during their republican period was that under Scipio for the Second Punic (Hannibalian) War (B. C. 218-202).⁴ On this occasion the army consisted sometimes of 18, 20 or even 23 legions. A "legion" at that time was made up of 4,000 or 5,000 soldiers, and of this number about 300 or 400 constituted the cavalry.

In point of numbers the Roman armies must have been regarded as pigmy indeed or

but as "pocket armies" by the generalissimos of Hindu nationalities. For the fighting hordes maintained by the states of India appear to have always been formidable in size. A "standing army" of half a million was nothing extraordinary in military India's psychology. Among the fragmentary notices of the nations, some of them difficult to identify accurately, that we can glean from Megasthenes' stories (c. B. C. 302) we find that the Pandyas of the extreme south who were ruled by women had an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. The ruler of Gujarat on the Arabian seacoast was in command of 1,600 elephants, 150,000 infantry and 5,000 horse; and the force wielded by the sovereign of the races⁷ between the Ganges and the Himalayas, occupying the districts of north Bihar, north Bengal, and possibly western Assam, was composed of 50,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry and 400 elephants.

In Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* we learn further that the king of Magadha (the Gangaridae and Prasii nations on the banks of the Ganges) in Eastern India was master of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots and 3,000 or 4,000 elephants. Evidently this ruler was one of the "nine Nandas". The size of one of the smallest Hindu armies can be given from Pliny's *Natural History*.⁸ It belonged to another people of the eastern provinces of India, viz., the Gangaridae Kalingae, ancestors of the modern Ooriyas. Their king with capital at Protalis had 60,000 infantry, 1,000 horse, and 700 elephants "always caparisoned for battle." But, as usual in regard to most of the periods of Hindu military and naval history, authentic information is wanting about the system of discipline, salaries, hierarchy of officers and other items of the war office, except what may be gathered from the *Neetishāstras* and other literature on polity.

About A. D. 360 Hari-shena, a *mahādanda-nāyaka* (high grade military officer) of the Gupta Empire, composed in Sanskrit what he called a *kāvya*.⁹ It was an ode, in verse and prose, in eulogy of Samodragoapta's conquest of "all the world." That panegyric "in one single gigantic sentence," which half a century later furnished Kalidasa with an epigraphic precedent for his own romantic account of Raghu's *digvijaya* or "conquest of the quarters," is at present the only contemporary account of a Hindu military war.

prise that has satisfactory details as to the names of nations and rulers. Hari-shena exults over the "violent extermination" of old states, and describes how kings were "captured and then liberated" by his hero. We are told that Samoodra-goopta's "officers were always employed in restoring the wealth of the various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms." As might be naturally expected, in this description of the aggressor's triumphant expeditions through kingdoms, forests, hills, and rivers, we read of the "blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows" and many other weapons that disfigured or rather "beautified," as the poet-laureate would have it, the "charming body" of Samoodra-goopta with the "marks of hundred confused wounds."¹⁰ But while the world-conqueror is portrayed as "skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds" with "*Parākrama* (prowess) of the strength of his own arm for his only ally," the officer-biographer leaves us in the dark as to the Indian Napoleon's plan of campaign, methods of field organization and administration of the army services. We can only guess the thoroughness of the military department from the fact that the extensive Alexandrine career of uninterrupted success covered no less than three thousand miles of territory and was spread over about twenty years (330-350).

Hardly anything has been unearthed as yet in regard to the Bengali legions with which Dharma-pāla started from Pātali-pootra on his upper Gangetic valley campaign about 783 to set up a nominee and protege, Chakrāyoodha, on the throne of Kanauj. The adventure of this expeditionary force led to the temporary conquest of Malwa, north-eastern Rajputana, eastern Punjab and Sindh, western Punjab and the north-western frontier provinces, and parts of Afghanistan. The soldiers of Bengal were thus in a position to enjoy the waters as far to the northwest as at Kedāra in the western Himalayas and as far to the southwest as at Gokarna in the North Kanara District of Bombay Presidency.¹¹ In the Khalimpur copper plate inscription we have a hint that Dharma-pāla had to build a bridge of boats at Patalipootra. And "the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the path of the Ganges made it seem as if a series of mountain-tops had been sunk to build another causeway." The general su-

perintendent of boats was then as in Kautilya's language known as *tarika*.¹² Nor are any facts available as to the organization of Devapāla's extensive campaigns by which he compelled entire Northern India from sea to sea to pay tribute to Bengal. The name of one general can be wrung out of the inscriptions, that of Someshvara, the son of the Premier, Darbha-pāni. For obvious reasons Bengal has always had a boat service attached to the army. Under the Sena Emperors (1063-1200), as under the Palas, *nau-vala* (naval force) was an important arm of the military establishment.¹³

It is known among archæologists today that during the tenth century there was a series of triangular conflicts¹⁴ between the ambitious *digvijayee* monarchs of Bengal, Upper India and the Deccan. But the military achievements of the Goorjara-Prateehāra and Rāshtra-koota *sārva-bhaumas* are as unilluminated, so far as the details of fieldwork, training of officers, commissariat or transport service are considered, as those of the Palas.

The army of the Chola Empire in southern India appears to have been divided into sections according to the kind of arms they carried, and according as they were mounted or otherwise.¹⁵ There were the "chosen horsemen" and the "chosen infantry" of the "right hand", i. e., the infantry recruited from the artisan class. Among the commanders of the elephant corps we find the names of a few princes. According to the plan of cities with which early Tamil literature makes us familiar, young recruits to the army received military training in quarters specially set apart for them outside the city. Conjeeveram,¹⁶ for instance, had an "outer city" with open spaces that were reserved for breaking the war elephants and horses. The grounds were utilized also for drill, parade and manœuvres.

The Chola Emperors had a powerful navy. With its aid Raja-raja the Great (984-1018) destroyed the fleet of the rival Chera State on the west coast, and annexed Ceylon to his empire, which eventually embraced the whole of modern Madras Presidency, Mysore, and southern half of Orissa. The army and navy of Rajendra-chola (1018-1035) won a pan-Indian and even extra-Indian reputation on account of his numerous successful campaigns. In his time the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Mediterranean, became a Chola Lake. His

naval engagements brought about the conquest of "countless old islands," viz., the Laccadives and the Maldives. He crossed the Bay over to the Burmese side and captured the kingdom of Prome or Pegu. His navy annexed also the Nicobar and Andaman Islands. Light-houses were constructed at the leading ports of the Chola Empire.¹⁷

Bāna tells us in his biographical story-book, the *Harsha-charita*¹⁸ that Emperor Harsha made his *debut* with a solemn vow. "How can I rest," declared this *vijigeeshu* (aspirant to world-conquest) of the seventh century, "so long as my feet are not besmeared with an ointment found in every continent, consisting of the light of precious stones in the diadems of all kings?" Accordingly in 606 he set out on his career of triumph; and we know from Hiuen Tshang the figures as to the strength of Harsha's army at two dates. It was at the head of 50,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 5,000 elephants that the Vardhana hero went forth "conquering and to conquer." But by the end of his first period of campaigns, continuously spread over five years and a half during which he brought Northern India to subjection, he was in command of 100,000 cavalry and 60,000 elephants.¹⁹ From Bana's story we know, further, that Koontala was a chief officer of the Vardhana cavalry, Simha-nāda was a *senāpati* (general), Avanti was the supreme minister of war and peace, and Skandagopta was commandant of the whole elephant troop.

But the powerful army of Harsha-vardhana's formidable adversary, Poola-keshi II, the Chalookya *sārva-bhauma* of southern India, who compelled the northerner to know the limits of his ambition, is remembered today only by the triumphant resistance that he offered from the mountain-passes on the Narmada to the aggressor's southward march (620). Hiuen Tshang mentions only that the *forte* of the Deccan Emperor lay in the elephants. This ancient Maratha monarch had, besides, a "fleet consisting of hundreds of ships." Puri, the Lakshmee (the goddess), i.e., the queen of the Arabian Sea, is known to have been reduced by him as the result of naval engagements.²⁰

In the seventh century, probably both in Northern and Southern India, as we understand from Hiuen Tshang's general summary,²¹ the military force was divided into the tradi-

chariots, and elephants. The elephants were covered with strong armour and their tusks were provided with sharp spurs. The chariots were drawn by four horses abreast. Two attendants drove the chariots according to the command of the leader who sat between. The general issued orders from his chariot and was surrounded by a body of guards who kept close to his chariot wheels.

The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack, and in case of defeat they carried orders to and fro. The infantry by their quick movements contributed to the defense. They carried a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they held a sword or sabre and advanced to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons were sharp and pointed.

Soldiers were levied according to the requirements of the service; they were promised certain payments and were publicly enrolled.

Previous to the rise of the Chalookyas the dominions of the Deccan had for centuries been held by the Andhras. Like the other nationalities of India south of the Vindhya Mountains the Andhra Monarchy was a naval power with base on the Madras Coast. A large two-masted ship²² was the device of the coins that were struck by Yajna-shree (c. A.D. 173-202). It was intended evidently to be an emblem of the people's maritime importance. About five hundred years previous to this date the founders of the Andhra Dynasty had measured their strength with the mighty Mauryas (c. B.C. 300) only to submit to their superior numbers. The Deccan army was at this time made up of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants, according to both Megasthenes and Pliny.²³

From the accounts of Greek and Roman writers it would appear that in ancient times the Punjab was, what Bengal has always been, a land of navigable rivers. Like the Easterners, therefore, the north-western Hindus were naturally skilled in riparian warfare. The Punjab fleet were strong elements in India's opposition to Alexander. The Kshatriyas²⁴ may be described as having been by far the most noted naval architects and shipping experts. It was again, the boats of the various Punjab republics that made up the fleet 800 to 2,000 vessels strong with which Nearchos was entrusted for the

Gulf.²⁵ It is said that 4,000 Hindu boats had been assembled on the Indus to resist the earlier invasion of India by Semiramis, the Assyrian queen, and also that in much later times Mahmud the Moslem invader had to encounter the measures of national defense organized by a Punjab fleet of the same strength.²⁶

The gallant resistance offered by the nations of India, both single and united, to the all-sweeping raid of Alexander, is obviously an important event in the annals of the Hindu army. The ancient European historians of that invasion furnish us with some figures about the troops of the various states that stood in the way of the Macedonian's penetration into the Indo-Gangetic plains. The first formidable opposition came from the Assakenoi of Afghanistan. They defended their fort at Massaga with 30,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 30 elephants.²⁷ The next defendant of Hindu freedom was Poros, ruler of the Punjab between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Akesines (Chenab).²⁸

Poros opposed Alexander with an army over 50,000 strong. At the battle of the Hydaspes (July B.C. 326) the centre of the Hindu army was occupied by 200 elephants stationed at intervals of a hundred feet from one another and probably in eight ranks. The infantry numbering 60,000 were placed behind the elephant corps, but with files pushed forward between the elephants. There were 3,000 cavalry and 1,000 chariots to defend the flanks. The *vyoocha* or battle order of this force resembled a city, says Diodorus. The elephants looked like the towers and the men at arms between them resembled the lines of wall between tower and tower.²⁹

The spirit of the Macedonians was abated, says Plutarch, by the combat with Poros, and they resolved not to proceed any further in India. It was with extreme difficulty that they had succeeded in defeating the small army of the Punjab hero. They, therefore, opposed their chief with the greatest firmness when they came to learn that the monarch of the farthest east on the banks of the Ganges was ready to fight the foreign aggressor with 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 chariots and 6,000 elephants. But before Alexander could finally retire from the Punjab he had to contest his way through every inch of the lower Indus valley. Incessant and severe were his military engagements with the sturdy

republics. The Agalassoï met him with 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.³⁰ The most warlike of these autonomous, non-monarchical nations were the Malloi or Malavas. At the present juncture they happened to contract an alliance with the Kshoodrakas, their sworn enemies for ages. The combined armies amounted to 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 900 chariots.³¹ During this period the shaft used by the Indian archers was three yards long. Nothing could resist their shot, says Arrian,³² "neither shield nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defense, if such there be."

The mind of military India quickly shook off the nightmare of Macedonian invasion (B. C. 327-324). Nay, Hindus lost no time in rising to liberate the Punjab from the yoke of Alexander's army of occupation (B.C. 322). The force that accomplished this expulsion of European garrisons from the "land of the five rivers" was the nucleus of what in a decade or two developed into the standing army "on daily pay," as Pliny puts it, of Chandra-gupta, the founder of the Maurya House of the Magadhan Empire. And when Seleukos the Greco-Syrian had to submit to the Hindu monarch and cede Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the victor (B.C. 303), the Maurya army was composed of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and about 8,000 chariots.³³ Excluding followers and attendants, but including the archers, three on each elephant, and two fighting men on each chariot, the whole army consisted of 690,000 men. The exact figures of the Maurya naval force are not forthcoming yet.

Let us here place the military facts from the side of European imperialism. The temporary national militias of republican Rome became a "standing army" for the first time under Augustus.³⁴ He bequeathed to Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) probably the largest army that Imperial Rome ever commanded. Besides the praetorian guards and three fleets it was made up of 25 legions (of Roman troops) and 25 legions of *auxilia* (i. e., soldiers furnished by foreign dependents and allies, like the Imperial Service Troops of the feudatory or protected states in British India). And the total force numbered 320,000.³⁵ It is clear that the Maurya General Staff had the ability to drill, equip, finance and manipulate more than double the man-power of the imperial Roman war-machine.

A good percentage of the national

revenues must have been ear-marked for the army and navy by the Mauryas. The fighting men were maintained, as Megasthenes³⁶ records, at the king's expense and were always ready, when occasion called, to take the field. And the pay was so liberal in Arrian's estimation that they could "with ease maintain themselves and others besides."³⁷

The Supreme War Office of the Mauryas was administered by a council of thirty members.³⁸ This consisted of six boards, with five members to each. Army and admiralty formed the joint charge of one of these boards. The second board looked after supply, comprehending transport, commissariat and war service. It was responsible for the bullock trains that were used for "transporting the engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites." It had to furnish the servants who beat the drum and others who carried gongs, grooms also for the horses and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they sent out foragers to bring in grass and by a system of rewards and punishments ensured the work being done with dispatch and safety. Another board was in charge of the infantry. Cavalry, war-chariots and elephants were likewise entrusted to three separate boards.

There were royal stables for the horses and elephants and also a royal magazine for the arms because the soldier had to return his army to the magazine and his horse and his elephant to the stables. The chariots were drawn on the march by oxen, but the horses were led along by a halter that their legs might not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. In addition to the charioteer there were two fighting men who sat up in the chariot beside him. The war elephant carried four men, three who shot arrows, and the driver.

The naval arm of the Maurya war office was as minutely looked after as the military. The *nāvadyaksha* or superintendent of ships and boats dealt with all matters relating to navigation, not only of oceans but also of river and lakes, natural and artificial. His function combined the supervision of fleets for riparian or maritime warfare with the administration of customs and harbor laws.³⁹

The center of eight hundred villages in the Maurya Empire was the seat of a fortress called *sthaneeya*, if the finance minister Kautilya's directions were carried out. A

fortress called *drona-mookhva* was constructed in the center of four hundred villages. Two hundred villages had at their center a fortress called *khāroātika*. And a fortress called *samgrahana* was situated at the center of ten villages. Such is the strategic scheme of fortifications described in the *Artha-shastra*.⁴⁰ From the military standpoint then, or rather from the angle of national defense, the Maurya Empire was a thorough *federation de l'empire*, i.e., a centralized organization of states or provinces. And it served to furnish all future empire-builders with the prototype of a perfect system of "preparedness" that might be the solid basis of effectual *pax sārva-bhaumica* (peace of the world-state).

And in this Maurya achievement of imperial nationalism is to be found the nucleus of the code of duties by which Vira-sena,⁴¹ the commander of the Soonga fortress on the banks of the Narmada, was guided towards the end of the second century B. C., as well as of the military manuals that were in use among the officers of the Vardhana general, Skanda-gooptha, in the seventh century A. D. The curriculum of studies in the war academies of Bengal under the administration of General Someshvara (ninth century) must likewise have accorded a prominent place to the military institutions and practices described by Kautilya. And these were no doubt adapted with modifications to the local conditions of the Gangetic Delta by Vallala Sena's war-minister Hari-ghosha in the twelfth century.⁴²

For want of positive evidence it is not possible yet to single out a Gustavus Adolphus of ancient India as the genius of Hindu military science and art from among the score of "world-conquerors" down to the *Gangai-konda* Chola (1013-1108). Nor can any of the extant Sanskrit texts on war-office be definitely fathered on one or other of the historic emperors, generals, or presidents of military colleges. But to all writers⁴³ on strategy, tactics, battle-array, fortification, and arms and accoutrements, whether for the *dhanoo-vedas* and *netti-shastras* or for the *Manu-Samhita* and the *Mahabharata*, the military and naval chapters of the *Artha-shastra* must have been but postulates of the science of warfare and national defense that every theorist had to accept as the A. B. C. of his investigation.

i. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* (Langhorne's transl.)

2. Greenidge's *Roman Public Life*, pp. 68-74 (Roman army according to the Servian classification).
3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Article on Roman Army).
4. Ramsay's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 432.
- 5.6. McCrindle's *Ancient India* (Meg., LVI), 147.
7. *Ibid*, 138.
8. Book VI, ch. xxii; vide also Meg. LVI, B, in McCrindle's *Ancient India*, 135-136.
9. Text of the *Kavya* in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*). The English translation by Fleet was corrected in Buhler's German article on "Indian Artificial Poetry," and this has been Englished by V. S. Ghate for the *Indian Antiquary*, 1913. Re the date of the composition vide the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, pp. 386-387.
10. *The Indian Antiquary*, VIII, pp. 31, 172; Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 12, 14, 16.
11. Rakhal Das Banerji's *Memoir on the Palas of Bengal*, pp. 51-53; 55-56; *Banglar Itihasa* (History of Bengal in Bengali), pp. 167-170; *Ind. Ant.* 1892, p. 257.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, 1896-1897, pp. 252, 253.
13. Radhakumud Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping*, p. 220.
14. Banerji's *Memoir*, pp. 52, 56.
15. Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, p. 184.
16. Venkatarama Ayyar's *Town Planning in Ancient Dekkan*, p. 70.
17. Mukerji's *Indian Shipping*, pp. 175-177, 137; Aiyangar, 185; Ayyar, p. 15.
18. Cowell's transl. pp. 177, 180, 187, 188, 189. Vide the description of mobilization, pp. 199-201, 206-209. See Harsha's vow, p. 188.
19. Beal's *Si-Yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 213.
20. R. G. Bhandakar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. X.
21. Beal's *Si-Yu-ki*, Vol. I, pp. 82, 83, 87.
22. Mookerji's *Indian Shipping*, 119; for the boundaries of the Andhra Empire see D. R. Bhandarkar's "Dekkan of the Sata-vahana Period" in the *Indian Antiquary* (1918), pp. 150, 151, 156.
23. McCrindle's *Ancient India* (Meg. LVI), 138; *Natural History*, Book VI, ch. xxi-xxiii; *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 70.
24. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 99.
25. Vincent's *Commerce of the Ancients*, Vol. I, p. 12.
26. Robertson's *Disquisition Concerning Ancient India*, pp. 296-297 (Notes).
27. McCrindle's *Invasion of India* (Arrian, XXV; Curtius, X), 66, 194.
28. McCrindle's, *Ibid* (Plutarch's *Alexander*, (XII), 310.
29. *Ibid* (Diodorus, Book XVII, ch. lxxxviii) p. 274.
- 30-31. *Infra*.
32. McCrindle's *Ancient India* (Arrian's *Indika* XVI), p. 221.
33. Pliny's *Natural History*, Book VI, ch. xxii; Plutarch's *Alexander*; McCrindle's *Ancient India* (Meg. LVI), 139.
34. Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*, 114.
35. Ramsay, 432; Arnold, 113.
36. McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 85.
37. *Ibid*, p. 211.
38. *Ibid*, Meg. (XXXIV), pp. 88-89.
39. *Artha-shastra*, Book II, ch. xxviii; Mookerji's *Indian Shipping*, 104-112.
40. *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 7. Elaborate details about Maurya military administration and Hindu ideas on the subject of warfare prevailing in the third and fourth centuries B. C., are to be found in the *Artha-shastra*, Bk. IX. The work of an invader: Knowledge of power, place, time, etc.; Time of recruiting, Annoyance in the rear, Loss of men, External and internal dangers, persons associated with traitors and enemies; Bk. X., War: Encampment, March of the camp, Treacherous fights, Battle-fields, Array of troops; XII. Powerful enemy: Battle of intrigue, Slaying the Commander-in-chief, Spies with weapons, Capture of the enemy; XIII. Strategic means to capture a fortress: Sowing seeds of dissension, Enticement of kings by secret connivance, Work of spies in a siege, Operation of a siege, Restoration of peace in a conquered country.
41. Tawney's *Malavikāgnimitra*, p. 6.
42. Banerji's *Memoir*, 106.
43. It must not be ignored, however, that some of the ideas and institutions described in the *Mahabharata*, the *Manu-Samhita*, the *neeti-shastras* and the *dhanoo-vedas* may have been older than Kautilya's age. Cf. *Shookra-neeti*, ch. IV. sec. vii. Note the relative proportion of the constituents of the army in lines 41-52, and the eight battle arrays in lines 527-536; *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1889 (military tactics, pp. 192-219: chariots, pp. 235-262; cavalry, 262-265, Elephant riders, 265-269; weapons 269-308). See the list of weapons in the *Ramayana* (*Vala-kanda*, ch. XXVII). Some of these and other literary evidences have been used in P. J. Swami's pamphlet on *Warfare in Ancient India* (Indian Review office, Madras) and in P. N. Banerjee's *Public Administration in Ancient India*, pp. 196-218. But in the present article it has been sought to utilize only the epigraphic and contemporary data.

HOW THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY ENSNARED THE PEISHWA

THE English did not rest satisfied with merely conspiring and plotting against Scindia. In order to induce Scindia to return to Hindustan Lord Mornington adopted coercive

measures to intimidate him. He wrote on 3rd March 1799 to Captain Kirkpatrick:—

"You have been already apprized of the embassy which I have despatched to the Rajah of

Berar. The moment appears to approach when the advantage to be derived from the connection with the Court of Nagpur may become highly important in the scale of our political relation. It would be desirable to cement this connection through the means of the Court of Hyderabad; and perhaps ultimately, to form a defensive alliance, of which Scindia as well as Tippoo should be the object.....Until the war with Mysore should be brought to conclusion, it will not be prudent to undertake any hostile operations against Scindia."

The man chosen for the purpose of acting the part of emissary at the Court of the Rajah of Berar, was Mr. Colebrooke, afterwards well known as the great Sanskrit scholar. In a letter to him enclosed in the Governor-General's letter to Captain Kirkpatrick of the 3rd March 1799, he was told :—

"My verbal instruction to you on your departure from Fort William, proceeded no further than to direct you to endeavour to ascertain and report to me the character, disposition, views and interests of the Rajah of Berar; the nature and extent of his resources and military force, and the best means of availing ourselves of his alliance, in the event of hostilities, either with Zemaun Shah or Tippoo Sultan.

"The local position of the Rajah's territories appears to render him a peculiarly serviceable ally against Daulat Rao Scindia,.....I therefore wish you to turn your attention immediately to the consideration of a treaty of defensive alliance, against the detected projects of Scindhiah, † between the Rajah of Berar, the Nizam, and the Company, with power to the Peishwa to accede to it whenever he shall think fit.

* * * *

"However evident the hostile designs of Scindhiah may be, in the actual state of affairs, it is not prudent to propose to the Rajah of Berar, or even to the Peishwa or to the Nizam, a treaty of defence nominally against Scindhiah. Even the preliminary measures for ascertaining the disposition of the Rajah of Berar on this subject, must be taken with the greatest caution. The object of our apprehension should appear to be Tippoo Sultan; and although 'any other enemy of the contracting powers' may be named in general terms, no suggestion should yet be given by which the name of Scindia could be brought into question.....

"A treaty might, therefore, be proposed to the Rajah, the immediate and ostensible object of which should be to strengthen and define his defensive engagements against Tippoo Sultan but the terms of which should be such as to admit the insertion of Scindhiah's name, if such a measure should become necessary previously to the conclusion of the treaty."

At the same time Lord Mornington kept a large force facing the frontiers of Scindia's dominions in Hindustan. Dating his letter to

Colonel Palmer from Fort St. George, 3rd March 1799, he wrote :—

"The considerable force now under the command of Sir James Craig, will remain assembled on the frontier of Oude, and I should hope that the knowledge of that circumstance would prevent Scindhiah or Amvajee from making any movements, of a hostile tendency, to the interests of the Company."

All these measures made Scindia believe that the British meant invading his territories. So he left Poona and returned to Hindustan. Although there is no evidence, yet it is quite possible that he harboured designs not quite favorable to the interests of the Company. It was in this way, that Lord Mornington succeeded in detaching the Peishwa from Scindia. It was the object of the Governor-General to keep the Marathas neutral, and he succeeded in this also. For the reason stated before, he does not seem to have been particularly anxious to have the Marathas to co-operate with him in his war with Tippoo.

Lord Mornington's chief argument for forcing the Subsidiary Alliance on the Nizam and trying to do the same on the Peishwa was, that, in an event of war with Tippoo, these two allies of the Christians would not be able to render any assistance to the Company. It has already been said that no occasion had arisen to test the correctness or otherwise of this opinion of the Governor-General. The Nizam, of course, had now entered into the Subsidiary Alliance. But the Peishwa had not as yet done so and he was in a position to afford assistance to the Company. Captain Grant Duff writes :—

"The Marathas naturally viewed this treaty (of the Nizam) with much jealousy, and the Peishwa, on being urged by the British agent to conclude a similar one, evaded the subject by an assurance that he would faithfully execute the conditions of subsisting engagements, and, on the prospect of a war with Tippoo, promised to afford his aid. In these replies Bajee Rao had followed the opinion and advices of Nana Furnawees. * * * Nana Furnawees recommended that Appa Shaheb, the son of Pureshram Bhow, should be appointed to command the contingent intended to co-operate with the English; and in the present exigency proposed to assemble it, by collecting the force under Dhondoo Punt Gokla, Sur-Subedar of the Carnatic, the troops of Rastia Vinchorkur, and all the horse which the Brahmin jaghirdars could raise. The necessities of the state, and the presence of Sindia, precluded the Peishwa from recruiting his own army or detaching any part of it from Poona.

"Appa Sahib refused the command, but the offer having led to a reconciliation between Pureshram Bhow and Nana, the Bhow agreed to head the contingent himself..... An English

† No project of Scindhiah had been as yet detected.

detachment, similar to that formerly employed and under the command of the same officer was held in readiness to join Pureshram Bhow."

But all the preparations and the expenses incurred by the great Nana were in vain. The Governor-General would have nothing to do with the Maratha contingent. The reasons assigned by Captain Grant Duff for the Governor-General's refusal do not seem to us to be the real ones. He writes:—

"After the English had commenced hostilities against Tippoo, his envoys were publicly received at Poona although repeated remonstrances were made on the subject by the British Resident. Even after their formal dismissal was intimated to Colonel Palmer, on the 19th March, they retired only to Kirwee, a village 25 miles South of Poona. Colonel Palmer at first supposed that the detention of the Wukeels was a mere repetition of the formal plan of obtaining a sum of money, on a false pretence of neutrality or aid. The British Resident knew that Bajee Rao had received 13 lakhs of Rupees from Tippoo, to which Scindia was privy, but it was not known at that time to Nana Furnawees; and when the Governor-General noticed the conduct of the Court of Poona, by simply countermanding the detachment which had been prepared to accompany Pureshram Bhow, Nana Furnawees could not comprehend the reason."

The story of the Peishwa receiving 13 lakhs of rupees from Tippoo, without the knowledge of the astute Nana Fadnavis, whose Intelligence Department was the most perfect in India, carries the stamp of improbability on its face. Regarding his Intelligence Department Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, than whom there is no better authority on the life and times of Nana Fadnavis, writes:—

"He was a past master in the art of getting speedy and reliable information from every part of the country. He commanded the means of knowing, while sitting in his room everything, of importance that was occurring from day to day at the different royal courts of India. The working of his Intelligence Department was so perfect that half a dozen or dozen accounts of every important occurrence in any part of the country reached him from different sources within a reasonable time; so that, sitting in his chamber, Nana could easily judge of the corroborative value of the different versions and arrive at a conclusion which was nearer truth than any single one of these accounts."*

So we are fully justified in looking upon the story of the 13 Lakhs as a pure fabrication of the Resident to prejudice the Governor-General against the Peishwa. Colonel Palmer did not succeed in forcing the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance on the Peishwa. He was, therefore, trying to widen the gulf between the Peishwa and the

British Government. All sorts of stories based on idle rumours calculated to discredit the Peishwa were reported by him to the Governor-General. And at last he succeeded in inducing the Governor-General to decline to accept the offer of assistance by the Peishwa.

Grant Duff is mistaken in writing that the Governor-General countermanded the detachment which had been prepared to "accompany Pureshram Bhow" because of the rumoured intrigue of the Peishwa with Tippoo. Lord Mornington had no idea of the intrigue till Colonel Palmer wrote to him about it in his letter dated Poona, April 8, 1799.

But this letter was written five days after the Governor-General had officially declined the Peishwa's offer. Dating his letter from Fort St. George, 3rd April 1799, Lord Mornington wrote to Col. Palmer:—

"The reasons which induced me to order the recall of the detachment must be obvious to the durbar of Poonah; and, I imagine they had already been fully stated to you."

The letter is a long one, and his lordship, who never acted on the saying that "Brevity is the soul of wit," has introduced in it a great deal of irrelevant and unnecessary matters. In searching for the reasons of recall we nowhere find any allusion to the story of 13 lakhs of rupees, which, it was alleged, the Peishwa had taken from Tippoo, or the alleged intrigue of the Peishwa with the Muhammadan prince. After carefully analysing the whole letter, we hit upon two reasons which seemed to have induced the Governor-General to decline the Peishwa's offer. One of the reasons was the delay on the part of the Peishwa in furnishing the necessary funds for the detachment. To quote the Governor-General's own words:—

"Every artifice of vexatious delay has been employed to frustrate the necessary means of enabling the detachment to move from Jyeghur. ...The necessary funds for its subsistence have been neglected."

This does not appear to have been a reason of any importance to have induced the Governor-General to decline the offer. It does not even seem to be correct that the necessary funds were neglected. Had it been so, the Governor-General's order in countermanding the detachment would not have taken Nana by surprise, as stated by Captain Grant Duff.

The second reason assigned for countermanding the detachment appears to be "the detention of Sultan's Vakeels at Poonah, in contempt of my (Lord Mornington's) repeated remonstrances." This appears to us to be merely a pretext and not a valid reason for declining the offer. The Governor-General did not take into due consideration the arguments of Nana. He writes:—

"The arguments of Nana, drawn from the last war with Mysore, are not applicable to the present case. The connection between the

* The *Mahratta* for March 19th. 1900.

Courts of Poonah and the Company had not at that time been so defined and cemented as to render the admission of Vakeels from Tippoo Sultan incompatible with the spirit of the subsisting treaties."

It was convenient for Lord Mornington to ignore the customs and etiquette of the Courts of Asiatic Princes observed since time immemorial. But the Peishwa's Court went even to the length of dismissing Tippoo's Vakeels from Poona in order to oblige the Governor-General. Even this formal dismissal did not satisfy the Resident at Poonah. He reported to the Governor-General that these Vakeels "only retired to Kirwee, a village 25 miles south of Poonah." Their formal dismissal and denial of official recognition to them should have been considered as evidence of the Peishwa's good faith in carrying out the wishes of the Governor-General. As private individuals, they had every right to remain in any part of the Peishwa's territories. Nana Fadnavis was now the Peishwa's minister. That he knew not of the detention of Vakeels in the Peishwa's dominion, exonerates the Peishwa's Court from the accusation of 'a violation of faith'. Colonel Palmer, in his letter of April 8th, 1799, writes to Lord Mornington that Nana "was uninformed of any reasons for the detention of Tippoo's Vakeels after they left Poonah, except such as they assigned themselves, which were the want of carriage and dangers of the road." These were sufficient reasons to have carried weight with any unprejudiced mind.

It has been already said above that the real reason which led the Governor-General to decline the Peishwa's offer of aid seems to have been the jealousy of the dangerous proportions which the power of the Marathas had assumed. It has also been said that after the Nizam had been forced to lose his independence and when the Governor-General made up his mind to go to war with Tippoo, he did not consider it necessary to press the Peishwa to render him any assistance. This is borne out by the Governor-General himself. In his letter to Colonel Palmer dated Fort St. George, 3rd April 1799, Lord Mornington wrote that "the proposition for employing a detachment of the Company's troops with the Peishwa's contingent in the eventual prosecution of hostilities against Tippoo Sultan did not originate with me, but with the Peishwa himself." Bearing this in mind, we should be very chary in believing that the Peishwa was at the same time, intriguing with Tippoo against the Company. We have already stated before that the Marathas did not consider the war with Tippoo a just one, and therefore it is probable, that at first they did not approve of the aggressive measures which Lord Mornington was adopting towards the Mysore Ruler. The policy of self-defence must have even dictated them to attack the Nizam

who had not as yet fulfilled all the terms of the Treaty of Khurdala, and to assist Tippoo against the allied forces of the British and the Nizam. It might have been the policy of Doulat Rao Scindia. Of this however, as said before, there is no evidence. But when the Marathas saw that it was hopeless to attack the Nizam and go to the assistance of Tippoo, the Peishwa under the guidance of Nana Fadnavis agreed to furnish a contingent to co-operate with the Company's troops against Tippoo. At first Lord Mornington acceded to the proposal. But almost at the eleventh hour he declined the offer. Lord Mornington, according to his own showing, was never very solicitous of the Peishwa's aid. And now circumstances had so far occurred to his favor that he could afford to decline the proffered aid of the Peishwa. Doulat Rao Scindia had returned to Hindustan, which had the effect of keeping the Marathas neutral. Moreover, in all the arguments with Tippoo, that prince had been worsted. So, after putting the Peishwa to all the unnecessary expense Lord Mornington declined his offer of aid; and in so doing he wrote to Col. Palmer on 3rd April 1799, from Fort St. George: "My confident expectation is, that the allies will speedily reduce the vindictive spirit of Tippoo Sultan to submission without the aid of the Peishwa." Here at least, Lord Mornington states the real reason which prompted him to decline the Peishwa's offer of aid.

But Seringapatam had not yet fallen; Tippoo had not yet been slain or taken prisoner. It was possible for the Peishwa to do a great deal of mischief and annoy the Company and their allies. Hence it was a stroke of diplomacy and manifestation of the spirit of *perfidie albion* to feed the mind of the Peishwa with false hopes. Lord Mornington wrote to Colonel Palmer that "notwithstanding the perverse and forbidden policy of the Court of Poonah, I shall not fail to secure for the Peishwa an equal participation with the other allies in any cessions which may be enforced from Tippoo Sultan. *I authorize you to make this declaration, in the most unequivocal terms, to the Peishwa and to Nana.* If even this declaration shall fail to excite the Peishwa to employ every practicable effort to fulfil his defensive engagements with the Company, I trust it will, at least, serve to prove the disinterested attachment of the British Government to every branch of the triple alliance."

A few words in the above extracts have been put in italics to show that Lord Mornington did not attach any conditions 'to secure for the Peishwa, an equal participation in the cessions enforced from Tippoo.' But with the Governor-General the most unequivocal terms bore other significance. It meant, in plain language, 'bad faith'.

Seringapatam was after all captured and Tippoo was also slain. This event had a

the 4th May 1799. But before the news of the fall of Seringapatam could have reached the Peishwa, he had once more offered his assistance to the Company. His contingent under Pureshrām Bhow was not yet broken up and he thought that perhaps it might with advantage co-operate with the British against Tippoo. The Governor-General not only curtly refused that offer, but attributed improper and unjust motives to the Peishwa for so doing. Dating his letter from Fort St. George, 23rd May, 1799, Lord Mornington wrote to the Resident at Poona:—

"The Peishwa's sudden determination to take the field accompanied by the tacit acquiescence of Scindhia, and by the orders which you state to have been forwarded to Pureshrām Bhow appears to me very suspicious. It is possible that before the 10th of May, the Peishwa might have been apprised of the fall of Seringapatam; and his own preparations together with the orders of Pureshrām Bhow, may have been intended to favor the siege of Bednore, or of some other part of the late Tippoo Sultan's dominions, with the view of securing the dominions seized in defiance of the consent of the Company and of the Nizam."

In those days there were no telegraphs and no railways. It was therefore perfectly impossible for the Peishwa to have been apprised of the fall of Seringapatam 'before the 10th of May.' It was also equally impossible for Scindhia to know of the fate of Seringapatam before that date. As to the motives which the Governor-General attributed to the Peishwa's 'preparations together with the orders to Pureshrām Bhow,' it is only necessary to say that if the British did not go to war with Tippoo from a superfluity of unselfishness, or for no end, they should not have expected the Marathas to render them assistance without receiving any reward. But the Governor-General did not stop by merely questioning the motives of the Peishwa, but for the first time in his official correspondence, he charged the Peishwa with 'treachery'.

He wrote to Colonel Palmer:—

"I desire that you will take the most effectual measures in your power to discover the intentions of the Peishwa with respect to the treacherous designs which I apprehended him to have formed; and that you will employ such representations or other means as may appear to you most likely to prevent the execution of this design, if really entertained."

This was, of course the diplomatic way of ordering the Resident to fabricate, if necessary, evidence to incriminate the Peishwa. And the Resident gladdened the heart of Lord Mornington by so doing. As a pretext for not fulfilling the promise made to the Peishwa, the British invented 'the treacherous design' of that Hindu sovereign. If there was 'treacherous design' on anyone's part, it was that of the Company's

servants themselves. This imputation of 'treacherous design' to the Peishwa reminds one of Schopenhauer's saying that "it is generally the old story of the dog barking at its own image, it is himself that he sees and not another as he fancies."

As said before, the promised cession of a portion of the conquered territory to the Peishwa was quite unconditional. But this promise, it appears, was made to keep the Marathas quiet and neutral. When this object had been gained and when Tippoo had been slain and Seringapatam had fallen, the Governor-General wrote to the Resident at Poona, on the 23rd May, 1799, that "previously to the cession of any portion of territory to the Peishwa, I should wish to endeavour to accomplish the whole of the arrangement contained in any instructions to you of the 8th July, 1798. And I desire to learn from you, without delay, whether a renewal of those propositions under the present circumstances of affairs would prove acceptable to the Court of Poonah."

Nana Fadnavis knew the perfidious character of the Europeans of his day. Twenty years had not yet rolled their course since Nana Fadnavis had reasons to be disgusted with the conduct of the Europeans for their remarkable capacity for chicanery and perfidy and their utter contempt for justice and fairplay. He was a Hindu of the old type and was nurtured on the traditions of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Twenty years served to strengthen his conviction that the 'ways of the Europeans were unfair and wily.' But he was not quite prepared to believe that the Governor-General would unblushingly violate his most solemn promise and withhold the cession of the conquered territory.

The principal reason assigned by Lord Mornington on his arrival in India for trying to enforce the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance on the Peishwa, was based on his presumption that in the event of a war with Tippoo, the Peishwa would not be able to fulfil the conditions required of him as those of an ally. But that his presumption was totally groundless was proved by the fact that the Peishwa offered a contingent to co-operate with the Company's troops against Tippoo. The Governor-General's calculation being falsified by the recent events, he evaded the non-fulfilment of his unconditional promise by starting other objections.

Twenty years before, Nana Fadnavis had asked all the dependent princes of India to combine against the Europeans. Even the Moghul Emperor was approached to lend countenance to his scheme of a general alliance of all the independent powers of India against the wily and perfidious Europeans. He had succeeded so far that the then Governor-General of India was obliged to sue for peace on the terms dictated to him by Nana. But those

twenty years had made a great difference in the History of India. The Nizam was now virtually a prisoner of the Europeans. The principality raised by Haidar was now in the hands of the Europeans who were on the frontiers of the Marathas. But the great Nana did not still despair. He thought that the Marathas alone were capable of coping with the Europeans and their new allies. Of course, he did not cease pressing the Governor-General to fulfil his promise regarding the cession of a portion of the conquered territory to the Peishwa. He would not agree to the conditions which the Governor-General now tried to impose on the Peishwa, previous to ceding him any portion of the late Tippoo's dominions. But when he saw that the faithless Governor-General did not mean to fulfil his promise, he tried to unite the Maratha confederates and with their help attack Nizam Ally and the English. The nucleus of an army for these operations, he possessed in the force under Pureshram Bhow, previously intended to co-operate with the allies against Tippoo.

But unfortunately he did not succeed in his attempt. There were not only distractions in his dominions, to which reference will be presently made but there was formidable disturbance in the southern Maratha country. The Jagheerdars of that part of the Maratha Empire, had rebelled against the authority of Peishwa. It is a noteworthy fact, that these Jagheerdars of the southern Maratha country should have raised the standard of rebellion soon after the English had taken possession of Tippoo's dominions. Does not this very fact suggest that their disaffection and discontent were probably encouraged by the Europeans who also in all probability instigated them to rebel against the Peishwa?

When Lord Mornington declared hostilities against Tippoo, he appointed a commission for the purpose of encouraging "the tributaries, principal officers, and other subjects of Tippoo Sultan to throw off the authority of that prince." After the fall of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo, three out of the five members of the commission, were still in Mysore. These three were Lord Mornington's brother Col. Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington), Col. Barry Close and Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm. They were members of another commission appointed for the settlement of the Mysore territory. Arthur Wellesley was made the Governor of Mysore. It is only necessary to make a passing allusion to the appointment of Col. Wellesley. No fair-minded writer has ever justified this appointment. It was a jobbery of the worst type perpetrated by the Governor-General. Sir David Baird had superior claims to the appointment. In the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1857, Revd. Dr. Thomas Smith refers "to the slight supposed to have been cast upon Sir David Baird by his exclusion from the Commission, and by

the appointment of Col. Wellesley to the command of the city, to which Baird was thought to have a superior claim. He writes:—

"We have no wish to revive this controversy; but we do think it is scarcely fair to admit, as seems to be sometimes admitted as an element in the discussion, the subsequent career of Colonel Wellesley. It is forgotten that the controversy took place in the eighteenth, not in the nineteenth century: that the parties were not Sir David Baird and Colonel the Honourable Sir Arthur Wellsley..... We have not been quite convinced, either that Wellesley had showed so pre-eminent qualifications, or Baird so striking disqualifications as to justify the Governor-General passing over the fine old hero, appointing his own brother."

But it is not remembered by these writers that the business of the Commission mainly consisted in corrupting, bribing and coercing the adherents of Tippoo into submission. Sir David Baird was a gallant soldier; a straightforward, though probably a blunt and brusque man. He could not have approved of or carried out the crooked policy of the Governor-General. What wonder if the commissioners appointed for the settlement of the Mysore territory, extended their field of work into the dominions of the Peishwa bordering on Mysore? The very fact of the rising of the southern Jagheerdars while the Mysore Commission were in the midst of their labour would, as said before, point to the members of that commission probably having a hand in encouraging these disturbances.

Nana Fadnavis was therefore required, first of all, to set his own house, as it were, in order. The force under Pureshram Bhow was despatched to the Southern Maratha country to suppress the disturbances. But order and tranquillity had not yet been restored in the territories of the Jagheerdars of the South, when death overtook Nana Fadnavis. This sad event took place on 13th February, 1800. His death was an irreparable loss to the Marathas. With him passed away the dream of the Marathas to regain their lost supremacy in Indian politics. He was the only man in India to see through the designs of the crafty and faithless Europeans of his times. His death therefore, was welcome to them.

But they did not yet breathe very freely. Doulat Rao Scindia was still alive and was known to be a very ambitious prince. Without curbing or reducing him, there was to be no peace for them. Ever since his arrival in India Lord Mornington had paid as much attention to reduce the power of Scindia as that of Tippoo. He did not conceal this. He entered into a campaign of intrigues and conspiracies against Scindia. He sent a Resident to Scindia's Court and despatched another to Nagpoor to stir up the Raja of Berar against Scindia. At first it was given out by the Governor-General that all his efforts were

directed against Scindia in order to induce him to return to Hindustan. When this was accomplished, that is, when Scindia had left the Deccan for Hindustan, Lord Mornington entered into a fresh course of intrigues against that prince and invented the pretext for so doing by stating that that prince had hostile intentions against the Company and their allies. The despatches of Lord Mornington convince us that he had intended to go to war with Scindia a long time before he declared hostilities against Tippoo Sultan. He himself went to Madras to be near the scene of operations against Tippoo; leaving at Calcutta Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief, as provisional Governor of Bengal. It was given out that the stay in Calcutta of the Commander-in-Chief was necessary as Zemaun Shah had threatened an invasion of India. But it was a mere pretext to cover the real design of the Governor-General to attack Scindia. All his letters and despatches from Madras prove this. In his private letter dated Fort St. George, March 3rd 1799 to Captain Kirkpatrick of Hyderabad, Lord Mornington informed him of the embassy which he had despatched to the Raja of Berar. This embassy was sent "to form a defensive alliance, of which *Scindhia as well as Tippoo should be the object.*" The words in italics show his meaning very clearly. Again, dating from Fort St. George 8th March, 1799, in his "private and secret" letter to Sir Alured Clarke, he wrote:—"In every private letter which I have written to you I have uniformly desired that a respectable force should be maintained on that frontier, with a view to check the possible designs of Dowlat Rao Scindhiah.

* * * *

"My wish is, that you should, without delay reassemble in Oude, such a force as you may deem adequate to the object in checking.....the whole of Scindhiah's force if that chief should return into Hindustan. You will also keep in view the probability of early offensive operations against the dominions of Scindhiah."

The the Governor-General advised the Commander-in-Chief to tell horrid lies to Scindhiah, for he wrote:—

"Then reassembling of the army may possibly alarm Ambajee and Scindhiah, and an explanation may be demanded of the motives of such a step. You will ascribe it to the escape of Vizier

Ali from Benares, to the probability of his attempting to join Zemaun Shah, and to the consequences which that event might produce."

There are reasons to suspect that the distractions which had taken place in the dominions of Scindia, even in the time of Madhoji, and that the feuds between Holkar and Scindia, were brought about by the exertions of the successive Governor-Generals from the time of Sir John Macpherson. No previous Governor-General was so rash as to put this in black and white. But we must give credit to Lord Mornington for being an honest scoundrel. He wrote to Sir Alured Clarke:—

"If hostilities should commence.....you will use every endeavour to excite the Rajpoots and other tributaries against Scindhiah, and to induce the Rajahs of Jynagur and Jodhpur to enter jealously into the war; you will at the same time take proper steps for supporting and encouraging the exertions of the partizans of the Bhyes and Lukwaji Dada, together with all persons in the family or service of Scindhiah, who may be disaffected to his Government."

Here, after all, the cat is out of the bag or, rather, the murder is out. All the distractions and disorders which prevailed in the dominions of Scindia were most probably the doings of the Company's servants. It is probable that they instigated Yesvantrao Holkar to attack Scindia. Lord Mornington further wrote to Sir Alured Clarke:—

"I am equally satisfied of the policy of reducing the power of Scindhia, whenever the opportunity shall appear advantageous. But while Scindhia shall remain in the Deccan, and while our armies shall be engaged in war with Tippoo Sultan, Scindhia will possess considerable means of embarrassing us in that quarter; for this reason it is extremely desirable to avoid hostilities with him until either his return to Hindustan, or a peace with Tippoo Sultan shall place our affairs in a condition, which may enable us to punish the treachery of Scindhia, with more effect."

But before we describe the measures adopted by the Governor-General to reduce the power of Scindia, it is necessary to advert to the occurrences at Poona after the death of Nana Fadnavis.

(To be concluded.)

MARATHA.

TO MY GUEST

Amid the happy grass, which, waving soft,
Sighs a low music through the summer night,
The wandering winds shall weave the melodies,
And dawns be tremulous with the birds' delight;

Through the wood's silences shall still go free,
The rapture which deep-falling water sends;—
Thou dost but change the vesture, not the dream;—
Find for thy fatherland the heart of friends.

GERTRUDE BONE.

MANO MOHAN GHOSE : SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

BY THE LATE BABU JOGINDRANATH BOSE,
JOURNALIST, OF DEOGHUR.

Earliest Reminiscence.

IT was sometime in 1867 that I first saw Mano Mohan Ghose. He had, I believe, recently returned from England. He was dressed not *a la Anglice* but in choga and chapkan which were made of Cashmere shawl. The object that brought him to our house was one whereby hangs a thread of story of social progress in Bengal. A near relative of mine who was in Government service, was then animated by a burning enthusiasm for "female emancipation", and he had found a congenial spirit in Mano Mohan Ghose. It was arranged between them that their wives should accompany him and a lady friend to a social party at the house of Mr. Justice J. B. Phear. Emancipation of women was in those days one of the war cries of young Bengal, and men like Mano Mohan Ghose and Satyendra Nath Tagore were among that early band of social warriors in Bengal. The young Bengal of a generation previous to the time I am speaking of had broken through the trammels of all prejudice regarding eating and drinking. Many of them had dined at English hotels and with Englishmen at public dinners. That was then considered a high achievement in Bengal in the domain of social and moral reform. The Englishman was then young Bengal's ideal and model in almost every particulars, small and great. The zenana was the butt of their attack and many of them were assailing it with might and main. Taking one's wife to a party in an Englishman's house was deemed an act of heroism and a practical proof of the fact that the zenana was in the course of being demolished. When Mano Mohan Ghose was visiting a distinguished English gentleman, a high official and a warm friend of the Indian people, like Justice Phear, with

three Bengali ladies, he evidently believed he was ushering in a reform which would before long be accepted by all India, and remembering the brightness his face wore at the moment, I can well imagine that it was a glow with the light of the hope that he carried in his heart for the bright future of a socially reformed India.

As a Champion of a Good Cause.

A quarter of a century ago the leaders of educated Bengal fully believed in social intercourse between Europeans and Indians. It was an important article in the creed of the Bengalee reformers of the generation now passing away to hope for the dawn of a social and political millenium through the establishment of friendliness between Indians and Englishmen. Mano Mohan Ghose was conspicuous among those who were animated by this belief and hope, and his residence in Calcutta was the scene of a number of memorable evening parties at which many European and Indian gentlemen and also some ladies of both the races met, and inspired by the example of their distinguished host and impelled as it were by the motive of the gathering, strove as best as they could, by polite and respectful personal intercourse, to bridge the gulf that they felt separated them. I once saw Mano Mohan Ghose—it was sometime in 1876—superintending at his house the preparations for a great party of the members of the two races, at which the Lieutenant-Governor was expected to be present. He evidently did not regard it as a mere private entertainment. No, he was promoting a great and good public cause ; he was setting an example to his countrymen in the direction of a needed reform, nay, he was paving the way to the regeneration of the nation. That was a beautiful faith of the earnest-minded Bengali politicians of the past.

generation, but it was shattered to pieces by the revelation of the real feeling of the Englishman in India towards his Indian fellow-subjects during the early eighties, when Lord Ripon made an unsuccessful effort to equalize, in a way, the status of the Englishman and the Indian by the introduction of a little measure too well-known to require mention.

*Not an Anglicized Soul in its
Worse Sense.*

The Ilbert bill controversy forms a landmark in the history of the England-returned community in Bengal. Since the early sixties when the first native of Bengal educated in England returned therefrom, till 1882 when Lord Ripon's intention to invest the Indian members of the Covenanted Civil Service with the power of trying European British subjects was announced, Bengalees educated in England, who lived in the English style, and Anglo-Indians, mingled with each other, the latter giving hardly any opportunity to the former to discover the ugly truth that they disliked them at heart. But that little legislative measure, which immortalizes Sir C. P. Ilbert's name in India, had the effect of driving the Anglo-Indians in Bengal into a fit of excitement in the course of which the mask they wore before their England-returned Indian friends was torn open, and both in speech and action they betrayed their real feeling towards them. The incident dispelled the delusion from the mind of the England-returned Bengalee that he was regarded by the Anglo-Indian as his equal. The spirit of imitation of the English that had for its basis a strong disposition to look upon everything pertaining to that nation as irreproachable, now received a rude shock and thence-forward the blind anglicism of a considerable section of the England-returned Bengalee has been on the wane. But this characteristic of the community to which Mano Mohan Ghose belonged was not his. He had a head on his shoulders which never lacked the power of seeing things as they were, and he had no difficulty in forming his ideas about the English and their institutions, habits and

practices. That he was no blind imitator of the English is best proved by the fact that he was absolutely free from the English vices and failings to which so many Indians, who have resided in England, have fallen victims. He had a very dear friend in his community, who was a devout worshipper of England and the English, and Mano Mohan Ghose strove hard to cure him of his infatuation. In truth, Mano Mohan Ghose was never a thoroughly anglicized man, as most of the members of his community in those days were. It is true that he adopted the English dress and some English manners, and lived partly in the English style, but his soul was never anglicized in its dark or worse sense.

*As a Leader of the Community of the
England-returned Bengalees.*

Bengalees educated in England or abroad now constitute a strong and influential community. Mano Mohan Ghose was one of the first who went to England for education and he soon came to occupy a leading position in his own community. He had absolute faith in a thorough English education, and every young man going to or returned from England ever found in Mano Mohan Ghose a friend, guide and philosopher. He took the deepest interest in the welfare of such youths. The doors of his hospitable house were always open to them, and many of these will bear testimony to the value of his friendly services alone to them at the outset of their career. Mano Mohan Ghose was always keenly jealous of the good name of his community, and once, to my knowledge, when the backslidings of one of its members threatened to bring its name into bad repute he strove hard to mend matters in a way that reflected great credit on him. After the departure of Mano Mohan Ghose, his community has not been left without leaders, it is true, but none of them has yet afforded evidence of that whole-souled and active interests in its position and prospects which he always exhibited and which was a distinguishing feature of his character.

As a Social Reformer.

Throughout his life Mano Mohan Ghose was a consistent and ardent social reformer. He was a radical of radicals, both in politics and in social reform. The principles of female emancipation were what he was most anxious to see recognized in this country. Absolute emancipation of man, too, from such old customs as he thought degrading, he advocated to the best of his might. He had not the least sympathy for the Hindu revivalists and their cause. He could discover no good in this movement. A lecture delivered by him in London during his last visit to England demonstrated the depth of his disappointment at the growth of what he called the reactionary spirit among his countrymen. What gave him hope for the future of social reform in Bengal was the circumstance that in spite of the eager development of conservatism among educated Bengalees, they were, as he proved by undeniable facts, making slow but sure progress towards attaining that social ideal which he had set at the commencement of his career before them.

As a Speaker.

I had heard Mano Mohan Ghose speak at a public meeting only once. It was at that memorable session of the National Congress which was held in 1888 at Allahabad. He spoke on the simultaneous holding of the Civil Service examination in England and India. There had been a difference of opinion among the delegates on the resolution brought forward on this subject, but one great speech brought about the much-desired unanimity, and that was from Mano Mohan Ghose. The orator was eloquent, and his arguments convinced the mind. It struck me very forcibly on the occasion that to make an Indian campaign, whether here or in England a phenomenal success, what was necessary was to have it carried on by him and Surendra Nath Banerjee, who, I felt sure, would between them go on conquering thousands, making their conquest not one of minds or hearts only, but of both.

His Success as a Lawyer.

Mano Mohan Ghose was admittedly a

lawyer of great eminence. Anyone who knew him would agree with me in the opinion that what chiefly contributed to his immense success as an advocate for the defence in criminal cases was his heart's natural sympathy with the innocent, his deep, enthusiastic appreciation of the principle, that, it was better that ninety-nine guilty persons should escape than that one innocent individual should be convicted. The whole-hearted devotion, and the untiring energy he displayed in obtaining acquittal of the person or persons he defended had their primary incentive in the noble wish that the guiltless must not suffer. The mere ambition to rise to an eminent position in the rank of lawyers or a thirst for gold could not be sufficient to fill a man's mind with that inspiration which was a characteristic of Mano Mohan Ghose's brilliant orations for the defence. Mano Mohan Ghose was, to my mind, an additional example of the truth of the saying that all human greatness has its origin in the heart, in one or other of the nobler feelings of the soul.

His Love for Law.

Once during the early eighties of the last century, Mano Mohan Ghosh paid a professional visit to Baidyanath Deoghur, a town in the Non-regulation District of the Santhal Pergunnahs. Santalistan is the Highland of Bengal, and in the loveliness of its natural scenery—its hills and dales, woods and forests, meandering streams and pleasant valleys—it almost rivals the Highlands of Scotland according to one who was a native of Scotland. The environs of Deoghur form one of the loveliest spots in Santalistan and it had already risen to the rank of a sanitarium for the natives of the country. Mano Mohan Ghose was charmed with the beauty of the place and felt attracted by its salubriousness, and on learning that one of his friends was building a house there, he said that he too very much wished to follow his example, but his only objection was that Deoghur was situated in a lawless district. This, it seems to me, very well illustrates this great lawyer's love for law.

the permeation of his mind with a sense of the might and majesty of law.

His Domestic Virtues.

Mano Mohan Ghose was a model of a family man. The noblest domestic virtues were his. He was a loving husband, a deeply affectionate father and a sincere well-wisher and even active benefactor of all his kinsfolk. If he was indefatigable in his exertion to make money, it was chiefly for the benefit of his near and dear ones, for, his own needs were simple and few, as he was no lover of luxurious living. He lived laborious days and scorned delights. With a naturally strong domesticity, developed by arduous culture, his home was to him his heaven. When he was at the height of his eloquence speaking at law courts or public meetings, his large bright eyes shone with a light that was of superior intelligence, but at home while in the midst of those whom he loved, they glowed with the ineffable melting lustre of the soft feelings of a deeply loving soul. To the onlooker, the one was inspiring to the mind, while the other was moving to the heart. When Mano Mohan died his mother was still alive, and all through his career she was the goddess whom he adored with an idolatry that ennobles and sanctifies. He had brothers and sisters and nephews and nieces, and they all shared his care and affection almost equally with his wife and children. Never did a family of mother, wife and children and other near relations feel the loss by the death of its head more keenly than did that of Mano Mohan Ghose on his demise. If the worship of the family is accepted as the principal part of the religion enunciated by Auguste Comte then Mano Mohan Ghose was one of the brightest examples of the devout followers of the religion of Humanity the world has yet produced.

His Spirit of Appreciation.

In the present age which is marked by an abnormal growth in educated men of the critical spirit which in most cases degenerated into a habit of personal fault-finding and back-biting, one gives evidence of a superior integrity and moral strength

when one succeeds in keeping oneself above this prevailing vice of the day. Mano Mohan Ghose was a man who was singularly and most agreeably free from this rather common failing. It pained him to speak ill of others. He was lynx-eyed not to faults but to the virtues of all. He appeared to feel a joyous enthusiasm in praising what was praiseworthy in people but he chose to be reticent on the dark side of a person's character. The gloom of a sombre cloud seemed to hang over his face when he had to speak in depreciation of any individual. It was a spirit of exulting personal appreciation, a spirit which is coming to be rather angelic than human in these degenerate days, that was dominant in the great soul of Mano Mohan Ghose, and it was by no means an insignificant test of the nobility of his character.

His Religion.

If by religion is meant a firm faith in the existence of God and his infinite goodness, a belief in the immortality of the soul and a spirit of loving worshipfulness towards God, then Mano Mohan Ghose was not a religious man, and I believe he never pretended to be one. I heard him more than once avowing his absolute scepticism about religious matters and his scepticism was never shaken by any calamity or misfortune. I once met him one morning when a child of his, a bright little boy, had died the previous night, and I saw him almost quite unaffected. He was a man of great strength of character, and as such his heart could well be in the deepest depth of sadness, while his face might not show a trace of it in its expression. While speaking of the bereavement, he spoke of the mysteries of life and death, but not a word did he utter that could betray that the calamity had awakened in him any hopes about the eternity of life and the possibility of meeting dear relations after death. Mano Mohan Ghose was pre-eminently a man of reason, and like all great souls in whom reason is supreme, could never be shaken from the intellectual platform which by dint of his reason he had come to occupy. To

him sentimentalism of all sorts was an abomination. That frail, feminine religious emotionalism which confines itself to a morbid indulgence in religious exercises, disregarding worldly duties, was something which Mano Mohan Ghose could never tolerate. A robust spirit like his could find all the inspiration and peace of the religious man in the consciousness of the essentially altruistic character of the work to which it devoted itself and in the success which it brought to him. The greatest blessing of a deep and sincere faith is that in some minds it creates, while in others it sustains and develops, a sense of duty ; but it has been observed that in some extraordinary minds absence of faith does not at all mar the sense of duty. Mano Mohan Ghose was a man of the latter class, and his life was pure and noble, such as could be held as an example to many so-called religious men. I have come to regard Mano Mohan Ghose as a man furnishing a rare illustration of the poet's famous dictum,

For modes of faith let
Graceless zealots fight.
His cannot be wrong whose
Life is in the right.

His Physique and His Premature Death.

Mano Mohan Ghose was endowed with an excellent physique, such as is not met with among intellectual Bengalees. In stature rather short, he had a frame muscular, thickly built, set off by a massive head of an eminently intellectual cast. He looked the very picture of health and bodily vigour. I had never known him to have been seriously ill, except on one or two occasions, when he caught the malarial infection during his professional sojourn in some district towns, subject to periodic epidemic malaria. His almost uninterrupted health and his inexhaustible capacity for incessant hard work were the wonder of his friends. I never dreamt that he would pass away in the prime of his manhood. It was almost inconceivable. So his premature death led me a-thinking about its cause. I do not quite know if

some of his habits. Mano Mohan Ghose was a regular meat-eater. In India, especially in the case of Indians, meat diet persisted in for years without a break, has never been found healthful. That is the conclusion of Ayurveda, testified to by experience of many in this country. In those in whom the effect of this habit is not rapid, it is slow, but nevertheless sure. Again, disregard of the rule of daily physical exercise is most harmful to the brain worker, the more so if he is a meat-eater, and the Bengalee brain-workers have been notorious for this failing. Mano Mohan Ghose was not an exception to the rule. It is likely that these habits had a close connection with the fatal stroke of apoplexy which terminated so prematurely the precious life of Mano Mohan Ghose. Had he been sufficiently careful of his health, I feel he would have been, constitutionally vigorous as he was, alive to this day and for many more years to come working for those near and dear to him and his countrymen with that unremitting energy and devotion which distinguished his character.

The Uniqueness of His Patriotism and His Fitting Memorial.

Mano Mohan Ghose was a patriotic soul, but there was one feature of his patriotism which was quite unique. He was ever ready to extend gratuitously eminent professional services to such poor and resourceless Indians as he thought were innocent victims of any oppressive European or a tyrannical Police. He felt a great delight in this kind of good work. It was a luxury to his soul. Many were the instances of such philanthropic service that he did through his professional career. They constitute the chief glory of his life and shall ever surround his memory with a halo of charming lustre. Herein was his patriotism absolutely unique and herein was his life exemplary in a special and eminent sense and it furnishes the cue as to the best form his memorial should take. Let there be a combination of the most eminent Indian lawyers of the empire, resolved to imitate the late Mano

constitute themselves into a league to be named after him. It may well be designated "The Mano Mohan Ghose League of Indian Lawyers for the gratuitous defence of tyrannized poor Indians", or by

any other name having a similar sense and significance. It is meet that the memory of the great exemplar in this respect should be perpetuated in this most desirable way.

GOD FORBID !

MUCH water has run under the bridges since the events in the Punjab of last year of indiscriminate shooting, resulting in the loss of innocent lives of young and old, the Martial Law Regime and the consequent prosecutions, persecutions and executions. Yet the Rowlatt Act which has been the prime cause of all these deplorable and unhappy happenings still tarnishes the Indian Statute Book with its presence there. The Indemnity Bill hurried through the Imperial Legislative Council by the weight of the official majority, in the face of an unprecedented opposition (except in the case of the Rowlatt Legislation itself), of the non-officials is another piece of indignity and humiliation that still stains the Statute Book. The Hunter Committee has sat, and deliberated, and the public are in possession of their views, and they are also in possession of the verdicts of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India. They are also in possession of the opinions of the Punjab Congress, Sub-committee, and the Army Council's decision with regard to Dyer. The long-looked for debate in the House of Commons has also taken place. The debate in the House of Lords has made matters worse. In the meanwhile, it is in the highest degree pertinent, instructive, interesting and profitable to recall what Edmund Burke said in 1788, about a century and a third ago, before the House of Lords of the Parliament of England, during his Impeachment of Warren Hastings. The passage runs

serious of all causes, that when you try the cause of Asia in the presence of Europe, there should be the least suspicion that a narrow partiality utterly destructive of justice should so guide us, that a British subject in power should appear in substance to possess rights which are denied to the humbled allies, to the attached dependants, of this kingdom, who by their distance have a double demand upon your protection, and who by an implicit (I hope not a weak and useless) trust in you have stripped themselves of every other resources under heaven.

"I do not say this from any fear, doubt, or hesitation, concerning what your Lordships will finally do—none in the world; but I cannot shut my ears to the rumours which you all know to be disseminated abroad. The abuses of power may have a chance to cover themselves by those fences and intrenchments which were made to secure the liberties of the people against men of that very description. But God forbid it should be bruited from Pekin to Paris, that the laws of England are for the rich and the powerful, but to the poor, the miserable, and defenceless they afford no resource at all. God forbid it should be said, no nation is equal to the English in *substantial* violence and in *formal* justice,—that in this kingdom we feel ourselves competent to confer the most extravagant and inordinate powers upon public ministers, but that we are deficient, poor, helpless, lame, and impotent in the means of calling them to account for their use of them. An opinion has been insidiously circulated through this kingdom, and through foreign nations, too, that in order to cover our participation in guilt, and our common interest in the plunder of the East, we have invented a set of scholastic distinctions, abhorrent to the common sense and unpropitious to the common necessities of mankind, by which we are to deny ourselves the knowledge of what the rest of the world knows, and what so great a part of the world both knows and feels."

What led to the Punjab disorders is

rather its apology) taken is also well-known.

The heinousness of the Punjab Tragedy becomes the more aggravated by the fact that the infliction of the sufferings was perpetrated upon a section of the people who were erstwhile loyal, peace-loving and faithful to the Raj to the core, and again by the fact of its being perpetrated in the Twentieth Century and still again by the fact of its finding a sanctimoniously sanctified sanction at the end of a war in which Indian blood was profusely shed and Indian money was poured like water and unstintingly spent, and in which the whole Indian Nation's loyalty to the Throne and zeal for the British connection was put to the severest test and was found to be not wanting in any respect whatever! Perhaps the motives that prompted such actions and the spirit that underlay them will be better understood by calling to mind another significant passage in connection with Warren Hastings's Impeachment by Edmund Burke. It is as follows:

"It is the nature of tyranny and rapacity never to learn moderation from the ill success of first oppressions; on the contrary, all oppressors, all men thinking highly of the methods dictated by their nature, attribute the frustration of their desires to the want of sufficient rigour. Then they redouble the efforts of their impotent cruelty; which producing, as they must ever produce, new disappointments they grow irritated against the objects of their rapacity; and then rage, fury, and malice (implacable because unprovoked) recruiting and reinforcing their avarice, their vices are no longer human. From cruel men they are transformed into savage beasts, with no other vestiges of reason left but what serves to furnish the inventions and refinements of ferocious subtlety for purposes, of which beasts are incapable, and at which friends would blush."

Burke then described in detail the fiendish tortures and outrages on men and women (including virgins) perpetrated by the men to whom Hastings had practically sold Bengal, and, summing up, observed:—

"These, my lords, were sufferings, which we feel all in common in India and in England by the general sympathy of our common nature. But there were in that province (sold to the

from the peculiar manners of India, were even worse than all I have laid before you; as the dominion of manners and the law of opinion contribute more to their happiness and misery than anything in mere sensitive nature can do."

These are some of the thoughts, ideas and notions upon which the reader of the present day may, when talking about or dealing with the Punjab affair of the last year, reflect, meditate and come to his own conclusions, with some profit to himself and benefit to the cause of the Province itself.

It is not pretended to contend or to assert that the details furnished by Burke, which we have omitted, are applicable to the letter to the present conditions or circumstances. The analogy is indisputable that the action in both incidents must have been actuated by the same or similar feelings and that the same blood must have run through the veins of those who were responsible for the episodes dealt with in both the instances. This will be easily understood when the conduct of the officials in giving evidence before the Hunter Committee, with special reference to its Indian composition, is remembered, as also 'I fired until my munition was exhausted,' 'it was not my business to look after the wounded,' the curfew orders, the crawling order, making students walk in the sun for miles together, calling respectable ladies out from their seclusion and unveiling them by force, orders to salute any white man, and so on.

What is the remedy? That is a question which now rises to the lips of all. No doubt Dyer is punished, though not as he deserved. It is also undoubted that his potency to harm India or his power to touch a hair of an Indian is reduced to zero. But here and outside India, there are individuals and groups and associations and organs that try to keep up the cry of "right or wrong our Empire" and not only uphold the abominable actions of Dyer, but even seek to make a hero of him by dubbing him the saviour of the Empire and thus immortalize him, which not only tends to keep alive the embers that set the whole country into a flame of righteous anger, but also helps to accentuate and perpetuate

already too embittered feelings of the populace. In spite of peoples' demand for his recall, Lord Chelmsford is still at the head and helm of the Indian affairs. The Lieutenants of Michael O'Dwyer, I mean the Thomsons, O'Briens, and others are still in their places. We are not asking for sham and showy trials and prolonged impeachments dragging from year's end to year's end with the accompanying waste of valuable time, attendant waste of good money, necessary waste of precious energy and the useless inconvenience to all to be concerned and engaged in such flights after a mirage, to end merely in the usual force and worn-out fiasco of "honorably acquitted." We do not want any costly Commissions and Committees to be ended in equally irritating mockery of justice, which would try to establish with the help of legal fiat the existence of rebellions and disloyalty, purely fabulous and imaginary rebellions and disloyalty! We want full reparation for the wrongs done and suffered by our innocent helpless sisters and brethren. We know it is impossible to call back to life precious innocent lives. But we want that the punitive police imposed upon the innocent public should be removed, and that the consequent levy and demand upon the purse and pockets of the public should be remitted and cancelled. We want that the poor, needy, innocent and helpless families who have lost their bread-earners in a son, father or husband, should be properly and adequately recouped, provided for and rehabilitated. We want further that there should be full guarantees against a repetition of a perpetration of such heinous and inhuman and barbarous crimes and bloodthirsty and rancorous acts in the future.

In fine, we want that sort of 'justice'

for which Sheridan stood in the trial of Warren Hastings, in the following words :—

"But *justice* is not a halt and miserable object! (the *majesty* of which ought not to be approached without solicitation). It is not the ineffective bauble of an India Pagod!—It is not the portentous phantom of despair;—it is not like any fabled monster, formed in the eclipse of reason, and found in some unhallowed grove of superstitious darkness and political dismay! No, my lords!

"In the happy reverse of all these, I turn from this disgusting caricature to the *real image*! *Justice* I have now before me, *august* and *pure*; the abstract idea of all that would be perfect in the spirits and the aspirings of men!—where the mind rises, where the heart expands;—where the countenance is ever placid and benign—where her favorite attitude is to stoop to the unfortunate—to hear their cry, and to help them, to rescue and relieve, to succour and save :—majestic from its mercy; venerable from its utility;—lovely, though in her frown!"

"On that *justice* I rely; deliberate and sure, abstracted from all party purpose and political speculations! not in words, but on facts!—You, my lords, who hear me, I conjure by those *rights* it is your best privilege to preserve; by that fame it is your best pleasure to inherit; by all those *feelings* which refer to the first term in the series of existence, the *original compact* of our nature—our *controlling rank* in the creation. This is the call on all, to administer to truth and equity, as they would satisfy the laws and satisfy themselves, with the most exalted bliss possible, or conceivable for our nature—the *self-approving consciousness of virtue*, when the condemnation we look for will be one of the most ample mercies accomplished for mankind since the creation of the world!"

Will England, the mother of parliaments, the Laborites, the Liberals, the British Democracy and the "Civilized World" help us to have that which is our due and overdue? Or, is it in vain to look for it? The latter? In the words of Edmund Burke himself, I say, "GOD FORBID."

R. S. P.

A PLEA FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

IT is often claimed for Hinduism that it is the most tolerant religion in the world. Now while it is possible that a case might be made out in support of this claim as far as persecution and proselytizing are concerned, everyone knows that there is a good deal to be said on the other side in relation to the question

of conversions from Hinduism to Christianity amongst the higher castes. A Brahman convert, by the very fact of his conversion, becomes an outcast from his own home and social circle. There is no longer room for him in the family or in the agraharam. He may no longer take food with his own parents nor they with him. The ties that bound him to the family and village and caste in which he was born are ruthlessly severed, and a great gulf is created between the convert on the one hand and his relations and associates on the other which can never again be perfectly bridged over. I knew of a Brahman convert who held a position of considerable importance in a large city in the south of India, whose widowed mother came once a year to visit him, but the joy of this brief reunion was marred by the fact that she would take no food with her son in his own house. I need not enlarge on this painful subject. Those who are converts, and those from whose family and social circle converts have come, know something of the price to be paid by one who dares to become an open follower of Jesus Christ. Now no thoughtful Hindu will argue that his own or any other religion can in the long run maintain its position merely by the infliction of such terrible penalties upon those who may desire to break away from the faith of their fathers, and adopt some other faith. Such penalties are in the nature of a denial of religious liberty, and it would be of the utmost moral and spiritual significance and value if those who are working for political liberty would throw the weight of their influence in favour of granting religious liberty to those, who in obedience to the dictates of conscience, see and find a new way of religious life. It would be a far better thing in many respects if the high caste convert were allowed to remain in his own home; and while it cannot be expected that orthodox Hindus will regard a change of religion with anything but disfavour, there is certainly no necessity for the infliction of social ostracism as the penalty for the exercise of what, after all, is the soul's in-

alienable and eternal right, the right to find its way to God by whatsoever pathway conscience and reason may mark out. I will refer to this aspect of the matter later on, but I want to deal now with a possible objection that this a religious question with which the Indian Nationalist as such has nothing to do. It is at heart religious, but the ostracism which has to be faced by the convert is not only religious, it is social and cuts at the very roots of family life, and it is for the removal of this social ban which expels the seeker after a new faith from his own home and the society of those whom he loves that I plead, and that, not merely from the point of view of the convert but also for the sake of the highest interests of India in its progress towards and in self-government. Self-government of a representative character is inevitable, even its opponents will admit this; indeed its first instalment will ere long be an accomplished fact. They may argue that at present India is not fit for the full exercise of self-government, but few will assert that it will never be fit at all. It is only a question of time, the goal must be reached sooner or later, and the Home Ruler naturally says, "the sooner the better." Now from the point of view of the co-operation of all classes in the endeavour to bring about, along legitimate lines, a speedy realization of the ultimate end in view, I submit that religious toleration, religious liberty in the direction at least of removing the ban of social ostracism from those who have broken away from Hinduism, is absolutely essential. Those who grasp most clearly the actual condition of things in this country will admit that Christianity has come to stay, and that even if all foreign missionary effort were brought to an end the Indian Christian community would remain and would continue to grow,—it might even grow more rapidly than it is doing now. The Christians of India numbered over three and a half million at the last census, and the census of 1921 will doubtless show a considerable increase. The total is small compared with the whole population of

India, but the percentage of literacy is high, (16·3 on the whole, 22·8 amongst males and 9·6 amongst females) and there is little doubt but that the Christian community for this and other reasons will play a part quite out of proportion to its numerical strength in the development of the national and political life of this country.* The existence and presumably the influence of the Christians of India is recognized again and again today in every appeal for unity amongst all classes and creeds of India. Mr. Gandhi and others do not disdain to appeal to them by name together with Hindus and Muhammedans to work together for the common good of the Motherland. Now while the illiterate, and those who have become converts in connection with what are known as mass movements, may know little and care less *at present* for things that are deeply stirring the political classes of this country, this is not the case with their more highly educated fellow-Christians. These are interested, and interested in part at any rate because they have something at stake. They fear that with the advent of a full Home Rule Government the Christian community may find itself suffering disability in many directions, from which they are now protected by the "benign British Government". They know all too well that the way of the individual convert is hard, and that small communities of Christians dwelling in the midst of large caste populations often have to suffer in regard to the use of wells and roads and their right to a part in the village services, and they fear that under a Government which could not be neutral in the same way or to the same degree as a foreign Government, they might lose some of the rights which are now theirs simply as citizens of the country, and be made subject to irritating disabilities. They look

across the borders from British India into a great and enlightened Native State and see that under what is in some respects a Home Rule government, although not a fully representative or democratic one, converts are deprived of their rights of inheritance in the family property, and they fear that under pressure from militant orthodoxy, Home Rule Representative Government may be led to emulate Home Rule Monarchical Government in this and other matters. On the face of it such fears are not unreasonable, and these fears are urged as the ground of objection to Home Rule itself by some, who, if the truth were told, are probably more interested in hindering the progress of self-government in this country than they are in furthering the interests of Christianity. Those who are sincere in their desire for the establishment of a system of self-government in India in which all classes shall work together for the common good, may do a great deal to remove this fear on the part of the Christian community and so discount the use that is made of it by those who are opposed to Home Rule in any shape or form, first by making it clear that religious liberty is a definite plank in their platform and that the new powers they seek will not be used to the disadvantage of any class or creed of the people of India. But in case such a declaration should be met by the retort that promises (political) like pie crusts are made to be broken, they may put themselves beyond reproach in this matter by advocating religious liberty of the kind for which I am now pleading, namely, the removal of the ban of social ostracism from those who embrace Christianity, and by guaranteeing the genuineness of their advocacy by admitting at least Christians of their own caste to a place in their own social life and at their table. Actions speak louder than words and it is of little use for anyone to plead for religious liberty, if he says by his treatment of those who have dared to be true to conscience in the matter of the choice of a religion, 'you are unfit to take food with me.'

* It would be comparatively easy now to "play a part", but the Indian Christians cannot rebut the charge of seeking to reap where others have sown. How many of them have taken active part in the political struggle of their non-Christian countrymen?
—Ed. M. R.

There is the further question of the influence upon the convert himself in his relation to his fellow-countrymen in their aspirations after a fuller and larger national life of the outcasting to which he becomes subject, by his acceptance of Christianity. Since there is no longer a place for him in his own home and amongst his own people he, in most cases, is bound to turn to the missionary to find in him a father and in association with him a new and strangely different home-life. This often results in the formation of the closest and most enduring friendship between the missionary and the convert, a friendship which is good alike for Indian and Englishman, but which has its inevitable disadvantages for the former. The convert becomes in the very nature of things more Western in his habits and thoughts than he would otherwise be, and though his religious experience is sufficiently real and vital to transcend all accidental limitations, his Christianity takes on to some extent a Western garb rather than an Eastern. He tends to view religious questions from an English rather than an Indian standpoint. His religion, although it is beyond all questions genuine and living, takes more of a foreign appearance to his fellow-countrymen than it need do.

This separating of the convert from his own home and people is not involved in his acceptance of Christianity *in itself*; it is the result solely of the operation of caste laws which are opposed to the spirit of toleration and liberty. In Japan, whatever the parents may think, when the son of the house forsakes his ancestral religion for Christianity, they at any rate do not outcaste him. It is said that in the same home Christians, Buddhists, and Shintoists live together in perfect harmony, and one of the results of these is that the Christianity of Japan is more national in character, less marked by what are obviously accidentals derived from its introduction from the West than is the Christianity of India. Speaking generally the very fact that the caste converts of this country are willing to face even the penalty of being outcasted, is an indication of exceptional strength of character, and they

are therefore especially fitted to be leaders in the Indian Christian Church. Surely these men are more likely to be sympathetic towards their fellow-countrymen who are striving for political liberty if those countrymen would, as far as it lies within their power, accord to the converts the fullest measure of religious liberty. The Christianity of India, in the development of which such men are likely to play no inconsiderable part in the future, would become the more rapidly and naturally Indian, in all things in which a universal religion may take on a national aspect, than can be the case so long as the advocates of political liberty, who seek the co-operation of the Indian Christian in the task to which they have devoted themselves, will not accord to the convert the rights of liberty by admitting him to a place at their tables and advocating his right to remain unostracised within his own home.

Religious liberty after all is the greatest liberty of all, and the history of Britain and America prove that those who are willing to dare most and suffer most for religious freedom, who are the staunchest advocates of political liberty and social freedom. The liberty of the soul to find its way to God and to enjoy fellowship with him along whatsoever religious pathway is marked out for it by reason and conscience,—this is the greatest liberty of all. Without it all lesser freedom is imperfect; with it all other liberty is established upon the one foundation that is steadfast and eternal. The spirits of man cannot be bound by the forms of religious thought and worship that belong to the past, it demands its own way of approach to the Presence of Eternal Truth and Life and Love. If the things that belong to the past impede it instead of inspiring it, then they are but shackles to be cast aside as it speeds on its way along the upward road. In these latter days, when the cry has gone forth for all who love India, to forget even their differences of caste and creed, is it not certain that the young men who have dared or are willing to dare social ostracism and other hardships for the sake of loyal

ty to the call of God, will throw themselves the more eagerly into the task of working for political and social liberty for their own country if their rights in the higher sphere are accorded to them by those who seek their co-operation in the great venture? Will not those who are striving for the lesser, though still priceless good, *make it clear to such men now*, that the boon when won will never be used as a means for depriving others of the high-

est good? Give what you can of religious liberty to your Christian fellow-countrymen by granting social freedom and fellowship to them *here and now*, and you will be doing more than you know to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of all who love India and have her highest good at heart even though they may have rejected, or never have accepted her ancient faith.

W. E. GARMAN.

AESTHETIC AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS IN INDIAN CITY DEVELOPMENT

IN India where the people are deeply spiritual and moral as well as agricultural and social, the evils of city life have been worse than in the west, the impact has been more violent and has shaken the foundations of social and moral life. How to bring the village into the city is with modern civilisation the problem of health and efficiency and with us the problem of life and vitality.

The bases of rural life are the family and the soil. Townsmen have lost touch with the soil, and have usually left their families behind. But they are none the less fundamentally village-folk. Let them not be denied artificially the advantages of domesticity and let them have some contact with the mother earth, and all the ills of urban life, the poverty, the degradation and the disease will disappear, and men will have a clean, healthy and natural living. The renewal of contact with the mother earth and the mother families implies a renewal of life and efficiency in the new Indian cities of health and beauty.

And in this renewal we ought to begin with the communal outlook and its centres in consonance with methods of social evolution in the past. The true method of town-planning, that of the ancient social code in India if not of recent municipal laws, is to begin with the spiritual, the synthetic or the communal view of life, in short with the ideals and ideas expressed in the communal shrine with its associated river, tank or well, its tree or garden. In sanitation the impulse

will most readily come not from the municipal office but from the old village centres, renewed, cleansed and beautified. Laws of sanitation and city arrangement, not externally imposed but transformed into social traditions in the communal parks and squares, can spread the new ideas and ideals more easily to homes and compounds; for the lessons that are in the air of the village centre are more potent than the lessons of the sanitarian or the bye-laws of the municipality. How to multiply the religious or communal centres, in short village centres, within the city is the main object of the modern Garden City planning. In the mechanical era of steam and iron, of markets, finance and profit there has been in our squalid, disorderly and ill-built towns a planless muddle of streets and streetless slums while the Bye-law planning thought exclusively in terms of straight streets and lanes. Modern townplanning stands for the supply of parks and squares and the renewal of village-life within the cities. Even in western cities, the townspeople are really still villagers. In India the big cities consist mostly of a floating, immigrant village folk. This is the special difficulty for the Indian town-planner, because people who live temporarily in rented houses cannot be really at home in the cities. The development of communal centres such as represented by the square with its temple and garden, its well and its shade trees, presupposes a stability of personal and social relationships which cannot be expected of a shifting popu-

lation that tends to seek temporary gains and pleasures to the neglect of higher civic duties and responsibilities.

It is true that the towns-folk in India have still persistently preserved village habits and traditions in social grouping and punchayet organisation, in communal festivals and local chawdis, much more than in the European cities, but the renewal of communal centres in the cities will be delayed in proportion as their population is temporary and shifting, and the employment irregular and uncertain. To make employment more regular in the city, as certain as in rural districts and to plan with the village life within the city fully in view, are the twin methods in India of diminishing that deterioration of the villager in town, which is a main root cause of the decline and degeneration of cities everywhere; as this is perhaps the oldest difficulty alike of moralists, and of physicians, of economists and educators generally. An increasingly important leader in the struggle against tuberculosis, and this in England and India alike, Dr. Muthu has of late specially insisted on this view, that this and kindred diseases are not merely to be explained by this or that germ, any more than are vices or crimes by this or that particular temptation, but that all such evils alike are associated with the decay of social life from its old standards, and with the weakening of the character accordingly in all respects, in physique and in character and in resisting power of both.

In the case of a sudden transition from the agricultural and rural economy to a civic-industrial system which has involved a revolution in the system of dietetics, exercises, recreations, personal hygiene and conditions of labour in the open air to a close and crowded environment, the physiological condition of metabolism, respiration, nutrition and secretion cannot adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. The agricultural and communal habits of the people, the open air life and recreations, the field latrine, the tank or river supply of water, the daily ablution, the leisure and rest after the principal meals, domestic crafts and cottage industries have all been replaced in an industrialism with its disintegrated agriculture and debilitated handicrafts, its malaria, poverty and squabbles in the deserted villages and the economic stress and unsettlement as well as drink degradation and disease in the crowded towns with their increasing

opportunities of vice and deterioration. The growth of railways, of cities and towns, has been too rapid to admit a slow and gradual adaptation of the habits of the people. The strenuous life and struggle for living, the unsettlement of status, custom and tradition, the poverty, the mental strain and the degradation have all emphasised the evils of physical maladjustment and increased the impairment of healthy metabolism and nutrition.

The change from the rural-agricultural to the urban-industrial type is accompanied by an abrupt and violent change in the level and pressure of competition, a revolution from a deeply socialised and ethical communalism to an unregulated contract and individualism. And it is the failure of both biological and sociological adaptation that explains the prevalence and increase among our Bhadra-loke classes of such diseases as dyspepsia, diabetes, pthisis, hysteria and other forms of nervous breakdown like mania and suicide. Among our labouring classes the same causes operate, though in a much less intense form, and tend to produce a nervous depression which in their case is unfortunately resulting in organic reaction and excesses represented by the forms of intemperance, thrift and dissipation, aggravated by mal-nutrition which makes them succumb easily to epidemics. The liability to disease is also increased by the upsetting of the equilibrium which the peasants' bodily organism has established with the parasites that it meets with in the rural tracts. Living an outdoor life, engaged in agricultural pursuits, he is able to put up with the considerable degree of parasitic infestation so commonly seen; malaria and hook-worm infection, for example, is not incompatible with a fair output of agricultural work under such circumstances. Transference to large industrial centres however involves a change of environment which apart from other considerations cannot increase liability to disease. A more confined atmosphere, crowded insanitary dwellings, lack of outdoor recreation are certain to increase a baneful influence and render the factory employees more liable to fresh infections and to upset the compromise that his body has been able to effect with the parasites that it harbours. (Vide Appendix, Industrial Commission Report.)

Only a renewal of communalism, a gradual and increasing process of adaptation in the assimilation of rural and urban life, can

residential arrangements and outdoor living will restore the physiological balance which will bring sanity in the moral and social life and an immunity from the germs of decay and degeneration of the social composition and constitution.

Unfortunately throughout India in the evolution of the agricultural village into the town the essentials of the communal rural life standards and morality are denuded little by little and the squalor, disorder and degradation are slowly coming to be manifest everywhere. The town is developing not merely by closer building, with growing population, or with more frequent changes, from simple earthen buildings to well burnt brick ones sometimes of a second storey; there is congestion first in the bazar areas and then the overcrowding spreads all round. The open spaces, each with its well or temple, are encroached upon, tanks are filled up and shade trees are cut down so that the grounds may bring high rents, and by the side of ruined or dilapidated buildings grow pell mell and with no reference to the old drainage arrangements insanitary and inadequate houses for the people. Thus the old social and domestic life of health and cleanliness, of religion and art gradually but surely disappears,—the more quickly round the centres constituted by mills and coal mines, and little by little by less sudden changes in all areas.

Thus communalistic civilization is now threatened by a new social *Karma* which is

manifesting the dirt, and deterioration, the uncleanliness and the vice of all our towns, which has determined the mingled good and evil of Calcutta with its slums many times more extensive as compared with those of eastern countries, which are composed of buildings of about one and a half to two and a half times the height found in western slums and contain one quarter to one-third of the open space found in the latter, which show an overcrowding the worst on record as well as the highest infantile death rate and the highest recorded mortality for tuberculosis in the world.

Calcutta and Bombay must be cleansed, beautified and built anew, for if they set the example to all our provincial towns we cannot prevent them from working steadily on to deterioration and degradation. The renewal of the village must come in the great metropolitan cities first before we can attempt to solve the national problem of the deterioration of all towns and of their social, domestic and civic activities. Communalism may be renewed in the agricultural villages and provincial towns in their beautiful civic centres and splendid temples, each at its essential best, but it will have no power in town-planning and society-rebuilding if the cities send down from upwards insidious examples of neglect, selfishness and machine-madness with which industrialism has inevitably been associated in urban development.

RADHA KAMAL MUKERJEE.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPEAN THOUGHT

Recent Developments in European Thought: Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin, author of "The Living Past", etc. Oxford University Press, 1920. 12-6 d. Pp. 306.

MR. Marvin leads off with a general survey of the European advance from 1870 to 1914, the age of imperialism in politics, and 'Post-Darwinism' in science. This age is pervaded by a less fervent and ready confidence in human nature, and in the belief that the good must ultimately prevail. But it is an age of unexampled progress in science, and in the co-operative activity of mankind. There has, conse-

quently, been a continued enlargement of the human spirit, and whatever happens in any part of the globe has now a significance for every other part. 'World History is tending to become one History.' But how? Because, as Lord Bryce said, 'the European races have gained dominion over nearly the whole earth.' This is no doubt the truth, and it is this attitude—'to act as trustees for the weaker peoples and lead the world'—which furnishes the standpoint from which this book is written. Progress, civilization, advance—all depend, in the ultimate analysis, upon battleships and Maxim guns—this is the under-current running through

the entire series of essays, and this truly reflects the angle of vision of the average European with regard to things of the mind. It is no wonder that in spite of Bergson, and Spencer in the opinion of Mr. Marvin, the new Descartes, who will make an all-embracing practical synthesis and keep alive the task of unifying thought, is still looked for but not announced in Europe. In the meantime 'the poor and labouring millions, the oppressed and dissatisfied nations, are forcing the door.' Mr. Marvin, however, finds consolation in the thought that the depth and capacity of the individual soul has increased, the average man has increased in goodness and knowledge, the collective soul of man has grown and been enlarged and enriched, poets and novelists have turned more and more to problems of the inner life, and increasing stress has been laid by recent European thought on the spiritual or psychological side of every problem, so that he would find the leading thread of that thought in the growing desire to understand the character of man's own nature and to develop all the powers of his soul. And Mr. Marvin concludes: "On this enlargement of the soul, enlightened by science, we build the future.....For the spirit of Science is the spirit of hope." The late war has abundantly shown that this so-called enlargement of the soul, unless it is built upon the everlasting bedrock of the moral sense, avails nothing in any large clash of interests, specially when it assumes the garb of nationalistic patriotism. Then Hymns to Hate are the form which soul-culture takes, the elemental human passions are let loose, and the doctrine of military necessity turns man into brute, whether at Louvain or at Jhalian-wala Bagh, and that very dominion over the whole earth which the white races have acquired, and of which they are so proud, sets them flying at each other's throats, and civilisation lies mangled and bleeding at the foot of blood-thirsty humanity, 'enlightened by science.' Nature, and Nature's God, hoped in vain that the European races would be sobered and chastened by the Nemesis which has overtaken them; but they rise reeling from the arena, before their gory wounds and mangled bodies have had time to heal, and again resume their quarrel over the oilfields of western Asia and the virgin plateaus of Eastern and Central Africa, and imperialistic pride, racial hatred, and national jealousy once more have full sway, till another mightier conflagration may almost be prophesied. In the awakening of the moral sense, therefore, and not in the aesthetic, emotional, or psychological enrichment of the soul lies the hope of humanity, but of this, unfortunately, we see very little sign in the firmament of the West as yet.

In the chapter on Philosophy, Professor Taylor sets little store by Pragmatism and Bergsonianism, whose rejection of the intellect in philosophy he disapproves, and even the

Hegelian's Absolute is according to him really just the Unknowable of Herbert Spencer in its 'Sunday best'. As for the 'mystagogues', the Cliffords and Huxleys, who set themselves to reverse the 'cosmic process', "when they undertook to improvise a theory of first principles, their achievement was little better than infantile." For Mr. Bertrand Russell's *Problems of Philosophy* (Home University Library) the writer has genuine admiration; but he thinks the future belongs to Professor Varisco of Rome and Professor Aliotta of Padua, who have done more for the reconciliation of science and religion than any other thinkers of modern Europe. "The claims of induction to be a method of establishing truths may be fairly said to have been completely exposed." Immediate intuition is still the fundamental principle of theology. Kant's conviction that the most illuminating fact of all is the fact of the absolute obligatoriness of right (the 'categorical imperative') is his profoundest thought. According to Professor Varisco, what ought to be the good is in the end the single principle from which all things derive their existence as well as their value. Such a philosophy leads to a theistic interpretation of life, for it is in the living God that it will find the common source of fact and value. This philosophy may be 'reactionary', 'unmodern', says Professor Taylor, but "that what is most modern must be best is a superstition which it is strange to find in a really educated man—especially after the events of the last five years." So the war has taught western philosophers to admit the possibility of a living God—but has that philosophical doctrine the ghost of a chance of influencing the conduct of the European politician or his colonial descendant? For them, who are out on the unholy mission of empire-building, that hypothesis is not needed, and the theistic tradition is nothing more than a problem of the intellect for their thinkers to sharpen their wits on. The following passage may be recommended to students of Indian philosophy: "The truth is something which each generation must rediscover for itself. True traditions may be quite as injurious, if they have become mere traditions, as false ones. It was not so much because the Aristotelian doctrines were false that the unquestioning acceptance of Aristotelian formulæ all but strangled human thought in the later days of Scholasticism. Some of these doctrines were false, but many of them were much truer than anything the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had to put in their place, and the rediscovery of their real meaning is perhaps the chief service of the Hegelian school to philosophy. The trouble was that mechanical repetition of Aristotle's formulæ as matters of course inevitably led to loss of real insight into the meaning the formulæ had borne for Aristotle. The temper which, according to Professor Taylor, is the deadliest enemy to the true spirit

of philosophy is thus "the temper which is too indolent to think out a question for itself and consequently prefers to accept traditional ready-made answers to the problems of Science and Life." And if in Europe Christian theology, with its theistic interpretation of the universe, is no longer seriously considered as a part of philosophy, among us unfortunately theology forms nine-tenths of philosophy, and if the West drives the divinity in practical life by its aggressive brutality, we in the East repudiate Him in real life by our ignorance, credulity, identification of ritualism with morality and religion, indifference to social welfare, and the stupefaction of the virile energy of the Soul which makes for truth, justice, and progress.

In the Essay on the Evolution of Religion Mr. Jevons says that the course of evolution is not unilinear, but multilinear and dispersive, that is, from a common standpoint many lines of evolution radiate in different directions. "We must decline to suppose that monotheism is simply polytheism evolved, or that polytheism is descended from fetishism. We must consider that each of these three forms of religion is terminal, in the sense that no one of them leads on to, or passes into, either of the other two." That being so, an enquiry into the evolution of religion, like that made by Sir James Fraser in the many volumes of his famous book, *The Golden Bough*, and by Caird, Max Muller and others, becomes, in the latest view on the subject, more or less futile. "The first principle of religion is love—love of one's neighbour and one's God." "Love alone can lead to sacrifice of self." "Prayer then becomes communion with God, and the sacrifice of self the living exhibition of love." "The idea of [Sir James Fraser] that priest is but magician writ differently, that prayers are but spells under another name, is now obsolete. The truth may be that religion neither follows on, nor is evolved from magic, but that both radiate from a common centre, the heart of man; and that at first both are attempts by man to secure the fulfilment of his desires, to do his will, though eventually he finds that the way to control nature is to obey her, not to try to command her by working magic, and it is in endeavouring to do God's will, not his own, that man finds peace at last."

The Essay on 'Recent Tendencies in European Poetry' by Professor Herford is one of the best in the collection. Poetry in the nineteenth century was more charged with meaning, more rooted in the stuff of humanity and the heart of nature than ever before. It reflected the main currents in the mentality of the European man—the advance of science and the growth of democracy. This is most clearly brought out by the study of French poetry during the last sixty years, for France is "the literary focus of Europe and its sensitive thermometer," it "does reflect more sensitively than any other country the movement of the mind of Europe," "her own

mind has, more than that of any other country, radiated ideas and fashions out over the rest of Europe," and "the unsurpassed inborn heroism of the French race" is also reflected in the national literature. Roughly speaking, from 1860 to 1880 the influence of the French Parnassians was supreme in European poetry. The Parnassians are in close sympathy with the temper of science. Poetry, brought to the limit of expressive power, is used to express, with the utmost veracity, precision, and impersonal self-suppression, the beauty and the tragedy of the world. It sought Hellenic lucidity and Hellenic calm—in the example most familiar in England, the stoic calm and sad lucidity of Matthew Arnold. Romanticism—a movement in its origin, of poetic liberation and discovery, had degenerated into emotional incoherence, deified impulse and irresponsible caprice. The French Parnassians created the most brilliant poetry that has, since Milton, been built upon erudition and impeccable art. They pursued erudition and built their poetry upon erudition. Far more truly than Wordsworth's this poetry could claim to be the impassioned expression which is in the face of science. 'A great poet' said Leconte de Lisle, 'and a flawless artist are convertible terms; The power of sheer style to ennoble, where the masterly resources of phrase and image are compelled to the service of a rigorous logic, is seen in Sully Prudhomme's *chants de force* of philosophic poetry. The Parnassian precision rested on the postulate that, with sufficient resources of vocabulary and phrase, everything can be adequately expressed, the analogy of the contemporary scientific conviction that with sufficient resources of experiment and calculation everything can be exhaustively explained. The pursuit of an objective calm, the repudiation of personal emotion and individual originality, involved the surrender of some of the glories of spontaneous song, but opened the way, for consummate artists such as these, to a profusion of undiscovered beauty. Like most contemporary science Parnassian poetry was in varying degrees detached from and hostile to religion and it struck notes of sombre and terrible beauty elicited by the contemplation of the passing of the gods, and of man's faith in them.'

"The rise of French symbolism towards the end of the 'seventies was a symptom of the changed temper and feeling traceable in some degree throughout civilised Europe. Roughly, it marked the passing of the confident and rather superficial security of the 'fifties into a vague unrest, a kind of troubled awe. As if existence altogether was a bigger, more mysterious and intractable thing than was assumed, not so easily to be captured in the formulas of triumphant science, or mirrored and analysed by the most consummate literary art." The interest was slowly shifting from the physical to the psychological world. Psychology steadily advanced in

prestige and importance. The idealistic reaction against science had set in. It was compelled to abandon the claim to do more than provide descriptive formulas for phenomena, the real nature of which is utterly beyond its power to discover. The symbolists were aware of potencies in the world or in themselves, which language cannot articulately express, and which are yet more vitally real than 'facts' which we can grasp and handle; sometimes these potencies are vaguely mysterious, an impalpable spirit speaking only by hints and tokens; sometimes they are felt as pulsations of an intoxicating beauty, breaking forth in every flower, but which can only be possessed, not described; sometimes they are moods of the soul, beyond analysis, and yet full of wonder and beauty, visions half created, half perceived. Behind the material world there was an immaterial world of reality which was to be mystically apprehended, and which was only to be come at by the magical suggestion of colour, music and symbol. Verlaine and Mallarmé in France, the Celtic school of Yeats and A. E., Dehmel in Germany, Maurice Maeterlinck in Belgium, have all shown us that an experience may be communicated by words which, instead of representing it, suggest it by their colour, their cadences, their rhythm, their verbal echoes and inchoate phrases. Their result against science was at the same time an effort to get nearer to reality. In the subtleties of suggestion latent in sensations the symbolists were real discoverers. To them even a landscape was a state of the soul, and they touched reality through the inner life, but the poets and philosophers of the new cult of force have called them 'decadents', and some among them no doubt deserved the name.

The poetry of the twentieth century is not yet capable of definition, but we notice a drawing together of hostile currents of thought. It is in closer sympathy with science, but there is a new ideality born of, and growing out of the real. It finds its ideal in life, in the creative evolution of being, in a passion for life being lived, the energy of doing, the adventure of experience, the plunge into the everchanging stream of life. The new freedom, which holds lightly by tradition, and revises and revalues all accepted values, where, in the words of Walt Whitman, 'eternal youth is master'; the cult of force, of which 'the masculine, militant, and in the French sense *brutal* poetry of W. E. Henley and Rudyard Kipling' is the type in England—Kipling, who, "after sanctioning the mischievous superstition that 'East and West can never meet' refuted it by producing his own 'two strong men'"; nationalism, which has during the last century inspired finer poetry than at any time since the sixteenth; the democratic poetry of William Morris, Walt Whitman and others, all these are the warp and woof of the new poetry of the twentieth century. The two great surviving formulas of the nineteenth century are evolution and the will to live. Bergson is the dominant

figure in a line of French thinkers possessed with the conviction that life is a perpetual streaming forth of creative energy; evolution became in his hands a formula of vital impulse, not of mechanical struggle for existence. That will to live, in which Schopenhauer saw the master faculty of man, became in the hands of Nietzsche an elemental creative force, which can arm impotence, create faith and master disease and it is the call of this colossal will-power which created the German Empire and launched her on the career of industrial greatness. Nietzsche and Bergson, with their obvious and immense divergences, thus concurred in this respect, that their influence tended to transfer authority from the philosophic reason to those irrational elements of mind which reach their highest intensity in the vision and 'rage' of the poet. D'Annunzio is the muse of the Superman. In his amazing genius the sensuality of a Sybarite and the eroticism of a Faun go along with a Roman tenacity and hardness of nerve. He is the apostle of Italian imperialism, and he more than any other man, provoked Italy to throw herself into the great adventure of the War. His wonderful instinct for beauty, his inexhaustible resources of style, are employed in creating orgies of superhuman valour, lust and cruelty and hymns intoxicated with the passion for Power. It is this lustful frenzy and this demoniacal passion for power which precipitated the war and gave free play to the uncontrolled dominance of all that is brutal and base in man, to the total eclipse of the higher and more spiritual side of his nature. Discussing the effect of war on English poetry, the writer says that its grim obsession has not made the soldier-poets of England cynical, nor has it clogged the wings of their faith and their hope. Rather, "the fierce immersion in the welter of ruin and pain and filth and horror and death brought only a more superb faith in the power of man's soul to rise above the hideous obsession of his own devilries, to retain the vision of beauty through the riot of foul things, of love through the tumult of hatreds, of life through the infinity of death." Through all the war poetry, says the writer, breathes the spirit that something is wanting in our love of country if we wrong humanity in its name. This may have been so immediately after the war, while the ghastly scars left by it were still fresh in men's minds, but already the idealism of Wilson has been replaced by naval competition, the old jealousies between England and France over their new conquests in Asia and Africa have been revived, the policy of Asiatic exclusion has broken out in the most nakedly selfish and brutal form, and the international conscience, partially roused by the shock of war, has gone to sleep again.

"The scientific study of history began a hundred years ago in the University of Berlin." With these words Mr. Gooch begins his essay

on historical research. "Among the most sensational events of the nineteenth century was the resurrection of the Ancient East. We now know that Greece and Rome, far from standing near the beginning of recorded history, were the heirs of a long series of civilisations..... The history of the lands watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates which was almost a blank half a century ago, may now be tentatively reconstructed. The vast mass of official correspondence, judicial decisions, and legal documents, taken in conjunction with the evidences of religion, science and art, reveal a startlingly modern society a thousand years before Rameses and two thousand years before Pericles..... The notion firmly held by our fathers, that Israel was one of the oldest civilisations and formed a world by itself, has vanished into thin air; for an older and vaster civilisation [Babylonian] has been discovered to which she owed not only her science but the larger part of her religion." In Mommsen and Ranke the imaginative and critical faculties met and balanced, large vision mating with a genius for detail. Consummate scholarship and a passionless serenity characterised the historians of the early Christian Church. When, by the way, will these qualities be developed among the historians of our own ancient religion? "Byzantium has emerged from the scholarship of two generations no longer decadent and inert, but the mother of great statesmen and soldiers, the home of culture while Central and Western Europe was plunged in darkness, the rampart of Christian Europe for a thousand years against the Arab and Turk, the educator of the Slavonic races." Mr. Coulton hotly denounces the exaltation of the Middle Ages, specially the earlier half of it, as the Ages of Faith. 'Imagination,' he says, 'staggers at the moral gulf that yawns between that age and ours.' His volumes on sacerdotal celebrity constitute a formidable indictment of medieval Catholicism. On the other hand, Catholicism found a vigorous defender in Janssen, who paints a terrible picture of the material and moral chaos into which Germany was plunged by the Lutheran revolt. Ranke's greatest service to scholarship was to divorce the study of the past from the passions of the present. The master's Olympian serenity was deplored by the group of hot-blooded scholars known collectively as the Prussian school, who were firmly convinced that the principal duty of historians was to supply guidance and encouragement to their fellow-countrymen in the national and international problems of the time. "If the purpose of history is to stir a nation to action, Droysen, Sybel, and Treitschke are among the greatest masters of the craft. If its supreme aim is to discover truth and to interpret the movement of humanity, they have no claim to a place in the first class."

The scope of history has gradually widened

till it has come to include every aspect of the life of humanity. The historian must see life steadily and see it whole. The influence of nature, the pressure of economic factors, the origin and transformation of ideas, the contribution of science and art, religion and philosophy, literature and law, the material conditions of life, the fortunes of the masses—such problems now claim his attention. "The historian is a man of flesh and blood, and may love his country as ardently as other men; but, if he is to be worthy of his high calling, he must trample passion and prejudice under his feet, and walk humbly and reverently in the temple of the Goddess of Truth." It is however important for us to note the following warning and learn to discriminate in studying contemporary history as manufactured by the various nations of the West: "But the Great War has ravaged the placid pastures of scholarship no less than the fields of France and Belgium. Too many historians in every belligerent country have lost their heads and degenerated into shrieking partisans. International co-operation in the pursuit of truth, which is the condition of progress in history no less than in science, has been rudely shattered by the clash of arms. With all but the calmest minds, national self-consciousness and national self-righteousness have rendered frankness in dealing with the record of our late allies and fairness in dealing with our late enemies difficult, if not impossible. Many years will elapse before the European atmosphere regains the tranquillity in which alone the disinterested pursuit of truth can flourish."

Mr. C. R. Fay concludes his chapter on Economic Development as follows: "In all the movements we have described, the spiritual stimulus, the initial drive, and the solid successes have been provided by voluntary association. The State has not been the pioneer of social reform. Such a nation is the mirage of politicians. It has merely registered the insistent demands of organized, voluntary effort or given legal recognition to accomplished facts. This is the distinctive note of English social development in the nineteenth century." And this is also becoming increasingly true of India.

The article on the Progress in Biology is contributed by Professor Leonard Doncaster, F.R.S. After referring to the theories of Darwin, Weismann and Mendel, he says that there is a distinct tendency at present to regard natural selection as less omnipotent in directing the course of evolution than was once supposed. A number of most remarkable 'missing links' have been discovered, "but the hope of finding all the stages, especially in the ancestry of Man has not been realized, and it has been found that what at one time were regarded as direct ancestors are collaterals, and that the problem of human evolution is much less simple than was once supposed." And the great fundamental problem of biology, the nature and meaning

of life is apparently almost as far from solution as ever. "One of the noteworthy features of science in all its branches in recent years has been the tendency of subjects which were at one time regarded as distinct to come together again and to find that the problems of each can only be successfully attacked by the co-operation of the others." The name of Bengal's worthy son, Sir J. C. Bose, naturally comes to mind in this connection, but Professor Doncaster has not mentioned him. "The more knowledge has progressed, the more complex and intricate has even the simplest organism shown itself to be, and although the mechanism of the parts is becoming understood, the fundamental mystery of life remains as elusive as ever. The chief reason for this failure to penetrate appreciably nearer to the central mystery of life appears to be the fact that an organism is something more than the sum of its various parts and functions. The artificial synthesis of substances previously regarded as capable of production only in the tissues of living organisms made possible a much more thorough investigation of the chemical and physical basis of vital phenomena. But this physico-chemical or mechanical account of the process notwithstanding "we seem to get little or no nearer to an explanation of the fact that although everyone of these processes may be explicable by laws familiar in the non-living, in the living organism they are co-ordinated in such a way that none of them is complete in itself; they are parts of a whole, but the whole is not simply a sum of its parts, but is in itself a unity, in which all the parts are subject to the controlling influence of the whole." All biological research is directed towards the central problem of the borderland between the living and the non-living. Three theories are current with regard to this. The mechanistic or the materialistic theory holds that the living differs from the non-living not in kind, but only in degree of complexity. The vitalistic or dualistic solution is that the material mechanism of the organism is controlled by an entity non-material in nature and similar in kind to the 'ego' of a self-conscious human being. The third is the idealist or monistic theory, according to which matter and spirit are different aspects of one reality. Thus, while biology has a clearer vision of the problem before it than it ever had, its wider knowledge reveals the fact that the problem is far from being solved. And the learned professor concludes his interesting discourse as follows: "perhaps one of the chief results of the great increase of knowledge during the past sixty years has been to show us the immensity of the field still remaining to be explored."

Mr. A. Clutton-Brock discourses on Art in a short chapter. We want art "so that we may have life more abundantly; for we can have life more abundantly only when we are in communication with one another, mind flowing into

mind, the universal expressing itself in and through all of us." "The artist as artist speaks to mankind, not to any particular set of men and he speaks not of himself, but of that universal which he has experienced." On the vexed question of the relation between art and morality the writer says: "But although art is a social activity, it is not as Tolstoy thinks a moral activity. The artist does not address mankind with the object of doing them good. It is useless to say that he ought to have that object, if he had, he would not be an artist. The aim of doing good is itself incompatible with the artistic aim. But that is not to say that art does not do good. It may do good all the more because the artist is not trying to do good."

'A Generation of Music', by Dr. Ernest Walker is an interesting essay, and may be read by us with profit, though Indian music differs essentially from European music. Music in Europe is the youngest of the great arts, being barely five hundred years old at the most; while in India, music began to decline about that time. We can however understand and appreciate some of Dr. Walker's points, which apply to Eastern and Western music alike. He divides music into two classes: 'absolute' music, in which the composer appeals to the listener through the direct medium of the pure sound and that alone; and 'applied' music, in which the appeal is more or less conditioned by words, either explicit or implicit by association, or by bodily movement of some kind, dramatic or otherwise. In 'applied' music the general cultural pressure has made the composer recognise the duty of setting such words as may be fit not only to be sung but to be read; the music-lover's imaginative and general culture have become greatly enlarged, and external spurs to creative activity, the correlation of the music of suggestion with literature and other arts, that is to say with non-musical culture, is the result. Tennyson sings of the effect produced by the association of perfect music with noble words, and noble words as the vehicle of good music have fortunately become common in Bengal since Rabindranath Tagore and Dwijendralal Roy and Rajanikanta Sen took to composing poems with a view to set them to music. None the less, as Dr. Walker says, it is after all by his music, and his music alone, that a composer stands or falls. 'The feeling for music as such, that is still the one thing needful.' If the composer seeks for too much extra-musical sympathy from the listener, he defeats his own end. The listener will inevitably concentrate on the unessentials. 'Our musical minds,' says Dr. Walker, 'are very much broader than they were: in that sense we can well, like the heroes of Homer, boast that we are much better than our fathers. But are they also deeper?' And the answer is not a very confident affirmative. Cannot the same be said of Indian music? Dr. Walker speaks of the enormous scope for

future before pianolas and gramophones, if only the preparation of their records can be taken in hand, on artistic rather than narrowly commercial lines.' To us it seems that they have served only to vulgarise music, as it is only the possessors of wealth, but not of a musical ear, who delight in these luxuries. The writer's observations on folk-tunes which have come into vogue, and whose popularity is bound up with the patriotic sentiment, have, it seems to us, some bearing on our *Kirtan* songs. He says that 'parochialism is the last refuge of composers who cannot compose' and that 'a chauvinistic attitude towards music, as toward any other of the things of the spirit, means either insensibility to spiritual ideals or unfaithfulness to them.' 'Let us assert once more the supreme beauty of folk-music at its best; but it is often childish, and, anyhow, childish or not, it is after all the work of children.' But 'all great folk-music, like any other kind, speaks, for those who have ears to hear, a world-language and not a dialect.' Dr. Walker's concluding remarks also seem to us to be quite applicable to musical gatherings among us, where conversation flows freely while the music is going on. He quotes the Biblical injunction, 'Do not hinder music; do not pour out chatter during any artistic performance' and observes: "In other words, conversation, however valuable, prevents complete listening to music; and music that is not meant to be listened to in its completeness is not worth calling music, and had much better not be there at all. Musical progress will be spiritually well on its way when we all realize this axiomatic truth as firmly as this Hebrew sage of two thousand years and more ago."

'The Modern Renaissance' by F. Melian Stawell brings the volume to a close. The French Revolution gave birth to an ideal of man's life larger than had ever yet been known, and 'liberty' has come to mean all that stands for self-development. The spirit of man was at last entering into his full inheritance undisturbed. Ideals of mere self-abnegation were felt to be incomplete. "We, too, can never return to the Franciscan ideal of poverty, celibacy and obedience as the highest life for man on earth." Self-development was to be combined with self-denial, Hellenism with Christianity. Hegel is sure that nothing can resist the onslaught of man's spirit. 'Stronger than the gates of Hell are the gates of Thought.' Fichte is convinced that there awaits in man, only to be developed,

a power that will unite him with all other men and at the same time develop his own personality to the full. Comte believes that man united with his fellows can attain height undreamt of and unlimited. Mazzini lived on the hope that, if freedom were given to the nations and duty set before them, they would prove worthy of the double mission and there would be peace between all peoples. Nietzsche, the preacher of brute egoism as he is, shares the admiration for life and power characteristic of the modern Renaissance, and instead of the philosophy of despair preached by Schopenhauer, he advocated a heroic struggle with fate which would lead inevitably to the production of a nobler type of man. The evolutionary doctrine is based on the hope of an advance for the race, if not in the individuals now living. The ideal of Tolstoy, the old ideal of abnegation, of sheer brotherly love and nothing else, is no longer regarded as the one thing needful. The ideal of the modern Renaissance, once envisaged by man, can never be lost. The woman's movement is part of the general movement towards liberty and self-determination. The universe is a glorious thing, but if it is to be entirely acceptable to man's conscience, it will be through the effort of man himself struggling towards his own ideal. It is as though the world itself had to be redeemed by man. This hope is the real hope of our time.' We find this faith in a spirit moving in man which is greater than man himself in the writings of H. G. Wells, in Bernard Shaw's creed that God needs man to accomplish His own will and is helpless without him, and in Bergson, the idea lying at the back of his Creative Evolution being an undefined splendour not yet fully existing, but, as it were crying out to be born, and only to be born through the struggle of man's spirit with matter. The world, in this view, is in the process of making and we ourselves are among the makers. William James says: "It feels like a real fight—as if there were something really wild in the universe which we, with all our idealities and faithfulnesses, are needed to redeem." The idea of perfection of the universe has sunk into the background. "There is," says the writer, "deep pathos in the change, but may be, paradoxical as it sounds, deep hope as well." With this hope, in spite of all appearances to the contrary in the world-politics of to-day, let us close our review of this intensely stimulating book.

SURVEYOR.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR.

THE most vital questions before the reformed Provincial Council will be the inter-related ones of sanitary, educational and industrial reform, and of

ways and means for carrying out schemes of progressive expansion in these directions.

The motto of educational reconstruction

tion with us in Bengal, in all its grades and forms, must be adaptation to the actualities of our situation, in other words, to the vital needs and interests of the people and the rich potential resources of the Province. That adaptation must be sought in different ways, having regard to the mentality, the traditions, and the environment of the Bengali people. Researches in Humane Letters, in Orientalia, and in the social sciences, in one direction,—and in the physical and natural sciences, pure and applied, in another, must be stimulated and fostered by the University of Calcutta, and a central body in the University must be maintained for the ever-new expansions and explorations in these fields. But education, if it is to be living, must also be an index of efficiency, an equipment for self-help, whether for the nation as a whole or for the citizens as individual units. Accordingly, the University must also establish Faculties (and Boards) of technology, agriculture, commerce, sanitation and public health, to organise teaching and training in these departments of study. Owing to the absence or dearth of such facilities, our University education has, in great part, become a losing concern in respect of efficiency and manpower, and a diversion from the present bloated channels to new fields and tracts is one of the crying wants of the day. But a mere provision of University faculties, courses or degrees in applied science, technology, agriculture or sanitation will hardly suffice for our varied and extensive needs; this must be supplemented by the introduction of corresponding secondary courses in our intermediate studies, which will prepare for various callings and occupations, or lead up to University degrees or diplomas qualifying for higher as well as lower grades, and positions in life in these varied fields. A network of institutions like the proposed Intermediate Colleges teaching these new courses throughout the mufassil must be provided, as also a connected system of agricultural, industrial and trade schools of the Secondary grade. But, in my view, both the Intermediate Colleges and the

degrees or diploma courses in agriculture and technology, will fail of their purposes if they are not under the direct management and control of the University. To strike deep roots in the educational soil these experiments must appeal to the imagination, the sentiment and the temper of the people, and this they cannot do unless the institutions are given their proper place as integral members of the University.

It is accordingly desirable that the Secondary grade of education should end with a public examination two years or so before the present Matriculation stage. With a better gradation of our High Schools, the Secondary examination can be taken normally by our boys in their fourteenth year, before the onset of the critical period of adolescence. The next four years should be spent in an Intermediate College. Under this scheme, there would be a single examination at the end of the Intermediate stage, instead of two examinations, the Matriculation and the Intermediate within the critical period. These Intermediate Institutions should be affiliated to the University on the humanistic, the naturalistic or the technological side, as the case may be, and their control and recognition should be vested in the University.

Lastly, Primary education must be universal and free and an intensive educational administration will secure the accomplishment of this object by progressive expansion in a short and definite term of years. But the old motto of the three R's will no longer serve our purpose. We must recognise agricultural and handicraft training, as well as sense training and manual training as vital elements of the Primary grade of instruction, especially in a province like Bengal. And we must enlist the modern appliances of the cinema and the lantern, the itinerant lecturer and the peripatetic exhibits and demonstrations, in our effort to educate and enlighten the masses, so that the latter may take their rightful place in the social, the economic and the political life of the country.

But the question of ways and means

is the crux of every plan and programme of educational reconstruction in a country like India in her present undeveloped economic condition. So far as Bengal is concerned, she is clearly entitled to use the resources of her income-tax and her customs for her own internal development. This subject has been discussed thread-bare; all I need say here is that the Province has the first claim to the revenue which these elastic sources, especially customs under a wise economy may yield on the produce of its own soil. Should, however, Bengal's legitimate claim in this respect be refused, I am of opinion that money must be found by special Imperial grants, by retrenchments of less essential expenditure, by setting apart a larger share of the Provincial assets for educational expansion, or, if need be, by leaving a supertax, or differential taxes on luxuries, or suitable custom's duties or local cesses and rates, as the case may be, for defraying the expense of improvements and expansions in the different grades of education.

And this leads me to the question of industrial organisation. For without a progressive expansion of indigenous industries worked by indigenous capital and indigenous labour, the expansion of the provincial revenues or national income to meet our most urgent vital needs is an impossibility which must be patent to every one acquainted with economic conditions in the country. And these conditions have now entered on a new phase which must be carefully noted, if your efforts are to be sound and well-directed. Hitherto *laissez faire* has been the motto of the Government in this country in matters of industrial development;—private enterprise, with fair field and no favour, has been the accepted dogma except in the matter of Government monopolies in some industries, agricultural and industrial research, and the organisation of transport by rail. But the postwar reconstruction in the Empire has brought with it the break-up of old prejudices and the adoption of what would have been once considered economic heresies in the relations of Government to industrial

enterprise as well as to the organisation of credit. It is now seen that the natural resources of a country can be most profitably worked through a net-work of staple as well as subsidiary industries established in the country itself, that this is not only more productive and less wasteful, more conservative of the soul and its capabilities, but also more conducive to the efficiency of the people. Accordingly a Government fails to discharge one of its primary responsibilities, if it does not develop the efficiency of the people by taking every means in its power to develop such industries through private enterprise, and, if need be, by means of pioneer undertakings. But while we are glad to note that the Government has abandoned the time-honoured *laissez faire* attitude in these matters, we must seek to direct its new activities into useful channels and impress on Government the absolute necessity of observing certain conditions in the exercise of its industrial and commercial role.

The first and foremost condition, it need hardly be stated, is that the land and its natural resources, whether mining or agricultural, must be secured to those who are settled in the country permanently as children of the soil,—and who belong to the body politic without being divided by any outstanding barriers or cleavage. Again, we must guard against the introduction of virtual monopolies in any shape or form.

If State monopolies have often been abused, risks attending private monopolies under State grants are infinitely greater, as was the case under the East Indian Company's charter, and we must, therefore, see that the old monopolism is not unwittingly revived under new grants and charters on the very first stage of our political journey to responsible government. The dangers are the more real and pressing inasmuch as any possible bartering away of the people's heritage in the soil, and its resources to foreign companies with powerful political interest and connections would be a wrong which would sow the seeds of bitter agrarian discontent and economic strife in the near future.

Accordingly, the motto of a fair field and no favour would be totally inadequate as the basis of the Government policy in the new sphere of industrial development and organisation. It has never worked and will never work *de facto* under the governing realities of the political situation in this country. What is required is that there should be an obligation to give preferential treatment to national industries and indigenous concerns, marked such by the proportion of the capital held by nationals as defined, and that the administration of the Provincial industrial department on this basis should be entrusted to the popular half of the coming diarchy represented by Ministers responsible to their constituencies in the country.

The general organisation of transport and the schedule of freight charges in connection with transport, should also be so arranged as to favour the development of staple industries in the country, instead of being regulated with a view to favour the export of raw materials for purpose of exploitation, and the same principle would apply with equal force to the operations of Industrial and State Banks in financing industries or in supplying credit, and of research institutes and agricultural, industrial, or commercial bureaux in supplying information, or in distributing material, or outturn to the public.

In this connection, it must not be forgotten that so far as customs and tariff are kept out of popular financial control, the largest part of the profit of industries which furnish the basis of our commercial activities may be exempt from the liability to contribute to the resources of the country for any purposes of development, however essential. Life, health, efficiency, labour and education are primary interests in the social economy, and all necessary expenditure to maintain them in a sound condition is a first charge on the outturn or produce of a country, whether organised (or financed) from without or within. If, therefore, any part of these profits is specially safe-guarded against such primary obligation, it would be all the more necessary to see that the working

of natural and national resources does not pass indefinitely or increasingly into an economic sanctum (or Alsatia) beyond popular financial control, as this would lead to a financial dead-lock and to consequent arrest of the vital functions of the State.

But of even greater urgency than this industrial reconstruction is the organisation of public health and sanitation on a sound and comprehensive basis in the present circumstances of the Province. What we require in the first instance is the mapping out of the country into a number of areas each with its special hygienic *milieu* and sanitary problems. Next, there will come minute and thorough local surveys and examinations, to be followed by an intensive sanitary administration having a well-defined objective, e.g., the killing of a specific pathogenic agency, or some specific vital gain or conquest, within set limits of time, money and labour. It is possible and indeed desirable to commence sanitary organisation on these lines within chosen areas, while in the meantime we train our agents in adequate numbers and conduct the necessary research on an adequate scale for taking up the more comprehensive plan. But whatever procedure may be adopted, the paramountcy of sanitary reform cannot be gain-said. Our vital statistics must become our first concern, though indeed health and economic efficiency are interdependent, and we cannot have one without the other.

A happy reconstitution of the Sanitary Department has given us a ready and efficient instrument wherewith to fight the battles of Public Health and Sanitation in this Province. The work has been well planned and mapped, it is now necessary that the campaign should be vigorously opened in the opening year of the new regime under a popularly-constituted administration. The battle for life and efficiency cannot be won except by our own vigilant and unflagging struggle.

In outlining a programme I cannot refrain from pointing to one essential condition of success in the work that now lies before us. It will have been already

seen how much of the future of our people and our country lies in the keeping of the University. To whatever field we may turn, industrial, sanitary, administrative or cultural, national efficiency, which alone can prove our salvation, has to be won and maintained by the organisation of a sound national system of education, and the University is the only body which can supply and regulate either the agency, the machinery or the material in this our quest of national efficiency. If we want an army of sanitarians to cope with malaria or other enemies of man, we must train them in medical schools and colleges under an extensive scheme of medical and hygienic education, and we must adapt our general educational courses to that end. If we want trained industrials, foremen, commercial agents, chemical experts, mechanical engineers and similar other instruments of national economic expansion, we must provide for their training within the existing scheme and framework of national education.

Take again, the question of women's education. Large classes of our women have been ousted from their old positions in the social economy, and the social machinery itself cannot be set right or maintained in a sound working condition, without the intelligent and efficient co-operation of that half of our society which women represent,

The education of women as teachers and lady-doctors or in child welfare, hygiene, domestic economy, etc., widows' education, education in college or home industries,—these and other forms of education of women must be earnestly taken in hand being essential factors of national efficiency in our present situation.

Under economic administration, I have suggested a number of measures on the principle of specially favourable treatment for indigenous industrial concerns.

I have sketched the outlines of constructive programme and policy without touching on questions of constitution and franchise, but the latter are also of essential significance in any scheme of national life. Briefly put my views on the outstanding political question of the day are

(1) that our political goal of self-government can be peacefully attained only by a harmonious co-operation of all the elements of our social and political life, under which I include not merely co-operation between the Government and the people but also between the classes and the masses, between the land-holders and the ryot, between capital bankers and industrials, between the intelligentsia and the illiterate folk; (2) that in pursuance of this very principle of co-operation, we should in the present stage of our political growth avoid permanent cleavages in the body of national workers by the formation of set parties, except for temporary ends, and in view of specific questions, though with the further development of national government, parties may serve useful functions; (3) that our methods of political advance must always be constitutional, pressure being exercised by the weight and volume of a public opinion, representing all classes of the people; (4) that the defects of the scheme of Reform, whether in the matter of the constitution, composition and powers of the Council and the Executive bodies, or in the financial adjustment, or again, in the representation of particular classes of the community, should not stand in the way of our seeking to utilise the existing machinery of Government in the best interests of the country and its development.

These are among the most pressing problems of our public life to-day, which lie within the purview of the State's essential functions and primary responsibilities. But what is equally pressing is that the State itself should, by a gradual transfer of the seat of authority, come to be broad-based upon the people's will. The educational, industrial, and sanitary conquests must doubtless be accomplished in the immediate future, but they are not worth much unless they are accomplished by our own joint will as expressed in and through the organ of the State. To win the sense of a corporate personality and to express that personality and its autonomous undivided will through the State as its exponent

and obedient instrument, is to win life itself,—is to win national life and national immortality. Such must be our quest of Self and Self-government,—not on the old familiar path of 'each for each', but marching to the new time of 'each for all

and all for each'. May we not falter on that road, but march forward straight to the goal, looking neither to the right nor to the left, and accepting whatever purveyance comes to us on the way.

POLITICAL POWER FOR WOMEN

BOTH men and women have to obey all civil and criminal laws. Therefore if men have a right to make and administer those laws, women should have that right, too. Both men and women have to pay taxes. Therefore if men should have a voice in the levying and spending of those taxes, women, too, should have it. Both men and women have to work and earn wages. If men demand to determine the conditions of work and terms of wages by means of legislation, and if the demand be met wholly or in part, why should not women make a similar demand with the right to have the demand met? Both men and women have to suffer the consequences of bad physical and moral environments. If men seek to improve the environment by education and legislation, why should not women also do so?

If it be objected that the sphere of women is the home, taking it for granted, one may reply, that, morally and physically healthy homes for the bringing up of strong, enlightened, patriotic, good citizens are possible, only if there be plenty of good wholesome food for all, if there be good sanitation, sanitary house building in towns and villages, if the customs and laws relating to marriage and maternity be conducive to social welfare, if there be good free education for all, if the laws relating to the use of intoxicants be what they ought to be, if the customs and laws regarding the relations between the sexes promote and ensure social purity, and if public opinion in all countries, particularly in powerful countries, be against wars, which destroy homes in more ways than one. And in all these matters woman's voice and influence are, at least of equal importance and efficacy with man's.

sufficed to make material and moral conditions what they ought to be for a happy and useful existence is evident to all who know the state of the world. The improvement effected by women in those countries where they have enjoyed political power for any appreciably long period, is well known, too. If men can be fathers, householders and citizens, women, too, can be mothers, housewives, and citizens, though it may be not citizens to as great an extent as men.

The case for the possession of political power by women is being increasingly felt to be so strong in all continents that there are already eighteen countries where women have been given the vote in its fullest extent, with four or five others where they are permitted to vote on provincial or municipal questions. Once upon a time, well within living memory, says Hildegard Hawthorne in *Munsey's Magazine*, woman's right to vote was a question. Now it is a fact. Where the limited franchise exists, it is certain to be extended in the near future, if the past is a criterion of what is to come. The world has finally answered the old question in the affirmative. The years 1918 and 1919 saw no fewer than ten new countries adopt woman suffrage. This year the United States of America has joined the forward-stepping ranks.

No one can definitely forecast what effect the admission of great new bodies of voters will have on the world at large; but it is expected that on the whole the result will be good. Italy will feel the influence for the first time, because, though the vote was given them in 1919, the work of making the necessary additions to the parliamentary register could not be accomplished in time to allow the women to participate in the election of

That the voice of the men alone has not

last autumn. In 1919...

Sweden the power of the women will be first felt this year. Canada and Great Britain, though the women of these countries have had the vote since 1918, have yet to appreciate what changes the new era may bring.

New Zealand gave women the franchise in 1893, Australia in 1902, Finland in 1906, and Norway in 1907. Nevertheless it is largely to the women of England and America that the world's recognition of the right of women to participate in the government of their country is due.

There are some strange anomalies in connection with woman suffrage. For instance, in Holland, before woman got the power to vote, she could be voted for; so it happened that Miss Suze Groeneweg was elected to Parliament in that country, though she could not cast a ballot herself.

In New Zealand women are eligible to any offices for which they vote; but in Australia, where the franchise was granted by the Commonwealth before the various states had instituted provincial suffrage, women were eligible to seats in the legislature, but could not be elected to the municipal councils. This matter has already been remedied in Victoria and New South Wales.

In Norway women got the vote a year after the death of Henrik Ibsen, whose plays had helped to open the eyes of the Norwegians to the woman question. In all the Scandinavian countries the winning of the vote for women was more a matter of intellectual conviction than of passionate effort. Nowadays in Norway a woman is as likely to be chosen for any given piece of work as a man. An instance of this is Fru Betsey Kjelsberg, who was appointed as a delegate from that country to the assembly of the League of Nations—the only woman to have this honour. Fru Kjelsberg has served her country in various capacities, having been the first woman factory-inspector, and, later, a member of a royal commission on house-building. She received a gold medal of merit for her work on this commission. It was work that had to do with the housing problems of the humble and the poor—home work in the broad sense, woman's work, as we are coming to see.

In Finland and Iceland women have long been in politics. Finland gave them the vote in 1906, and many women have been members of the diet there. Iceland has made

rage was not made complete there until 1915, women had been members of the town councils since 1908. Swedish women may hold any office for which they vote, and last year they received full voting privileges. Before that they had long voted on municipal questions.

Denmark is no whit behind. Danish women got the franchise in 1915, but owing to the war there was no general election in which they could share until 1918. Then several women were elected to parliament. Among them were two of Denmark's leading women Fru Elna Munch and Senator Marie Hjelmer. These two women carried to victory an equal pay bill for women, Fru Munch being president of a committee of fifteen to consider the measure—the first woman to be president of a committee in parliament. Wife of the Danish minister of war, mother of a fine boy, Fru Munch has never sacrificed her home life to her public work, and yet she has done as much as any man in her position.

The equal pay bill is not the only one for which she and Senator Marie Hjelmer have worked. The latter has been particularly interested in legislation affecting women and children, in educational problems, and in the status of illegitimate children. She describes herself as a home body, a married woman simply, and she is said to have a remarkable faculty for silence.

Italy is the first of the Latin countries to give her women suffrage, though the equal suffrage bill has passed one house in France. The women of Italy did wonderful work during the war, and are now heart and soul devoted to improving school conditions and the sanitary state of the villages and scattered homes of their country. With the vote, they have to accomplish much in these matters.

The American woman's talent for organization makes her participation in politics particularly efficient, and her success in getting special legislation for the matters that most interest her is going to be an object-lesson for the rest of the world. The housekeeping side of government—which includes the spending of money, the budget of the nation—is going to become more and more woman's domain. The work that women in America have accomplished in civic matters is inspiring. Their civic service was first begun by the women's clubs, so strong a part of the American national life; and as the vote has been won,

there is sure to be a great development in this direction. For example, money for eradicating such diseases, as malaria and hookworm, proved to be preventable, will be found more easily now that women have something to say about the taxes and the use to which they are put.

In Porto Rico the women have been working hard for the suffrage. In the Philippines, Governor-General Harrison has come out in favour of woman suffrage. The greatest worker there for the cause, as well as for everything that tends to the uplifting of women, is Senora Jaime C. de Veyra, wife of the Philippine commissioner to the United States. Senora de Veyra is known in her country as "the little mother of them of all."

In Rhodesia and British East Africa European women have full voting rights, and they are on the point of winning equal suffrage in the Union of South Africa. In Uruguay in South America women expect to vote on municipal matters this year. Senora Gonzales is the most important worker for suffrage in that country.

Another woman who is doing pioneer work for her sisters, and who was the first woman to speak for suffrage in her own land is Mme. Komaka Kimura, of Japan. She asserts that Japan is ripe for woman suffrage; that the political leaders in her country are for it; but that almost every one is afraid to come out for it yet. There is no fear in her, however, and she means to make the whole of Japan listen to her doctrine.

The women of Russia have the franchise, but into that dark and veiled land it is impossible to penetrate at present, and what the women are doing, what they are hoping, we do not know.

In Poland woman stands beside man, with equal privileges and equal responsibilities, with a tremendous national problem to solve, with a wonderful spirit and courage to assist in the solving.

[With the exception of the first three paragraphs, this article is compiled from *Munsey's Magazine*.]

HOW INDIAN HISTORY IS TAUGHT TO ENGLISH SCHOOLBOYS

THE *Citizen and the State* (Macmillan and Co, 1914) by J. St. Loe Strachey was first published in 1895, and has since run through several editions. It is evidently a popular textbook in England, and from a stray copy that has reached our hands it would seem that it has found its way to India, being possibly intended, if not as a textbook, at least as an approved prize book for our schools—for it may not be known to our non-Indian readers that in this fortunate country, the State must approve the textbooks and even the prize books which a school affiliated to the University may purchase or prescribe, so great is its solicitude for the welfare of the students. The second part of the book deals with the British Empire. Among the forces that prevent the break-up of the Empire, are the following:

"Next, the self-governing colonies feel that as long as they remain part of the Empire they have a claim to share in the immense possessions which the United Kingdom holds in Asia, in tropical Africa, in South America, and in the West Indies.....Australia feels a deep interest in India, for Australia understands that she is an Asian state. But this being so, Australia does not want to lose her right to share in our possession of India, Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. Instead, she wishes to assert her interest in India, for she knows that as her population increases and her trade grows that interest increases."

Note how in the above passage the expressions 'our possession' and the 'claim to share in the immense possessions' are used as if India is the *Khas Zemindari* of every British schoolboy, and every colonial schoolboy possesses a potential 'interest' in that *Zemindari*. And the reason for so regarding India is to be found in the following paragraph:

"The ruin of India means the ruin of England—This can be easily explained. If we were to grow careless and negligent in the work of government in India, and were to allow the different races and religions in India to fight with and persecute each other, the whole continent would soon be in as great a state of anarchy, misery and confusion as it was when we came to India. This would be terrible for the people of India. It would be quite as terrible for the people of the United Kingdom. And for this reason. If anarchy broke out in India, we should have to do one of two things—either to reconquer India or to abandon it. But to reconquer India after having let it get into a state of anarchy would cost thousands of English lives and millions of money, which would have to be paid by the taxpayers of England, and would fall as a grievous burden on them.

"Not less would be the burden if we left India. The result of that would be that the immense trade that we now do with India would fall off and perish... the effect of this would be felt by every man, woman and child in England. Hundreds of thousands of men who now get their living by the trade with India would be left without work or hope, and at the same time the large number of people who live upon the interest paid by railways and other Indian loans would no longer be able to give employment to English labour.

"Depend upon it, the ruin of India must mean the ruin of England..."

Thus it is necessary to keep a tight hold over 'our immense possessions' in India.

"It is, however, hardly worth our while to consider whether we did right in going to India. We are there and our duty now is to consider how to do our best and not to worry ourselves with scruples about the past [of course not!]. A man who is firmly fixed on a trade is a fool if, instead of trying to do his best in it, he is always wondering whether he should not do better in something else."

Here India is rightly enough, compared to a shop owned and managed by Englishmen to their immense profit.

But there are a few over-fastidious people who suppose that the best way to govern India

"was by letting the Indians govern themselves. We see that in the United Kingdom the best form of government is obtained by letting the people govern themselves and it appears natural at first sight to consider that what holds good here will hold good in India."

In answer to these people, the author refers to the "seething mass of contending races, creeds, languages and political ideas" in India, and tries to paint the Indians in the blackest possible colours, and concludes:

"Any one can see from these facts that it would be quite impossible for us to leave India to govern itself, granted that our object was to get for India the best government possible under the circumstances. Leaving India to govern itself would mean giving the word for a fierce struggle for supremacy among the various

"But, it may be said, even if we cannot leave India to govern itself, why should we not govern India through its natives?... The objection to this proposal is one which is absolutely fatal. You cannot altogether substitute Indian natives for Englishmen if you are to keep hold of your ideal of [never losing your grip over India, i.e.] giving India the best government possible, because Indian natives would not govern India nearly as well as Englishmen. The reason why this is so, is again to be found in that India is not a homogeneous country."

Excellent reasons can therefore be found for a further prolonged occupation of 'our possessions' in India. But the question of parting with those possessions some day must be faced. Let us see how the author faces it:

"When shall we be able to leave India to govern itself?—This is a question which people often ask. The true answer is, When India is fit to do so: And when will that be? When India has become a homogeneous people. [Orthodox Hindus and Mahomedans, whose cry is, 'our community, right or wrong', please note.]...In all probability it will take more than another hundred years to weld the peoples of India together, and make them capable of Self-government.

"No Hurrying' should be our rule in India.—This being so, we must be in no hurry, but must steadily and quietly press forward in the task of good government,—always remembering that our duty is not to make ourselves popular with the Indians, but to give them the best and most just government possible."

But if the Government be just, why this anticipation of unpopularity? Is it because the writer's conscience is not quite easy about the justice of the Government?

But there is another and a more convincing argument in the author's armoury for the continuance of British domination:

"It is a most important thing that the governed should have confidence in the fairness of their governors..... But it happens that the only race in India which readily acquires the kind of education necessary for governing according to a civilised and progressive standard is that of the Bengalees—the inhabitants of the Province of Bengal.

"Governing by natives would mean governing by Bengalee Baboos:—If, then, we ruled India entirely by native Indians, we should be forced to employ what are called Bengalee Baboos, that is, educated Bengalees. But unfortunately Bengalee Baboos are exceedingly unpopular with the majority of the people of India. They are despised as being weak, cowardly and effeminate, and are generally looked down upon by the rest of the natives of India. This feeling is very likely most unfair, and is of course to be regretted, but our regret cannot alter the plain fact. The Bengalee Baboos are also, as a rule, Hindus, and therefore disliked by the Mohammadans. Add to this the fact, that outside their own province of Bengal they are as much foreigners as Englishmen. The present day

quite as great a stranger to them as an Englishman. They would understand his language no better, and would have very little more sympathy with his ways of thought. On the whole, then, it is less unfair to put Englishmen over the people of an Indian district than to put a native who would probably only be welcomed by one section of its inhabitants.

".....It is then quite clear that if we are to give India the best possible government we must continue to govern that great continent by means of Englishmen....."

For concentrated malice, hatred, rancour, and abuse, and black jealousy and downright falsehood, the above passage on 'what are called Bengalee Baboos' would be hard to beat in the annals of schoolboy literature. There is not even wanting the cowardly trick to pose as impartial, coupled with a sham expression of regret, in order to heighten the effect of the calumny, miscalled a 'plain fact'. "The governed should have confidence in the governors"—oh yes; and the peasantry of the Punjab, who have, thanks to their dumb illiteracy, always been exploited as an instance of a virile people who would chafe under the yoke of the timid Bengalee, have had quite recently, after they had dyed the battle fields of France with their heart's blood to prove their loyalty, an excellent illustration of 'the fairness of their governors', in grateful remembrance of which they are going to erect a memorial at Jalianwala Bagh. The 'weak, cowardly and effeminate' Bengalee Baboo would consider it as unspeakable shame to shoot on an unarmed crowd without notice and the bragging of such valiant performance before a Commission of enquiry, by military officers who would undoubtedly sing to a quite different tune in well-armed Ireland, as a sure mark of the vulgar cowardly bully, devoid of such common decency as is to be found among felons in the dock in our country—for few criminals among us are cold-blooded murderers. Frightfulness and repression are resorted to, not by the manly and the strong and the just, but by those whom consciousness of inequity has thrown into a blue funk and craven fear and abject panic have turned into brutes. For the countrymen of such persons to taunt the Bengalee with cowardice is indeed a sight for the gods. And what indeed is the head and front of the Bengalee's offending? Why, it is that "it happens to be the only race (which is not true) in India which readily acquires the kind of education necessary for governing according to a civilised and progressive standard." It is easy then

this to see where the shoe pinches—why the Bengalee is held up to ridicule before the British schoolboy, for he is the rival, often the superior, of the English administrator in India, and this deprives the latter of any justification for his own continuance. No one is willing to commit self-immolation if he can help it, and in the hysterical outburst we have quoted above, one can read the tragic death-throe of the expiring British bureaucrat. But in truth, the Bengali does not claim any monopoly of fitness to govern; in the Native States of Southern India, many a Madrassee and Marhatta and Mahomedan statesman has given ample proof of such fitness. In fact all the Indian races have acquired that fitness, if indeed they ever lost it under British rule or misrule, whichever you like to call it. It is only our friends, the Anglo-Indians (old style), and their supporters in England, who set up an antagonism between the Bengalis and the other Indian races in this respect, in pursuance of the well-understood policy of *divide et impera*. So when Lord (then Sir Satyendra) Sinha was appointed a member of the executive government of India, the cry was raised in England, by no less a person than Lord Curzon, that the rulers of the Native States would take the elevation of a mere commoner to such high rank as an insult to themselves. The lie was nailed to the counter by several Indian chiefs headed by the foremost of them, His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and today we find three, and not one, Indian middle class representatives in the Cabinet of the Viceroy, without the slightest murmur of discontent among the native Princes. Lord Sinha himself, a Bengali bred and born, has just been raised to the highest rank next to that of the Viceroy in the land of the stalwart Biharis, amidst their universal acclamation.

The papers have recently announced that the Principal of the Patna College has been deputed to America, of course at the cost of the Indian taxpayer, to correct the misrepresentations (!) about British rule in India that are said to have become far too common in the United States. May we enquire what steps are being taken by our benign Government, which is so anxiously vigilant to spread the truth in a foreign land, to counteract the poison of hatred and untruth that is being disseminated among English schoolboys in the above passage?

textbooks like the one we have quoted from? We are not even sure that Messrs. Macmillan & Co., who publish so many textbooks for Indian schools and colleges, do not intend to have the book under notice recommended as a prize-book in our Indian schools, so that Indian schoolboys may have an opportunity of learning, from this witch's cauldron of

undiluted lies, how Indian history is cooked, concocted, perverted, parodied and mistaught to their English fellow students with the generous motive of perpetuating bureaucratic misrule over what the author is fond of calling their vast Indian 'possessions'.

BIBLIOPHILE.

THE EAST AFRICAN ATMOSPHERE

(*Concluded*)

MAJOR Grogan, in the concluding portion of his speech against the Indians, which I quoted in the September number of this magazine, makes on behalf of the European community in East Africa the assertion, that while Indians may possibly be permitted by the dominant white race to continue to live and trade in the country, they must never on any account be allowed to possess any political rights. Such a privilege given to Indians would be regarded by Europeans as an insult to the White Race.

In this speech, Major Grogan does not specifically mention 'racial segregation' but his opinion is well known. As one of the leading members of the European 'White Man's Parliament', he has on many occasions publicly demanded the strict segregation of Indians in every township. Indeed he has been, if anything, more outspoken about segregation than about the withholding of the franchise.

This settled and determined policy of race-segregation and disfranchisement, directed against Indians, is nothing more nor less than the old Ghetto policy of medieval Europe revived in modern Africa. The analogy is almost exact. For the White Race religion and dogma are parallel to the religious fanaticism against the Jews in days gone by. This fanatical and persecuting element still lies crouching within English sub-conscious character waiting for its victim. It is not too much to say that the Indian is hated in Africa at the present time by a very large body of Englishmen and Boers in the same way that the Jew was hated in Europe in the

Indeed, the astonishing thing in Africa is this, that there is no place where the Indian citizen is *worse* treated today than in British territory under the British flag. Instead of being a protection to him this flag has become his humiliation. For an Indian to go from the Transvaal or East Africa to Portuguese territory is like passing out of a state of subjection into a state of equality. I have lived with Indians and in Indian homes in these different places—in Nairobi, in Johannesburg, in Baira and in Lorenzo Marques. I am not writing from hearsay or bringing a hearsay accusation. I know clearly from my own definite personal observation that these facts are true.

In Portuguese East Africa, the Indian feels himself on every side to be a free man. In British East Africa, the Indian knows by bitter daily experience that he is a member of a subject race. This tells upon the Indian's character,—just as it would tell upon the character of any Englishman, if he were in a similar position.

The phrase that Mahatma Gandhi has used for Indians abroad in a recent article—"Pariahs within the Empire",—is literally true. I had not spoken directly to Mahatma Gandhi on this subject, yet his whole article was, word for word, what I have seen with my own eyes. He ends the article by declaring that this fate that has happened to Indians abroad is due to the sin of the past, because Indians had treated their own brothers as pariahs and untouchables. As I read Mahatma Gandhi's terrible words, I remembered at once an Indian gentleman in Johannesburg, a Hindu, who said to me, "I am

"Mr. Andrews, I have often thought that this is our Karma. We have treated our own brothers as untouchables in India and now we are treated thus ourselves."

Such a sentiment was not at all uncommon among Indians in South and East Africa. I heard it thus expressed on more than one occasion and never contradicted.

It may be impatiently asked,—“Why then do Indians themselves remain in such a degrading atmosphere? Why do they not go over into Portuguese territory in a body?”

The answer to that question is obvious. The Indians have naturally drifted to those lands which are under British rule, expecting better treatment there. They have also received an English education in India and it is natural for them to go where the English language is spoken. They also believed in British citizenship. A final reason is this, that British territory is unquestionably the richest, and therefore money is more plentiful there than elsewhere.

I turn from this treatment of the Indian in British East Africa to that meted out to the indigenous African. Here I shall bring forward the evidence of Sir H. H. Johnston, one of the most successful of all African administrators,—a man who knows East Africa well and, as a retired Government official, is not likely to exaggerate the facts which tell against the present Administration. He writes as follows :—

“If you are old, or middle aged, you will remember how excited you got, years ago, over the Congo Atrocities : how you and the Government of that day were prepared to imperil our friendly relations with Belgium, to get the administration of the Congo taken out of King Leopold’s hands. You will also remember how, in later years, as the Great War drew to its close, and whilst the terms of the Peace were being debated, it was generally resolved by us and the representatives we sent to Versailles that the German flag should never again fly over any part of Africa, mainly because of German barbarities inflicted on the unfortunate negroes in German South-West Africa and in the Cameroons. Portugal, also, was repeatedly warned, that, if she continued her disguised slavery in the ‘Cocoa Islands’ of Angola we should be compelled, etc., etc.

“Well, now you smile contemptuously, when you read in the foreign Press, that we, of all nations, are most hypocritical.”

can you wonder,—or rather *could* you wonder,—at the counter accusations of the Belgians, Germans and Portuguese, if you had realised, what had been going on in British East Africa between the white settlers and the negro or negroid inhabitants, during the past fifteen or sixteen years? I have to say ‘*could*’ because I know, that, by the joint efforts of the Colonial Office and the London Press, you are kept as much as possible in the dark.”

Sir H. H. Johnston then goes on to show, by concrete examples, how extremely difficult it is in East Africa to get the European juries to condemn atrocities, however vile and brutal, when committed by members of the White Race. He speaks of the culminating horror at Nduru, where the flogging and torture of Africans was so severe, that according to the medical officers’ own reports, “*fat had been crushed out of the muscles*” of the wretched victims. In other cases “*the flogged natives died from the torture and flogging.*”

What shows, in the most terrible manner, the power of concealment which Capital possesses in England, is the fact that it is able to keep out of the public press records of acts of this kind. Sir Harry Johnston tells us, that, when Sir Alfred Yeo put questions about these abominations in the House of Commons and Colonel Amery gave most unsatisfactory answers, not one single leading London newspaper reported that special part of the proceedings of the House. It was discreetly omitted ! I have found out myself, by an intensely bitter experience, what a conspiracy of silence these great capitalist-owned daily newspapers observe in public matters, whenever financial interests are affected.

I do not wish it for a moment to be imagined, that Englishmen generally in East Africa approve of these brutalities. But, as we know full well in India, so impenetrably strong is the sacro-sanctity of the ‘white race’ dogma that the majority, who really in their hearts dislike such deeds, bow in a cowardly manner before a minority who approve of them. They refuse to repudiate these things, because to do so is to ‘lower the prestige of the White Race.’ This is the true meaning of the approval of General Dyer’s cold-blooded massacre at Amritsar.

I do not wish again to be misunderstood as in any way implying that this is the sole record of European colonisation in Africa.

Europeans as in reality bringing advantages to East Africa and not adding to its cruelties. I could not myself put the proportion anything like so high as this, but on the other hand, I have seen the African in his raw and savage state—wherein cannibalism was practised as a matter of course. I have no illusions, therefore, about the kind of existence which the African used to live before the European intervened. What has to be realised is, that certain tribes of aborigines have preyed upon others from times immemorial. "Before the white man touched Africa," writes Sir Harry Johnston, "it was racked with civil wars, the slaughter of tribe by tribe,.....and the ruthless slave trade. The people perished by thousands after droughts and famines; they were constantly thinned by the aggressions of wild beasts; they lived in many cases like brutes; they perished by unchecked diseases."

All this is potently clear to any one who has spent some time in British East Africa, but it does not in the least palliate, or condone, atrocious acts on the part of civilised men, who profess and call themselves Christians. It is quite true, on the one hand,—as is so often boastfully reported in the newspapers,—that there has been the marvellous application of modern science to the problems of mechanical transport; the opening up of great highways from one end of Africa to the other; the stamping out over large areas of indescribable horrors and devilries of sheer naked savagery; the combating of disease in man and beast; the lessening of long-drawn agony of suffering by modern surgery; the reclamation of whole countries from sleeping sickness and malaria; the all too slow, but still perceptible spread of education and art and higher knowledge. All this must be taken into reckoning and much more in making up the full account.

But, all the same, I insistently repeat, however great and remarkable these benefits may have been, they in no way excuse the modern civilised Christian man, when he ruthlessly exploits for cheap labour purposes, the domestic and tribal life of these savages and breaks down the last barriers of those native customs which inculcate morality and self-restraint. I have witnessed the terrible effects of such cheap labour recruiting in India itself, where the village population is more able to protect itself by its intelligence

hateful financial system all the world over—a system under which the capitalist loses all relation to morality in his dealings with others, and money is made the only living God.

In studying the history of the past, we read with detestation accounts of the servile labour of Greece and Rome: we learn with a loathing hardly less deep concerning the factory system of labour of the early Nineteenth Century in England. But historians of some future date are not unlikely to speak in terms even more emphatic in their horror of the labour traffic on the French and Belgian Congo, in Angola and in British East Africa.

A quotation may be given from a writer of high reputation, who wishes to remain anonymous. He states that he has had more than half a generation's intimate experience among the Kikuyu tribes of British East Africa and has seen with his own eyes the terrible deterioration which has taken place each year. He calls himself by a *nom de plume*, Fulani bin Fulani. But he is known to be an official of high Government standing. His indictment runs as follows:—

"There is no surer sign of social disintegration than for the marriage tie to become unstable among the mass of the people. In the mixture of men of different tribes in European employment in British East Africa the customary union is by the month. The African men and women arrange such unions by themselves,—the woman receiving clothing, food and money, and serving her master at bed and board. These unions may last indefinitely for months and years. They do not exist among ordinary temporary African labourers. These need money for the tax. For them exists an immense class of prostitutes,—a totally new feature in African life.

"But most of the men, who have taken more or less permanently to wage-earning under Europeans, have women of their own. Their industrial life is precarious, their liabilities to their women are correspondingly restricted. They have no wives, as they have no homes. They get their wages at the end of the month, they change their masters at the end of the month, and so they marry for a month.

"These unions have no sanction in native law, or in our own. As is inevitable, children are rare. Diseases are common. But

such unions are not felt to be disgraceful, as by many prostitution is still felt to be.

"*The system fits the life.* But the State may some day awaken to the fact that it is manufacturing disease faster than any conceivable means of prevention can overtake it."

"And so, they marry for the month"..... "The system fits the life." I have underlined these two sentences, because the writer in the remainder of the article makes it perfectly clear that this hideous corruption, which has defiled the very fountain-head of African life, has been wholly caused by the unscrupulous and immoral recruiting for the large European estates which must perforce, whatever happens, have their full quantity of 'native labour'. *The system fits the life.*

The day is rapidly coming in East Africa when large companies, earning rich dividends in London and elsewhere, will be taking their full toll from African labour exploitation. I have seen too much, in different parts of the world, of what happens under the profi-

teering management of large companies, to have much faith in human kindness under 'company regime'. It will be a bad day for the East African, when land speculation and the increasing demand of modern capital for production on a big scale bring the individual farms, which now exist, into large landed estates run by directors as absentee landlords, whose only interest is to increase the yearly dividend.

It is a strange irony indeed that the very Europeans, who are ruthlessly carrying out this profiteering system, which the highest official authorities have shown to be degrading to the African native, have themselves brought against the Indian community the charge of 'exploiting the natives' and of 'making the natives mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.' It would be difficult to find in modern records a more shamelessly impudent charge. Coming from such men's lips it does not need refuting.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

INDIAN STATES (A CALL FOR POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION), by Khasherao B. Jadhav, M. R. A. C., F.C.S., M. R. A. S. E., and V.B. Metta, B.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law. Pp. 3+32, to be had of the former, Baroda State, Baroda.

WAKE UP PRINCES, by Khasherao Jadhav. Pp. xxvii+202. (Second Edition.)

The two books are companion volumes to each other, Mr. Khasherao Jadhav being sole author of the second and joint author of the first, and so it will be convenient to review them together. In fact the first book is to a great extent only an amplification of portions of the second book and a reprint of certain articles that have appeared in the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The aim of the authors is to draw the attention of the Ruling Princes and those interested in the welfare of the States to the present status of these principalities and the evils resulting therefrom and to suggest some remedies and reforms.

People in British India are apt to form very unfavourable judgments of the general administration of the States. Mysore and Baroda notwithstanding, we know that no State allows a free press within its

territories and the Representative and Legislative Assemblies boasted by many States are the veriest parodies of what such bodies should be. The books under review tacitly assume all this but seek to lay the blame on the system of Subsidiary Alliance which binds the States to the British Government. They argue that in the unnatural circumstances in which they are placed the States cannot really display signs of real, vigorous political life. The Political officers accredited to the various Courts, who should act merely as Ambassadors, try to interfere as much as they can in State administration and many Princes find it difficult, with the best will in the world to reform their administration in consonance with modern ideas. The result is that most of them give up the attempt and indulge in unbridled pleasure-seeking. Assured of defence against foreign enemies, their one aim is to keep the Suzerain Power pleased and so long as they can do this, they can safely ignore the interests of their sardars and subjects. Thus a gradual alienation between rulers and ruled is the result. The ruler is callous to public opinion and, in return, his actions lack the moral force of public support. To quote Mr. Russel, a former resident at Hyderabad (1832): "One of the most striking effects..... which a close connection with us upon the subsidiary system produced upon the Native States....."

premature decrepitude into which it invariably hurries them. Every faculty that is valuable to a State, every organ that contributes to its wholesome existence, seems to decay under our alliance." It is difficult to say if it was with this deliberate intention that this system was devised: one does not like to impute motives; but there is a very significant quotation in 'Wake up Princes' from the evidence given by Mr. Mill before the Parliamentary Select Committee on the affairs of the E. I. Company in 1832. Asked if a continuation of this policy of maintaining the Princes under Subsidiary Alliances would make the final absorption of the States into British Territory more difficult, he said, "No, I think by degrees we are proceeding towards it. They (i.e. the old military families in the States) would ascribe the cause of their declension to us if we were to take the government entirely into our own hands, but when we merely take the military power and leave a nominal sovereignty in the hands of the old sovereigns, they are equally unemployed and exposed to this decline and gradual annihilation but do not seem to owe their calamities to us." No words could be plainer.

A very convincing picture is drawn of the gradual and subtle ways in which the status of the Princes has been lowered from that of Kings and Rulers in alliance with the British Government to that of practical feudatories, 'trustees' of the latter, as they are called, for the good government of their territories. Some of the vagaries of the Political Department are inexplicably impolitic. At the last Delhi Durbar, when the King Emperor held a levee of all the Princes, it was proposed that they should merely bow and pass on. Fortunately, some of them had the courage to enter a mild protest against this humiliation and it was not insisted upon. When the first Princes' Conference met in October 1916, the Viceroy entered the Conference Chamber, shook hands with the Princes, and then to their general astonishment, left Mr. Wood, the Political Secretary, to preside! In England, Indian Ruling Princes have precedence at State functions even over the Prime Minister, but in India members of the Viceroy's Executive Council have precedence over them!

Coupled with this atmosphere of degradation, studied so far as one can see, the system of miseducation which the Princes receive makes them almost totally unfit for their work. They are kept aloof from the currents stirring the national life and receive no practical administrative training. National traditions have no existence for them. Hence on their assuming powers, they can evolve only bureaucracies which are failures like those in British India. They try to keep all real power in their own hands, leaving little initiative to Ministers and Heads of Departments, who, in the authors' words, are reduced to the position of merely 'glorified clerks'. Thus the country cannot now produce a race of responsible statesmen like Sir T. Madhava Row or Sir Salar Jung. The European officers imported by the States from British India often prove better administrators as they enjoy more freedom and often carry their points even against the Princes' wishes. Incidentally, the authors draw attention to the heart-burning, apart from the fact that it is a display of want of national self-respect, caused by the difference in treatment received by the European and Indian officers in State employ. The former invariably receive more consideration and many rules of etiquette and old customs are waived aside to suit their convenience.

From symptoms to remedies is a natural transition. The only one provided by the Government is the institution of the Chamber of Princes, outlined in the "Mont-Ford" scheme. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is hailed in some quarters as the Magna Carta of Indian liberties. Mr. Jadhav draws a distinction between the two which is quite as instructive for those who are building high hopes for British India on this precious document as it is for the States. He says: "The Magna Carta was the fruit of the force of circumstances, the second a free boon: the one offered an impetus to its grantees to enforce its fulfilment, the other made the obligees simply look up for its grant." What the Ruling Princes think of the scheme of the Chamber of Princes is described by Mr. Jadhav in language so picturesque that it will bear quotation. "They could not agitate but hoped that after the war would come reforms. But what do they see? A resplendent renaissance of their former glories? A lark soaring sky-wards with the ecstasy of melodious expectations within its heart? No! They see woe, dark, abysmal woe, before them. The pit of further degradation (The Chamber of Princes) stares them in the face with its hateful eyes and they hear the owl proclaiming the march from beneath Afrasiab's vaulted dome."

The meaning of all this is that except some Princes of second-class importance, the order is opposed to the Chamber. The Nizam and Mysore have shunned it from its inception, the Gaikwar and Holkar are indifferent, while hardly any prince of first rate importance, any Sovereign or Direct Treaty Prince, is enthusiastic over it. The reasons, according to the authors, are that the bigger Princes are afraid that the 'one state, one vote' policy will result in swamping the assembly with the smaller States who will thus acquire an influence quite disproportionate to their intrinsic importance. Moreover, they look upon it as another step in the levelling down process to which the States are being subjected by the Imperial Government; for if sovereign States like Baroda, Gwalior and Indore, which count many of the States of Gujerat and Central India among their tributaries, are to be treated as no higher than the latter—Lord Chelmsford himself having once declared that payment of tribute does not imply inferiority—no one knows where the process will stop. To this has to be added the natural wish which States have to keep their affairs to themselves. After reading this, one begins to wonder what the Government can really hope to gain by instituting a Chamber which does not commend itself to those most concerned.

After giving an alternative scheme for such a Chamber which we need not pause to discuss, the authors give some suggestions for reform. The burden of it all is that the Princes should now be treated as kings and freed from the leading strings of the Indian Political Department. They should be allowed to send their representatives as ambassadors to foreign Courts (Asiatic and European) and to the Court of St. James. This will vitalize the life of the States and give greater strength and glory to England.

This, in brief, is the burden of what the authors have to say. One cannot read the two books without feeling genuine sympathy with the Princes in their

position. It must be admitted that they have difficulties peculiarly their own and are doomed to suffer plenty of mental anguish and misrepresentation silently and often for no fault of their own. If they ever protest against the limitations imposed upon them, we do not hear of it; we only judge them by the defects, palpable and tangible, of their general administration, without pausing to see that they are very often the helpless victims of a system which they cannot shake off.

But there is another side of the picture which our authors have left almost entirely alone. But for a stray passage here and there, they have not considered the probable results, on the people of the states, of such reforms as they advocate. Would a strengthening of the position of these Princes conduce to the greater good of their subjects? It conceivably might, but the probability is that it will not, except in the sense that the autocratic power of the Louises helped the people of France, for example. With their present education, which divorces them from world-currents, with their violent class prejudices and ideas of divine prerogatives (it must be remembered that they have been Britain's slaves and no one is such a bad bully as a liberated slave), they will inaugurate an era of repression which will rouse even their apathetic subjects to fury and help them realize their proper destiny in a United India much sooner than would otherwise be the case. We know the part the many kingdoms in Italy played in Italy's struggle for Self-determination; we may be excused for doubting if the greater part of our States can play a nobler role in our national life.

DESH-KINKAR.

FIFTEEN YEARS IN AMERICA: by Sudhindra Bose, M. A., Ph. D. Lecturer on Oriental Politics in the State University of Iowa, U. S. A. Kar, Mazumdar & Co., Calcutta. 1920. Pp. 479. Price Rs. 5.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose belongs, we believe, to Vikrampur in the Dacca district and has long been a resident in the United States, where he is making a decent living as a lecturer, both in the University and on the public platform, and also by his literary contributions some of which have been collected together here to form a good-sized volume. It is nicely printed at the Sri Gouranga Press, and handsomely bound.

The volume before us, as the author takes care to warn us in his brief preface, is not a philosophical dissertation, but contains his personal impressions and observations. It is consequently somewhat gossipy, but written in a racy style which easily captivates the reader and grips his interest. There are numerous illustrations which add to the charm of the book. Two chapters are devoted to Rabindranath Tagore and Jagadishchandra Bose in America, and one to count Ilya Tolstoy (son of the famous sage) and some of the other chapters deal with the American woman, the American farmer, American education, the Universities of Iowa and Illinois, the American newspaper, the American Public Library, Rural Schools and Higher Education, the American Hotel, &c. Some of these chapters were originally published in the *Modern Review* and must be familiar to our readers. We shall proceed to cull some instructive information from this highly interesting book for the benefit of our readers.

There are in the United States sixtyfive different nationalities speaking as many as seventythree languages and dialects, but the feeling of unity is so intense that it impels assimilation of even the most obstinate elements. Though America is the land of the Almighty Dollar where multi-millionaires are quite numerous, Dr. Bose has found in that country "a dull materialism blended with touching idealism.... To thoughtful men and women, money is a symbol—sign of power, an emblem of success, an instrument of service..... A redeeming feature of American life is that money kings are coming to regard themselves as mere trustees of their millions which they hold for the larger good of the community."

"If I were asked to name the most conspicuous fact of American life I should say it is democracy. Americans simply will not lift their hats to accident of birth or blood." All work is considered honourable. "The fundamental qualities of his life are not those of profound thought and calm deliberation; but rather those of will, enthusiasm, impulse, striving, progress. His mind is practical, not meditative. You can make almost anything out of an American but a *Sanyasi*, a hermit." "The American loves his country with a deathless love. The deepest, the most fundamental, the most universal thing in the United States is patriotism."

Americans read more newspapers than any other people on earth. An average man takes two or three daily newspapers, several weeklies and a number of monthly magazines. Mr. Arthur Brisbane of the Hearst newspapers receives a far larger salary than the President of the United States. The American, however, does not attach much importance to editorial articles. Public opinion is controlled by the subtle manipulation of news. Reporters work under tremendous pressure, and there is no time for leisurely composition. When the country is fed so much on newspapers, one understands why Rabindranath told Dr. Bose that "the Americans live on the surface. They do not think deeply." And Sir J. C. Bose said: "This new country lacks traditions," to which perhaps may be attributed a certain want in the sense of proportion.

Almost all the teachers in the rural schools are women. The Bible has been totally eliminated from the school room as a book of religion. Dogmas and church creeds are not taught in schools. American higher education does not stop short at intellectual training, but aims at personal effectiveness. The relation between the teacher and the student is characterised by a spirit of touching sympathy and friendship. Honest labour, though menial, is not considered degrading. It is the brain that counts. Another instructive feature is the co-education of young men and young women. In the opinion of Dr. Bose, their instruction in the same class by the some professors "tends to exert a mighty influence towards creating a very healthy moral tone." But "what interests an Indian most in the world of education is the complete emancipation of American education from strict Government control. The college or the university is its own authority. It chooses its own textbooks, fixes upon the conditions of examinations, sets the question papers, passes judgment upon the final merit of each candidate, and makes its own rules and regulations. The Government severely keeps its hands off educational institutions in their internal administration."

"The State of Illinois now spends for the University more than fifteen million rupees a year. The English Government, I think, spends for the education of all India only six millions!" "The President of a large American university occupies as important and honourable a place in public estimation as a Governor of one of the Indian provinces."

"Everything in this free country is done in the open. Time and again, I have attended sessions of Congress without being opposed or questioned by the guards of the capital. The fact is that, except on very rare occasions, when as in time of war it is thought necessary to have secrecy, any person can go into either house without even so much as "by your leave." The Governor of a state receives a salary varying from thirty-six thousand rupees to nine thousand rupees a year. "Governors in India where the cost of living is much smaller and where the earning capacity of the people from whom the big salaries come is infinitely less than in America, get immensely larger compensations."

The idea at the back of the treatment of convicts is that they are human even if they have transgressed the law, and that they are entitled to human consideration. The chief object is to redeem the man, and the prisoner is often released on parole. "In many of the jails I visited I found the rooms of the prisoners well fitted up with chairs, reading tables, and pinkshaded electric lamps. The floors were furnished with rugs, doors with lace curtains and walls decorated with pictures." "If in India some of the bureaucratic officials are as absolute as Jove himself, in America Government officers are as humble and as responsive to the people as their humblest servants."

The American system of University Extension Lectures, first started by Emerson, is known as the Chautauqua. Dr. Bose calls it the most American thing in America. Mr. William Jennings Bryan, the prince of such lectures, earns about 414,000 rupees annually.

It aims to lift American life by giving in popular language to the masses the current results of modern scholarship and scientific research. "The Chautauqua movement is performing a wonderful work for the elevation of national ideas, the diffusion of culture, and the promotion of human betterment."

Rabindranath Tagore was the guest of the Iowa University and delivered a lecture there. The author's impression of the great Indian is worth quoting: "When I helped him into the Pullman Car at the Station that night I thought of him as the personification of the Vedic spirit of Hindustan. No sentiment seemed to command his life so completely as loyalty to Indian ideals. This loyalty is no mere academic formula, no pose, but a reality. It is with him something vivid, tangible; it is something alive, practical, fit to live and work for. "I shall be born in India again and again" remarked Tagore with a smile of pride lighting up his face. "With all her poverty, misery and wretchedness, I love India best."

It is agreeable to learn that in the opinion of the Faculty Adviser of the Foreign Students at Iowa University, Hindu students at the University are second to none in the high type of manhood they display. "They have invariably been choice personalities who are the embodiment of the beautiful old culture that lies back of them." In his opinion, their work has been of a high order. We hope that in the

practical field they will maintain the high repute they have earned in their college days, and help in the uplift of the motherland. (There are now more than 200 Indian Students in America).

Count Ilya Tolstoy saw little to admire in American life. There, man has no leisure to ponder over the vital points of human life, and it is a dangerous thing to go against the tide of public opinion. Dr. Bose's opinion on his father's theory of non-resistance to evil is quite emphatic: "I find myself unable to go with those who accept Tolstoy's theory of non-resistance as a practical rule of conduct. To refuse to believe in the inevitability of war in our present stage is to forsake the world of realities..... A moderate acquaintance with the book of history tells us that weak nations have always been the prey of the strong. The record of all subjugated countries is the shameful history of inefficiency, weakness, swollen slothful ease, and ignoble "soft peace"..... I am quite aware that it is an unpopular thing to say in India; but it happens to be the truth, weak-kneed theorists and dangerously optimistic pacifists notwithstanding. Praise it who will, rampant wall-eyed pacifism is the murder of national morality, national progress, and national character."

The dark and ugly spot of American civilisation is the negro-problem. The lynchings, in the words of Count Tolstoy, are the loathsome eruptions of the brute, much more terrible than the pogroms of Russian Jews. Even so late as in 1917, as many as 222 negroes were lynched or murdered, many of them with unnameable atrocities, by white mobs in the United States. But "in the face of every conceivable obstacle negroes are steadily pushing themselves forward," says Dr. Bose after a visit to the Southern States.

An American farmer in the country subscribes several magazines and periodicals, lives in a fine house, nicely furnished, has a telephone service, an automobile, and all his fieldwork is done by machinery. He is one of the hardest worked of men, but he is happy and prosperous. "The most noteworthy thing about American farming is that it is backed by the Government at every step." The chapter on the relations between the American farmer and the Department of Agriculture, one of the most efficient of Government departments, reads like a romance. "The sole end of the American Government is and always has been to assist whole-heartedly in accomplishing every object of society."

Sir J. C. Bose's advice to the Indian students in America was: "Have one definite idea—one definite dream of your life. Work till you realise your vision. Make your dream come true. Nothing is impossible if you have power to will. Nothing great is ever done without suffering. But then it is your privilege to suffer, to win, to achieve. Every man is potentially great. Genius? Yes, yes; it is nothing but strong, hard, well planned work. You can have genius if you will. Keep yourself for some service in India. Be a man and help others to become manly. Life is short. You should therefore make every minute count."

On the question of intermarriage between Indians and Americans the answer given by Lady Bose, by whom the author was much impressed, was decidedly in the negative. "Your American girls are too expensive. Poor mother India cannot indulge in such luxuries." "Foreigners cannot assimilate with us."

They cannot appreciate our ideals, our culture. The Westerners are impervious to the inner loveliness of our lives." In the opinion of Dr. Bose, the weakness of American feminine character lies in her immense capacity of spending money. She is ultra-independent; only about half the graduates of women's college marry, and considerably less than one per cent of them become mothers. The United States leads the world in divorce. One out of every eight marriage results in failure. Dr. Bose admires the American woman for her many virtues but like Rabindranath (*vide* his *Nationalism*), his admiration is not as unqualified as that of, say, Vivekananda, but is more discriminating.

On the whole, Dr. Bose's book is more interesting than many novels, and it is moreover, highly instructive. It should form a pleasant holiday companion for our readers.

POLITICUS.

THE GROUP MIND. A SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVE PSYCHOLOGY WITH SOME ATTEMPT TO APPLY THEM TO THE INTERPRETATION OF NATIONAL LIFE AND CHARACTER: by William McDougall, F.R.S., Published by the Cambridge University Press, 1920. Pp. 304, Royal 8vo. Price—2s.

The author is one of the leading psychologists of the age and all the books he has written have been considered as standard works. In 1908 he wrote an *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Methuen & Co.) which enjoyed a great deal of success. And the present volume has been written as a sequel to that work.

The book is divided into three parts:

- (i) General Principles of Collective Psychology.
- (ii) The National Mind and Character.
- (iii) The Development of National Mind and Character.

The first part contains five chapters, the subjects discussed being (i) the Province of Collective Psychology, (ii) the Mental Life of the Crowd, (iii) the Highly Organized Group, (iv) the Group Spirit (*Esprit de Corps*) and (v) Peculiarities of Groups of various Types.

The second part contains eight chapters in which the following subjects are discussed: (vi) What is a Nation, (vii) the Mind of a Nation, (viii) Freedom of Communication as a Condition of National Life, (ix) the Part of Leaders in National Life, (x) Other Conditions of National Life, (xi) the Will of the Nation, (xii) Ideas in National Life, and (xiii) Nations of the Higher Type.

There are seven chapters in Part iii, viz—(xiv) Factors of National Development, (xv—xvii) the Race-making Period, (xviii) Racial Changes during the Historic Period, (xix) The Progress of Nations in their Youth, and (xx) the Progress of Nations in their Maturity.

It is the third volume of the Cambridge Psychological Library edited by G. Dawes Hicks, the first volume being Dr. Ward's *Psychological Principles*.

The "Group Mind" is a book which should be carefully studied by every Nationalist and Internationalist. India is passing through a great crisis. At this time our national questions should be studied psychologically and our leaders and workers will get much help from William McDougall's book.

THE SACRED BOOK OF THE HINDUS edited by

Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (retired). Extra volume (March to June 1919; Nos. 117 to 120). **THE AITAREYA BRAHMANAM OF THE RIGVEDA, PART I.** Translated by Martin Haugh, Ph. D. Published by Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 4. Annual subscription Rs. 12-12.

The original edition was published in 1863 and it has been out of print for years. Even second hand copies could not be had at a premium. Those who take an interest in our ancient Sanskrit scriptures will be grateful to the Editor of the Series for issuing this reprint.

The Aitareya Brahmanam is divided into eight *pancikas*, each *pancika* containing five chapters. The part now issued contains three *pancikas* and 26 sections of the fourth *pancika*.

We hope the remaining portion of the book will be published at an early date.

The Sanskrit text of the Aitareya Brahmanam with the Bhashya of Sayanacharya has been published by the authorities of the Poona Anandasrama.

"WHAT RELIGION IS,"—By Bernard Bosanquet, D. C. L., LL. D., Fellow of the British Academy. Published by MacMillan & Co, Ltd. Pp. 81. 1920; Price 3 s. 6 d.

The book has a Preface and eight chapters. In the Preface the question is raised "Will religion guarantee me my private and personal happiness?" To this on the whole, the author thinks "We must answer No." But we might ask "Does it make my life more worth living?" The answer to this is, "It is the only thing that makes life worth living at all." The author does not suggest or advocate a new religion to men. His object is "to help them to reach the full value of their own". "No man is so poor as not to have a religion, though he may not, in every case have found out where it is."

The motto of the first chapter is "What must I do to be saved?"

"We cannot be 'saved' as we are; we cannot cease to be what we are; we can only be saved by giving ourselves to something in which we remain what we are, and yet enter into something new." "Nobody is anything except as he joins himself to something. Be a whole or join a whole. You cannot be a whole unless you join a whole."

The peculiar attitude in which this is effected is religious faith." Faith is contrasted "not with knowledge but with sight. All the resources of knowledge may contribute to faith but faith is contrasted with sight, because it is essential to it that we rise to another world while remaining here."

The subject of the second chapter is "Freedom and Power."

"In the unity of love and will with the supreme good you are not only 'saved' but you are 'free' and 'strong.' Action, initiative, even courage, flow from you like a spring from its source. The source may be fed from a deep reservoir in the hills; but none the less its flow is its own. You will not be helped by trying to divide up the unity and tell how much comes from 'you' and how much from 'God'. You have got to deepen yourself in it or let it deepen itself in you, whatever phrase expresses the fact best to your mind."

Man and Nature." "We are spirits and our life is one with that of the spirit which is the whole and the good." "Unity with God, as a character of human spirit, involves, it is plain, unity with Man." "That spirits in unity with God must in the end be in unity with one another seems guaranteed by the very essence of religion."

The subject of the 4th chapter is "Hope and Progress for Humanity."

"Man is a creature active in the world, and an all-absorbing faith in the supremacy of good must affect his action and expectation." "Of Hope and Progress, as elements in life, the religious man has a solid grasp. He has them in himself and they are rooted in the good with which he is united." "Their bringers suffer or perish, but in their own operation the values never fail." Religion "requires us to rise above the appearance and keep our unhesitating grasp on the reality which is wholly good." "Good is a hard thing both to appreciate and to realise." "It is a life, a spirit, a meaning, to be wrought out and to be fought out." "It is and must be offered in our own individual form. My battle is continuous with yours, but it is not quite yours; yours helps me in mine, but it is not quite the same. We are sent on diverse missions and all of them are necessary to the good."

Chapter V treats of the nature of sin. "Any experience, entered or pursued in a way hostile to the complete service and worship which faith embodies is sinful." "The object of a sinful desire may not be a bad object." "There is no sin readier at the religious man's elbow than to feel that he has for a moment achieved, that he has been something of himself and apart from that in which he trusts, that he has in himself been worthy." "It is pretty certain to spring from something which we should set down at sight as 'good'."

"Suffering" is the subject discussed in chapter VI. "What we find is individual spirits, all marked by different qualities and conditions, each apparently set to fight his battle and work out his line or grow his fibre of the good, in his particular and peculiar case of the whole striving world. There is nothing to suggest that any special mark or privation or deprivation in him is a sort of mistake in the universe, superfluous to the life of the good and due to be set right as something without spiritual significance." "Would Mr. Fawcett have been less or more if he had had his sight? Who can tell? And Mr. Kavanagh, if he had had his limbs? One has a bad wife, a bad son. How can we say what he will make of the burden? We are not entitled to judge that the unique being and the equipment which the universe lays upon each individual is such as to impair and defeat the possibilities of good. We must not assume that things would be better if we could make him and his conditions over to suit our smoothed conception of what a man and his life should be."

The heading of Chapter VII is "Prayer and Worship." "Prayer is the very meditation which is or at the very least which enables us to realise and inter into the unity which is religious faith. Worship, inward or outward, is in principle the same. It is some direction of feeling, thought or

will which is religion." "Systems of creed and ritual, or, more generally, of feeling and practice, have their ways of being instrumental. And what is religious in them, is all that which contributes to keep true religion alive in the heart. Praise and supplication, so far as they do not help in this, seem not to be religious at all."

The last chapter deals with "The Religious Temper" and the motto is "As a little child....." Throughout the book, the author has dwelt upon "the total simplicity of supreme experiences and the impossibility of entering into them except by a total sincerity and candour." The author says, "Humility is no doubt demanded; but humility taken by itself may be an obsession and distraction just like vanity, *amour propre*, curiosity, the charm of contrivance and ingenuity, what is aimed at is rather not to be preoccupied with yourself at all; not to be preoccupied with your own weakness or littleness, any more than with your own goodness or cleverness. The feeling and admission of defect is presupposed; but it should not surely be reflectively predominant so as to divert attention to itself and impair the simple spirit of trust and surrender." "To be one with the supreme good in the faith which is also will—this is religion; and to be thus wholly and unquestioningly is the religious temper." The religious man becomes a child and "to be a child means to keep hold, so to speak, of the direct hand-clasp; to remain in touch with the centre; not to go wandering after this clever notion and that. If one could maintain this simplicity, supreme *bona fides*, sincerity of mood and temper, and care about one's religion mainly and especially with reference to those features in it which are truly and strictly religious, I believe," says the author, "the gain would be great".

This is a summary of the book written by a great philosopher. It is a little book and the summary has taken too much space. This very fact shows how we have appreciated the book. The author is a logician and a metaphysician, but the readers need not be frightened; for the book is written in non-technical language.

The book is confidently recommended. It is pregnant with celestial thought.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE ART OF POETRY: by W. P. Ker, (*The Clarendon Press, 1s. 6d. net.*)

Now that the war is over, 'the hurly-burly's done' and 'the battle is lost and won,' and the universities have found it possible to resume their normal life, Oxford has filled up the vacant Professorship of Poetry, by the appointment of Mr. W. P. Ker. All students of literature familiar with his fine work as a critic in the pages of his *Epic and Romance, the Dark Ages* and *Essays on Medieval Literature* will consider the appointment very well deserved and look forward to his being able to maintain the best traditions of the office associated with the names of such distinguished critics as Palgrave, Matthew Arnold, Courthope, Bradley and Mackail, not to speak of earlier occupants of the chair. Prof. Ker inaugurated his office on the 5th June of this year, with an enjoyable address on the *Art of Poetry*, which the enterprise of the Clarendon Press has already made available in pamphlet form. It would be unfair to ex-

pect any comprehensive theory of the art of poetry, in a brief, inaugural address of this kind. Professor Ker's has been the more modest endeavour of making a few general observations of interest on the art of poetry, on the undoubted universality of its appeal, limited unfortunately by differences in language and poetic tradition, but propagated occasionally with effect, when the genius is absorbed. Prof. Ker's is a delightful sermon on the words of Drummond of Hawthornden—very similar to the more famous words in Sydney's *Apology*—chosen as the text of his discourse: "Amongst all those rare ornaments of the mind of man, Poesy hath had a most eminent place and been in high esteem, not only at one time and in one climate, but during all times and through all those parts of the world where any ray of humanity and civility hath shined. So that she hath not unworthily deserved the name of the Mistress of human life, the height of eloquence the quintessence of knowledge, the loud trumpet of Fame, the language of the Gods. There is not anything endureth longer: Homer's Troy hath outlived many Republics and both the Grecian and Roman Monarchies; she subsisteth by herself, and after one demeanour and continuance her beauty appeareth to all ages." It is, however with regard to Drummond's expression of hope, that poetry should be capable of perfect understanding by men of other climes and races if only they knew the language, that Prof. Ker describes the Babel caused in the world of poetry by difference in languages. It is easy to underrate the value of translations and echo the advice of Disraeli to a literary aspirant, 'never translate, never translate,' but Prof. Ker's picture of the difficulty is somewhat exaggerated and the great classics of the world do not seem to have only a moaning plaint of want of appreciation in languages other than their own. Thanks to the translators of genius who are found in every age, from the Elizabethan Chapman, to Fitzgerald Calverly and Prof. Gilbert Murray of our own times, we are not in such a hopeless Babel and the true state of affairs is much better than what is described in Professor Ker's words: "The light of poetry may be all over the world and belong to the whole human race, yet how little of it is really available, compared with the other arts. It is broken up among the various languages, and in such a way that even time and study cannot always be trusted to find the true idea of Poetry." If this is not particularly encouraging to the student aspiring to come into contact with all the best poetic treasures of the world, Prof. Ker gets more hopeful in his message towards the end and his parting words are an eloquent exhortation to the study of poetry, apparently not confined to that of one's own tongue and country, as may be judged by the ideas of the passage: "Mnemosyne, Mother of the Muses, has allowed many things to pass into oblivion. But the Memory of the World in poetry keeps alive everything that is kept at all, and in such a way that at any time it may turn to something new. The simplest measures of verse, the best known stories, you can never be sure that they are out of date. The stories of the Greek mythology have long ago been indexed. I have an old Dutch Ovid in prose, the *Metamorphosis* translated, for the behoof of all noble spirits and artists such as rhetoricians, painters, engravers, goldsmiths, etc. Nothing could be more businesslike a handy book of available subjects, then, how long

abandoned, you would say, in the march of intellect. Yet we know how the old tragic legend of Procne and Philomela turned into the *Itylus* of *Poems and Ballads*:

O sweet stray sister, O shifting swallow
The heart's division divideth us;
Thy heart is light as leaf of a tree,
But mine goes forth among seagulls hollow
To the place of slaying of Itylus,
The feast of Daulis, the Thracian sea.

There is no need for me to say more of this:

Who hath remembered, who hath forgotten?

RAINDROPS by F. J. Kabraji (Arthur Stockwell, London),

This is a small volume of 'prose-lyrics' and the author's explanation of its origin and aim is: "This slight shower of rain comes straight from my heart. Europeans do not love the rains but Indians do. I attempt therefore to refresh my readers with a little drizzle of raindrops may only come as a cold down to those that are English." We do not propose discussing the implications of this statement, but we have no hesitation in saying that the booklet contains a number of pretty sentiments expressed in a soft and limpid diction, though it does seem a pity that the author does not endeavour to put them into verse except in one or two lyrics. Only one who has walked through the rich fruit-laden groves of a tropical country like India could have written: "Like a Queen she stands, the fruit-tree, crowned in majesty of blossoms, robed in luscious wealth of leaves graced with low-hanging fruit of state. Sombre melodies of forms and shadows rock in the depths of the swaying branches, and through and among the leaves, winds and lights, colours and shades, and song birds sing hand in hand in chorus. And ever out of its fulness a fruit ripens and falls—into the nest of hearts." It is obvious that an Indian can never rest content with a mere description of external aspects of scenery, but must always pass on and associate them with the deeper aspects of moral life. The *Violets* put Kabraji in mind of various things: "Sweet are the violets, but sweetest far when in pain they lie on the muddy road, abandoned by the thoughtless hand of neglect—so the children of the poor. Fold them into your love and take them to the cheer of your homes. Years afterwards when shadows have chased away the lights from your home, fragrant memories from out of the golden mist of the past shall float into your soul swathed in the music of pigeon's wings. So your life shall fill with love of blossomed violets. So your shadows will deepen in music." It is only necessary to add one or two points of criticism generally on the lyrics. The expression may well be less extravagant in some places and the landscape more distinct, and the author should resist the temptation of indulging in such verbal jingles as: "And in the wrinkles clinking in their wake, stars twitter and frisk, in freaks of light." Bold must be the commentator who would venture upon an exposition of this descriptive passage.

NATION BUILDERS: A Socio-Political Comedy in three Acts, by S. M. Michael (Arya Bhushan Press, Poona). 8 as.

Mr. Michael has written a pleasant comedy, and during into it some of our own life.

political problems agitating Southern India where the scene is laid. The play works up to two inter-caste marriages, and Kamala the heroine of one of them is by no means unimpressive. She has life and charm. But the comedy is probably somewhat too boisterous in places and would seem to deteriorate into mere farce and satire. If Mr. Michael is going to try his hand at some more comedies, as he well might, judging by the success of this production, we will only commend to his attention the following words from Meredith's *Essay on Comedy*: "If you detect the ridicule, and your kindness is chilled by it, you are slipping into the grasp of Satire. If instead of falling foul of the ridiculous person, with a satiric rod, to make him writhe and shriek aloud, you prefer to sting him under a semi-caress, by which he shall in his anguish be rendered dubious whether indeed anything has hurt him, you are an engine of Irony. If you laugh all round him, tumble him, roll him about, deal him a smack, and drop a tear on him, own his likeness to you and yours to your neighbour, spare him as little as you shun, pity him as much as you expose, it is a spirit of humour that is moving you. The comic, which is the perceptive, is the governing spirit, awakening and giving aim to those powers of laughter, but it is not to be confounded with them: it enfolds a thinner form of them, different from satire in not sharply driving into the quivering sensibilities and from humour, in not comforting them and tucking them up, or indicating a broader than the range of this bustling world to them."

"The laughter of satire is a blow in the back or the face. The laughter of comedy is impersonal and of unrivalled politeness, *nearer a smile; often no more than a smile*. It laughs through the mind, for the mind directs it; and it might be called the humour of the mind."

P. SESHADRI.

I. HISTORY OF THE VAISYAS OF BENGAL—by Promathanath Mullick, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. 1902.

In this little book the author tries to prove that the Subarnabanks of Bengal are the true Vaishyas of ancient India, and that it was Ballala Sen who degraded them in the scale of castes, as stated by Ananda Bhatta, in his continuation of *Ballala Charita* by Gopal Bhatta. The ethnological works of standard writers are quoted from, and in the Appendix short accounts of some of the prominent Subarnabaniks of Bengal

are given. The book is neatly printed, and should prove helpful to those who take an interest in the caste problem of India.

II. NATIONAL EDUCATION: *National Council of Education. Unique Printing Works, Calcutta, 1920.*

This brochure is a collection of extracts from the speeches and writings of Messrs. Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghose, Annie Besant and others on National Education.

III. FACTS UNVEILED: *A collection of open letters on the Khilafat and non-co-operation. Girgaon, Bombay. 1920. 4 as.*

These letters were originally printed in the *Times of India* and well deserve perusal. They are addressed to prominent men connected with both the movements, and lay bare some of the difficulties and dangers of the popular attitude in these matters.

IV. THE SMILES OF CONGRESS: by S. Guntur. A political autobiography.

POL.

MA MOQIMAN OR DWELLERS (IN THE LOVE OF THE BELOVED) of Shaikh Wisali of Khurasan with the Persian Text translated for the first time into English with an Introduction into Persian Poetry by Shah Munir Alam, B.A., LL.B. Published by Shah Muinuddin Husain, B.A., 10, Serang Lane, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8. Paper cover, Re. 1.

This is a Sufistic poem containing 210 verses. The translation is elegant and does credit to the translator. The Introduction containing 80 pages is a masterpiece giving valuable information about Persian poets and their poetry. It also touches upon the sufiistic doctrines held by the poets like Saadi and Hafiz. It contains copious extracts from the writings of Saadi, Amir Khisran, Hafiz and other poets. But unfortunately except the substance the translation is not given. In the body of the book the translation and the commentary have been printed in the same type and sometimes together causing confusion to the readers. The translator ought not to have presupposed a knowledge of Persian in his readers. However we are pleased with the get-up and the substance of the book and may recommend the book to those who want to get a first hand information on the important subject of sufiism.

MUSHA.

GLEANINGS

Living Five Hundred Years.

The thyroid gland seems to be a kind of switch that controls both the rate and form of animal growth.

An idiot (cretin) at the age of twenty years may be no longer than a child of six and possess the mental powers of a baby. Feed him with

thyroid extract and he becomes a happy, healthy child.

Tadpoles fed on thyroid turn into frogs long before their time. Remove the thyroid from the tadpole and it refuses to become a frog at all, but grows and grows until it becomes three times as big as an ordinary tadpole. The axolotl, a fish that is a staple of diet in Mexico

city, and that normally grows up into an undeveloped tadpole-like form, with gills and with a fin to its tale, can be turned by thyroid at will into a salamander-like creature, living on air and breathing with lungs.

If we only knew more about the thyroid we might be able so to control growth that we could live five hundred years. Life's processes and the thyroid gland are inextricably bound together.

Aryanisation of the Non-Aryans.

Most of us have from time to time wondered just what it was that makes the squinty, almond-shaped eye of the Japanese, of the Chinaman and, indeed, of all the Mongols. It is that eye more than anything else, which betrays the yellow-man—more than his flattened face or nose or high cheek bones. As a matter of fact, the highest representatives of the Japanese and other Mongols and Mongoloids have features no more flattened than the mass of Europeans, and were it not for their eyes could pass in most cases as Europeans.

In view of such a condition, it is not surprising that Japanese scientists are commanded to make the most intensive investigations into the reasons for certain physical inequalities and differences, with a view to changing them.

To the famous Dr. Tokuyasu Kudo, anatomist of the Anatomical Institution of Migatu, Japan, was entrusted the task of discovering just what made the Japanese eye so different from the European, and whether it was practicable to change the face so as to conform with European ideas. This, of course, did not mean that the whole Japanese nation must be re-fashioned. Such a conclusion would be absurd, but it did not mean that the possibility of being able to send people throughout the world with nothing about them to betray the fact that they were different from any European is one that appeals very strongly to Japan. The results of Dr. Kudo's investigations are as follows:—"Various investigators have uniformly proved that racial differences are related to facial muscles. My problem was to ascertain what these differences consist of." He was given for mate-

rial a number of male European, male Chinese and fifteen Japanese, ten males and five females, all adults.

Setting aside for the moment, the eminent anatomist's most interesting analysis of the platysma or individual facial muscle, which extends from the shoulder up the neck into the chin, and is responsible for many racial facial differences, let us consider our original proposition—what makes the Japanese eyes so different?

Around the eyes is a powerful, broad ring of muscle called the orbicularis oculi muscle. It is what moves and controls the eyelids, both upper and lower. Says Dr. Kudo of this muscle: "It is consistently of strong development in Mongols—the Japanese and Chinese. Its breadth from the edge of the eyelid forms the

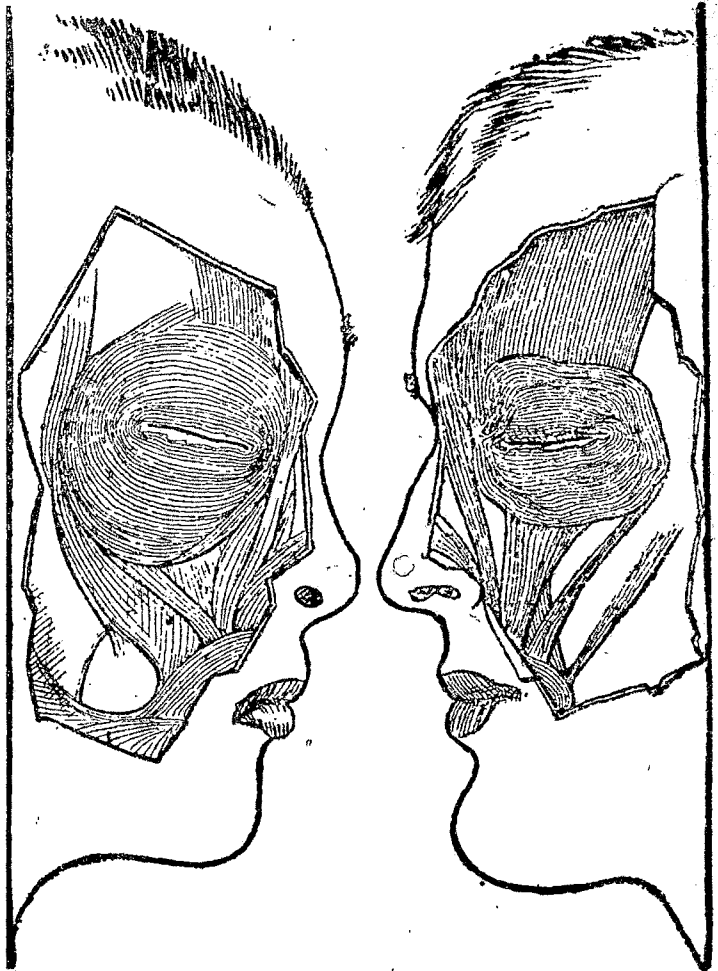


Diagram showing the varying arrangement and size of the Orbicularis Oculi Muscle, or Muscle which determines the apparent shape of the eyes. In the face this Heavy Muscle, as shown by the face at the Left, is more strongly developed on its Lower side than its Upper, thus giving the Half-closed Oblique Eyes. In the White Man, as shown at the Right, it is uniformly developed, thus giving the Frank Wide Eyes.

criterion of all investigation, since it dictates the racial differences of eye shapes. In Mongols, it is broadest in the lateral portion and is broader on the under lid than the upper lid. In Negroes, it is broadest on the upper lid, where it is most powerfully developed. Europeans show nearly equal development around the eyelids, while in Hottentots the development is weakest. In primates—the apes—the muscle element situated over the edge of the orbit is generally weakly developed.

"In Mongols, scattering bundles of fibres from this muscle radiate in different ways, accounting for characteristic expressions. The uttermost bundles are more strongly developed and consist of larger fibres than in Europeans, particularly at the lower medial margin. In all races, however, there is, just above it, the depressor supercilli muscle triangular in shape, without visible differences—its function is probably connected with the workings of the eyebrows.

"Further, connected with the eyelid muscles is a bundle called the corrugator supercilli and an offshoot from them. When present, which is not always, it is located above the left cleft of the eyelid, and because of its coarse formation can easily be distinguished from the forehead muscles lying at their base. It is most lacking in negroes."

His interesting conclusions, stripped of scientific terminology somewhat puzzling to the layman, are as follows: The squinty, almond eye of the Japanese is due to the larger bundling of the muscles on the under eyelid, with the many rings wider apart. The negro shows the whites of his eyeballs because the muscles are bundled on his upper eyelid, where the rings are wider apart. The European shows uniform round or oval eyes because the muscles extend around both eyelids in an approximate circle, the rings being equidistant.

Thus, the Mongol works his lower eyelids most; the negro his upper, and the European works both eyelids equally.

The negro, by the way, has the thickest lips because he has larger bundles of muscles that operate them. Reduced bundles of lip muscles make for the thinner and more kissable lips of the whites. Of them Dr. Kudo says:

"The muscles of Japanese and Chinese which function as dilators of the mouth appear to be less divided than in Europeans. In the Mongols these muscles are generally difficult to distinguish from one another, are most extensive and coarser, and the fibres are more spread out and fan-shaped along the margin of the jaw. In fact, in general, the facial musculature of the Japanese presents a more primitive type than that of the European with some exceptions."

One of the truly astonishing conclusions developed by Dr. Kudo is, that the musculature which gives the beautiful, wide-open and rounded eyes of the beauties of the white races is really more primitive than the musculature which produced the half-closed slant eyes of the Mongols!

The Chimpanzee, though the latest evolved and the highest of the primates, has a facial musculature so primitive that it serves as a diagram to trace the rudimentary in the faces of other races. Its eyes are round, like those of the Europeans, because the muscles of the eyelids are evenly distributed above and below just as they are. But with the Asiatic these muscle bundles have developed more strongly on the lower lids, and with the Negroes on the upper lids.

Whether this is actual development or degeneration is an open question. Dr. Kudo most evidently does not regard it as the latter.

Permanent Pink Cheeks.

The latest society craze in the united kingdom is a new method of beautifying by electricity. An electric tattooing machine pricks varicoloured pigments into the skin and behold! you have pink cheeks which will not rub off, nor wash out, nor fade.

When the operation is performed, as it al-



PERMANENT PINK CHEEKS:

How the Electric needle is used to Tattoo Permanent Pink Cheeks.

ways should be, by an expert, you feel no pain—only a queer prickly sensation such as you experience when your foot's asleep, and this quickly passes away. Careful sterilisation of the needle and the use of pigments especially selected for their non-poisonous qualities prevents any possibility of serious irritation of the skin or blood poisoning.

When the pricking had to be done by hand it was impossible to insure just the right degree of penetration of the skin. But this electric needle can be regulated with a hairbreadth delicacy so that it will go just so far into the skin and no further. The saving of time is another advantage. This new needle, operated by electricity, punctures the skin at the tremendous rate of 5,000 times a minute, and each puncture is of just proper depth. With its aid the production of a pair of rosy cheeks is a matter of only an hour's time—a half hour for each cheek—whereas formerly it would have involved spending several days in the operator's hands.

In producing a pair of rosy cheeks for a woman whose natural colouring is at all unusual,

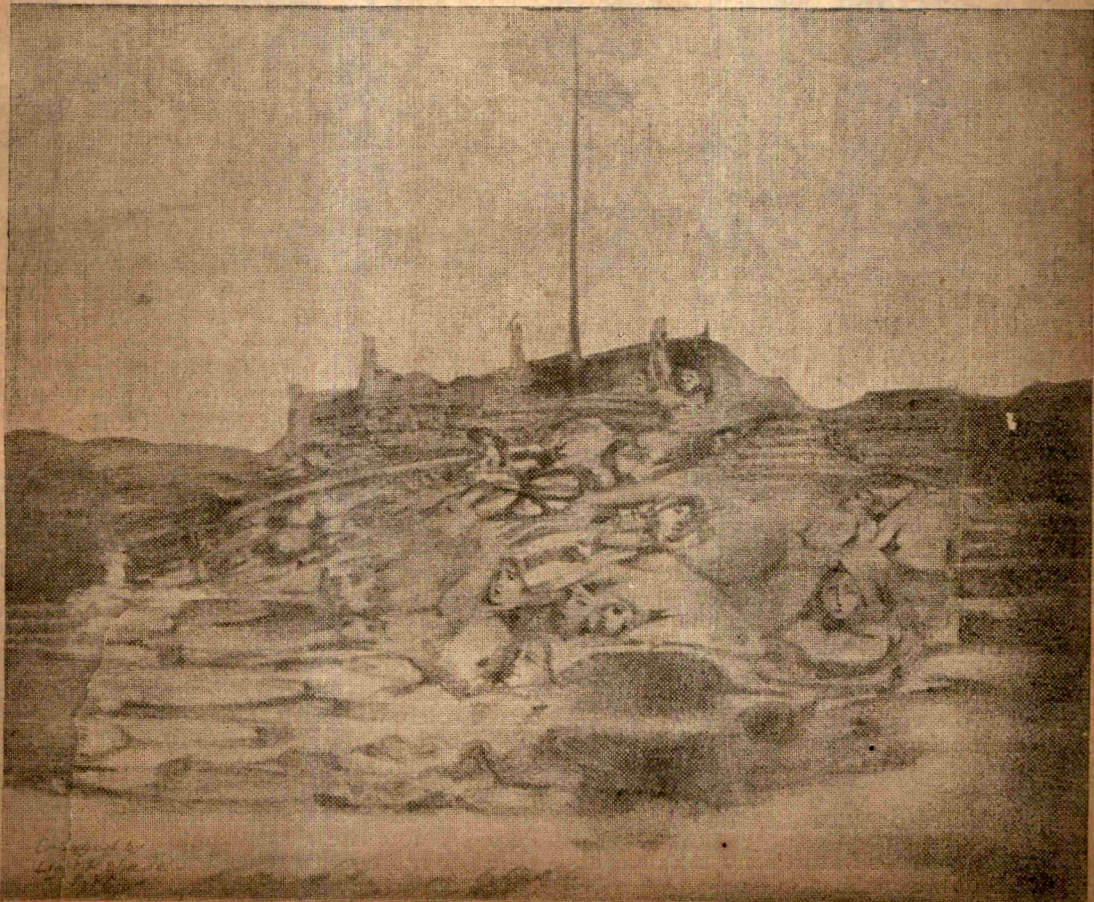
as many as a score of different shades of red is often used. By combining all these with the greatest skill, the marvelous rosy tints which nature herself imparts to the skin is rivaled.

Stone Carvings by a Lone Hermit.

If you believe in ghosts, then go to the island named Rotherneuf, in France. It is such a weird, unearthly place that your chances of seeing a ghost there ought to be good. A hermit lived there for many years and he has carved hundreds of strange figures in the shelving rocky shores.

They look like petrified men, and most of them lie on their back staring at the sky with sightless eyes. They are supposed to represent Biblical characters, but as portraits they are decidedly unsatisfactory. In their crude art they suggest the carvings of pre-historic Egypt, or stone figures of the Aztecs unearthed in the United States and in Mexico.

The figures on the rocky hillsides are really the ghost-getters. Those that are not lying



Stone Carvings by a Lone Hermit on the rocky shores of the island of Rotherneuf, France.

down are sitting up in more or less startled attitudes. A few figures stand on the hill-top.

It is possible that in future ages they may be discovered under layers of sand and geological deposit and solemnly regarded as examples of twentieth century art!

The Palace of a Postman's Dream.

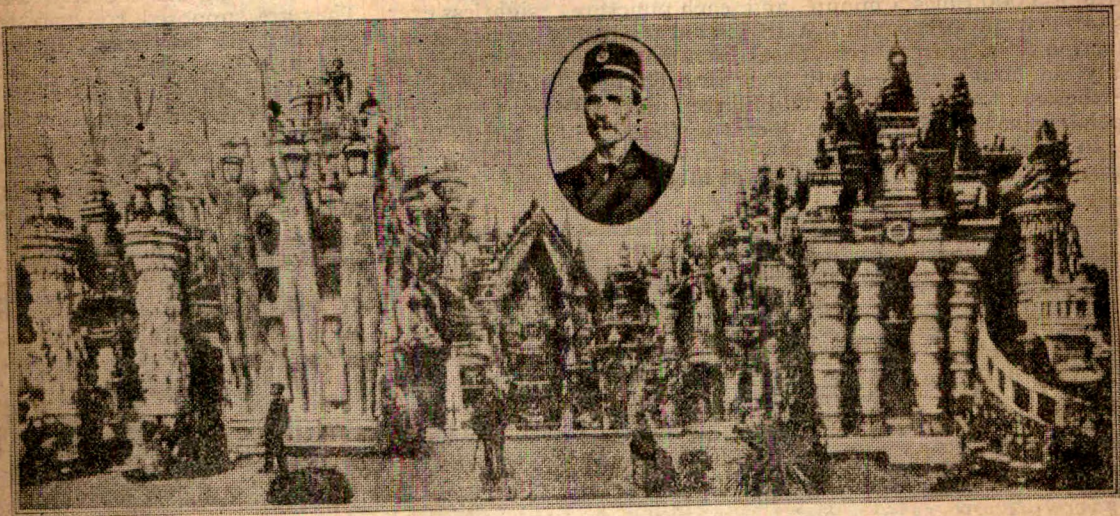
The palace in the picture is built by a postman of Hauterives, France.

In the spring of 1879 Ferdinand Cheval found in the mail he was distributing an unaddressed volume dealing with architecture. It was illustrated with pictures of palaces, chalets, mosques, and castles.

remains of a most interesting extinct monster called the camarasaurus.

The camarasaurus had three brains! One was in his head, the second was located in a cavity of the spinal column just between the fore-shoulders. The third was located in the sacrum, or section of the backbone between the massive upper joints of camarasaurus' back legs—or what in man would be the hips.

But what is still more astonishing, the brain in the head was almost inconsiderable in weight and size—being no larger than a hen's egg and weighing about two ounces—while the brain above the back legs probably weighed almost two pounds! Even the middle brain topped



This Palace is the Realization of a Postman's Dream.

Thereafter Cheval spent his nights poring over these pictures until there grew in him a great longing to have a palace of his own.

After his day's work the postman gathered stones, sea-shells, and sand, loaded it on a barrow and dumped it on his quarter-acre of ground. Out of his meager salary he managed to save a little each week for cement and lime.

Recently Cheval finished his palace, after forty years of labour. But, after spending the best part of his life building his palace, Cheval still lives in his little white house at the rear.

Though laughed at for years as a mad-man by the rest of the community, Cheval, by reason of his strange palace, has put Hauterives on the map.

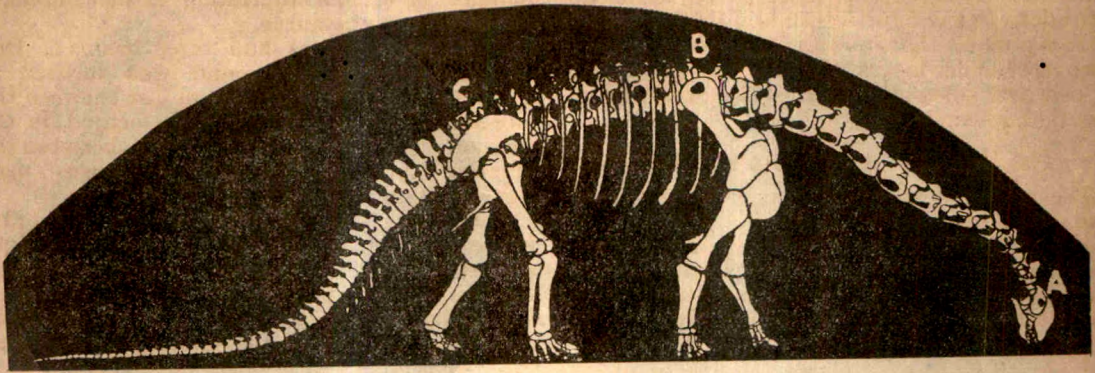
Three-Brained Beasts.

What was perhaps Nature's most curious experiment in brain making, millions of years before she evolved man's organ of thought, has just been revealed by scientists studying the fossil

the head brain by almost a pound. The latter was indeed, so small that it was hardly more than a bulb at the tip of the spinal cord.

The small head brain was big enough to control all the tons of muscle and bone. It was less trouble for nature to enlarge the spinal cord at the two points indicated—was easier than to enlarge the bones of the head to accommodate a larger organ there. Nature, taking always the easiest way, made the sacrum brain big enough to take care of the mighty tail and hind quarters of the dinosaur; the middle brain looked after the body from the beginning of the neck to the fore quarters. The brains in the head were concerned solely with such functions as the senses of sight, hearing, smelling and perhaps, conscious feeling.

The real governing co-ordinating faculty seems to have existed in the entire spinal cord. Perhaps, accurately speaking, the brain of this weird creature could be said to be a thick cord brain, 37 feet long, with three bulbs on it; which seems even more remarkable even than the three-brain way of putting the matter.



THREE-BRAINED BEAST :

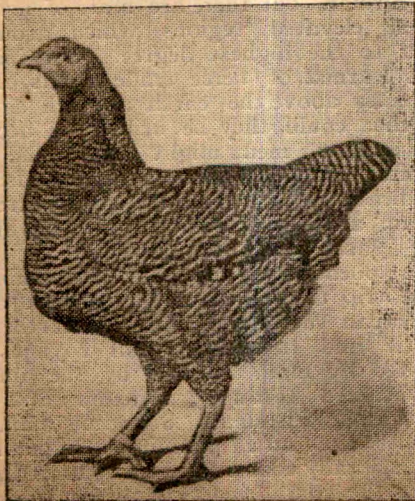
Diagram of the Monster's Spinal Column Showing the Spinal Cord and Three Brains.

While at first glance it would seem that an animal endowed with three brains ought to have been so intelligent that it could have ruled earth, at least, as well as man with his one brain, analysis of the organs, their position and comparative magnitude shows that they certainly were not arranged just right for intellectual victories. An authority describes the creature as a thing "directed wholly by instinct, a slow-moving animal automaton."

Camarasaurus is said to have lived 15,000,000 years ago.

Ten Thousand Dollars for a Hen.

This "Glorious Girl" may not be your idea of a glorious girl, but at least one man considers her very precious. He is Mr. E. B. Thompson, and he paid ten thousand dollars for her. What a purchase! A hen worth ten thousand dollars!



A Hen worth Ten Thousand Dollars.

A Precious Potato.

Freak vegetables have always been a source of much interest and much money, too. The Chinese, for instance, pay high prices for ginseng roots which resemble the human form; indeed, these odd-shaped roots are graded according to their relative similarity, and sold to superstitious Chinese at prices ranging from very little to a good deal more than these roots can ever be worth as far as medicinal properties are concerned.



A PIG-SHAPED POTATO :

With the exception of the legs and the tail, this potato was found as it is.

We present in the accompanying illustration a potato which brought \$140 at a fair in Tacoma, Wash. This potato, with the exception of the legs and the tail, is a natural growth, yet its resemblances to a pig could not be better. It was the subject of much interest and many persons took a chance on winning it as the result of a raffle for the purpose of raising money for the boys in the army and navy.

The Homeliest Woman in the World.

"My face is my fortune," said the pretty milk-maid. "And so is mine," says the lady in the picture. But her reasons are different. Her



The Homeliest Woman in the World.

fortunate face won her a five-thousand-dollar prize in an ugliness contest. And now she has gone to America to appear in American moving-pictures.

Her name is Mrs. Mary Bevan.

You see, you don't have to be beautiful in order to get into the movies. If you are ugly enough, your chances of a movie job are very good.

The Human-Faced Monkey.

Monkeys, like women, are not all chatterers. Some of them are quiet creatures who prefer silence to the chatter of their kind. Look at the sad and solemn monkey below. He belongs to the group called Saki monkeys, known for



The Human-faced Saki Monkey.



The Human-faced Saki Monkey.

their sweet, gentle disposition and their silent tongues. They have white hair and beards, but are about fifty years behind the times in the way they trim their side-whiskers. And they part their long, crimped hair in the middle.

"Submarines" of the Atmospheric Ocean.

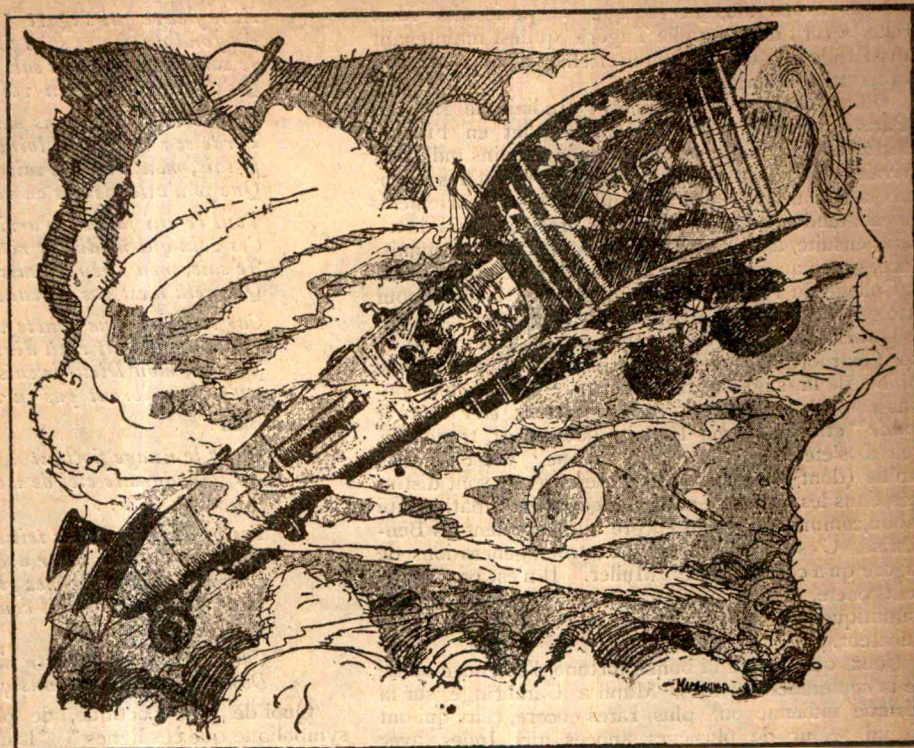
High flying is one of the things to which both airmen and scientists are today devoting much time and attention. Interest has been greatly stimulated during the last few months by several record-breaking flights, the last being that of Major R. W. Schroeder, who flew to an elevation of over 36,000 feet and probably would have gone higher had not his supply of oxygen given out, forcing him to make a sudden descent which almost proved disastrous to the daring aviator. Flying at immense heights not only stirs the imagination of the airman, but there are hints of mysteries in these elevated regions which arouse his interest to the highest degree. For instance, he has learned of fierce trade winds blowing many miles above the earth at such a terrific speed that could they be utilized in accelerating machines, men might circle the globe at several hundred miles an hour. Also there are indications of a rise in temperature after a certain altitude is passed, of belts of mysterious gases and vapors, and of other strange phenomena, all of which combine to make a trip to the outer edge of the atmospheric ocean surrounding this planet the most romantic and alluring of all voyages ever attempted by man. Guided by the information obtained through aviators and from experiments with small "Sounding balloons", aeronauts are now planning "Super-Terrestrials," specially constructed aeroplanes designed to meet the conditions existing at great altitudes and to minimize the dangers that have hitherto rendered high flying such a hazardous

undertaking The "Super-Terrestrial" is not yet an accomplished fact, but it seems to be well on the way. Major Schroeder, having recovered from the effects of his recent flight, is said to be interested in the construction of such a machine in which he hopes to reach an altitude of 50,000 feet. It is further reported that Louis Breguet, a French aeronautical engineer, has announced that an engine has been perfected capable of ascending 100,000 feet or nearly nineteen miles, and that flight to that altitude is immediately in prospect. The main feature of the new type of aircraft will be an enclosed fuselage or cabin to protect the aviator. It will be fitted out with oxygen tanks, heating apparatus, and air compressors which will feed the carburetors air at the same pressure as prevails at sea-level. In such a machine equipped with adjustable propellers capable of increasing their purchase on the rarefied atmospheres, an airman could push his way to levels now entirely beyond reach.

The situation presented to those who are planning the Super-Terrestrial and arranging to launch man on his greatest adventure in the air is this.

They know the conditions as they exist up to six or seven miles. It is there that nature plays the parts with which we are most familiar. There thunders roll, lightning flashes, clouds gather, and elements clash in never ending strife. It is from there that we get wintry storms, and where the humble drama of rain, snow, sleet and weather unfolds itself.

They know, too, that "atmosphere," as we know it, altho in constantly thinning quality, extends above the "weather strip" to a height of about twenty to thirty miles, but beyond that, what?



THE "SUPER-TERRESTRIAL"

In hermetically sealed airplanes of this general description men are planning to rise into upper air strata where, with the assistance of winds already known to blow there, transportation may be possible at several hundred miles per hour.

It is here that real difficulties will begin, and the Super-Terrestrial will encounter its greatest obstacles. Here new danger will appear in the shape of drifting "ice clouds," which for imaginative purposes may be likened to icebergs; the void will assume a totally alien aspect; meteors and shooting stars will occasionally flash across the path, and the traveler will enter the boundary of "inflammable air", or pure hydrogen.

Passing through this the Super-Terrestrial will emerge into the stratum of helium which on earth is created from radium and encountered in practical qualities only in test tubes.

Then—but perhaps this is enough for the moment. Even the most voracious seeker of knowledge as to "what things are like up there" will have been satisfied long ere this, and the first voyage of the Super-Terrestrial need not be charted further.

Rabindra Nath Tagore.

La publication des œuvres du poète Rabindranath Tagore a soulevé un grand enthousiasme et c'est avec un intérêt toujours nouveau que l'on relit les notes plus ou moins inédites qui circulent sur lui depuis quelques années.

Nous avons tous lu ce que le professeur Max Muller a écrit de la famille Tagore qui est maintenant dans l'Inde à la tête de toute réforme soit en art, soit en littérature ou en philosophie.

Max Muller était très jeune et étudiait le sanscrit à Paris quand Dwarkanath Tagore vint en France, causant une véritable sensation dans certains milieux ; il vivait à Paris, sur un pied princier, donnant des réceptions à la cour et au grand monde, et ses appartements étaient tendus, dit-on, de chales précieux, qu'il distribuait, ensuite, à ses hôtes. Max Muller fit sa connaissance, grâce au professeur Burnouf, grand sanscritiste du Collège de France, et il se passionna bientôt pour cette grande famille d'artistes et de penseurs. Le fils de Dwarkanath était un saint et un réformateur, d'un esprit extraordinairement modernisé mais quand même imbibé de la sagesse des anciens. C'était un Sonnyassi idéal qui était "du monde, sans être dans le monde" et dont la vie brûlait, doucement tranquille, prête à s'éteindre à la volonté divine. C'est de cette famille (dont presque tous les membres se sont distingués dans les arts) que nous vient Rabindranath, Rabi Babou, comme l'appellent encore familièrement les Bengalais. C'est le plus doux des trois générations de Tagore qu'a connues Mux Muller. Il n'est pas seulement poète, il est aussi musicien, romancier, auteur dramatique, mais par dessus tout penseur et éducateur.

Ceux qui ont eu la bonne fortune d'entendre ou de lire la conférence de Mrs. Mann à Cambridge sur la musique indienne ou, plus rares encore, ceux qui ont fait un séjour de plusieurs années aux Indes, avec d'autres horizons que le thé, le charbon, le chanvre et autres matières à spéculation, auront pu apprécier les rythmes subtils, les délicatesses et les teintes de la musique hindoue, et surtout la perfection d'ensemble qu'offrent les chansons populaires, paroles et musique, de Tagore.

Dans ses traductions anglaises, il semble que le poète ait dédaigné de rendre la candeur gracieuse qui fait le charme de ses poèmes, ou bien l'anglais se prête-t-il assez mal à une telle interprétation ? Les vers répétés qui donnent tant d'intensité et tant d'émotion à l'idée la plus simple, la rime impeccable de la prosodie bengalaise, tout cela se peut rendre beaucoup mieux en français.

Dans *Gitanjali* (Offrandes Lyriques) qui lui ont valu le prix Nobel, dans le *Gardener* (Le Jardinier), il y a des idées si personnelles que l'on peut dire qu'elles sont presque neuves ; mais au contraire des autres poètes étrangers, les œuvres de Tagore perdent de leur charme dans la sécheresse de la prose et surtout dans la prose inharmonieuse anglaise : ce qu'il faut, c'est le vers français, avec sa souplesse, ses nuances et la variété de ses rythmes. Ainsi cette litanie :

*Tous les envols de ma vie,
Dont je n'ai pas vu la fin,
Je sais, mon Dieu, je sais bien,
Qu'ils ne furent pas en vain.*

*Et la fleur a peine éclosé,
Qui tombe sur le chemin,
Je sais, mon Dieu, je sais bien,
Qu'elle ne meurt pas en vain.*

*Et le fleuve qui s'égare
Au fond du désert sans fin,
Je sais, mon Dieu, je sais bien,
Qu'il ne sèche pas en vain,*

*Pour tout ce qui, dans ma vie,
Tarde et semble plus lointain,
Je sais, mon Dieu, je sais bien,
Que je n'attends pas en vain,*

*Tout ce qui jamais n'arrive,
Ces voix qui ne disent rien,
Je sais, mon Dieu, je sais bien,
Que cela n'est pas en vain.*

*Car tous ces sons muets vibrent,
Au cœur de tout luth divin.
Je sais, mon Dieu, je sais bien,
Qu'ils ne vibrent pas en vain.*

Ou bien :

*Tu es le nuage flottant
Au soir, dans le ciel de mes rêves...*

.....

*Tes pieds ont pris les teintes roses
Du désir de mon cœur ardent.
Toi, la glaneuse de mes gloses,
Mes chansons de soleil couchant.*

.....

*Car je t'ai prise et je te tiens,
Dans le filet de ma musique.*

Quoi de plus poétique, de plus profond, de plus symbolique que ces lignes ? "Lumière ! o Lumière, ou es-tu ? La nuit est sombre comme une pierre noire. Le vent se rue en criant dans l'espace... Allume la lampe d'amour avec ta vie !..."

Ou bien quoi de plus frais que ceci ?

*Cueille donc cette fleur et prends-la sans délai.
De peur qu'elle ne meure et tombe dans la boue.
Je crains la fin du jour et l'offrande passée...*

Rabindranath personnifie bien l'âme musicale de l'Inde entière car le villageois, plutôt illettré qu'ignorant, chante en labourant, et la fillette chante aussi en emplissant sa cruche au puits.

Le jeune dieu Sri Krishna lui-même, est représenté, charmant les bêtes des sons de sa flûte. Le Livre des Livres, la *Bhagavad Gita*, s'appelle aussi *Hymne Celeste*. La Vie devrait être un poème, cette vie qui, aujourd'hui n'est qu'une vaste affaire ; il est temps que l'Inde que l'on s'efforce, désespérément de moderniser, redonne à l'Occident cette inspiration d'art vraiment pur, basée sur la beauté spirituelle à qui elle a donné naissance.

"Le désert veut ardemment redevenir une prairie," comme disait le vent d'Égypte au voyageur.

Que la voix de l'Inde se fasse donc entendre encore et que sa vie soit un avatar de la Beauté. C'est ce que Tagore lui-même a su si bien exprimer dans une de ses *Offrandes Lyriques* (no. 35) qui se termine par ces mots :

"Ou le fleuve clair de la raison ne s'est pas égaré dans le désert aride de l'habitude ; ou l'esprit est entraîné par toi vers la pensée et l'action toujours plus vastes, dans ce paradis de libertés, o mon père, que mon pays s'éveille..."

L'Humanité.

LAURA VULDA.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Remedy for Indian Poverty.

Says Dr. Gilbert Slater in an article in the *Mysore Economic Journal*:

To lift the mass of the Indian population out of its condition of poverty, *either* there must be so rapid a development of the productive powers of Indian agricultural and non-agriculture industry as to permit, at one and the same time, a tremendous increase of population and a substantial increase in the incomes of the labouring people, or there must be a radical change in the customs of the people with regard to marriage and parentage. The difficulty of effecting either of these changes is enormous. But neither is outside the range of possibility. Each of them demands the same psychological development as a preliminary. The average Indian of all classes must regulate his life more by calculation and forethought, and rebel more against his life being controlled for him by traditional habits, customs, beliefs and obligations, or by unrestrained natural instinct. It may well be that such a break with tradition, and such a painful intellectual development will be deemed too high a price to pay for escape from poverty; but the price, however high, is necessary; and if it be refused, the only alternative is for India to accept for future centuries a continuance of poverty.

Weavers' Co-operative Societies in the Punjab.

Mr. C. F. Strickland, I. C. S., has an article in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* on Weavers' Co-operative Societies in the Punjab. According to him,

The most widely distributed cottage industry of the Punjab is that of weaving, and the weavers' community was recorded as numbering 6,35,000 at the last census; a certain number of Chamars and low caste Hindus and Sikhs also practise the art. They are being rapidly ousted from the town markets by the product of large mills, and competition is following every new means of transport into the remoter villages. The peasant, whose father was content with home-spun cloth, now buys English or Indian long-cloth at war prices. In order to hold his own, the cottage worker must secure the advantages of (1) wholesale buying of raw materials, (2) a standardized product which can be advertised and can be sold without inspection, (3) and improved methods

of production. These should be the object of co-operative societies for weavers.

After four years of work with the weavers' societies of the Punjab, Mr. Strickland feels that

It would be unwise to prophesy whether the cottage worker can finally be saved or not. If it be possible, it is possible through co-operation alone. No doubt can be entertained by the observer of social conditions that the cottage-worker is, on the whole, happier, healthier, and a better citizen, than the manual labourer of a factory. The effort to save him may fail, but it is worth making.

Bridge-building Panics.

We all know what Mr. Charles Judge tells the reader in *East and West*, namely, that

Periodically in India when a bridge is to be built or repaired the people of the district are perturbed with fears that the bridge-builders will kidnap one or more children to bury beneath the foundations in order to make the construction secure.

We also know that "these perturbations are generally alluded to, especially by the more aloof of the European journals, as 'silly scares', " some of us having in addition the idea that the scares are due to a superstition peculiar to India. Mr. Judge however says:

The editors of such journals who stigmatise all such popular beliefs as foolish superstitions have probably paid no attention to psychology—a science which is absolutely necessary in dealing with human nature, especially in the mass. Nor, perhaps, have they ever given a thought to the fact of ancestral memory, nor its strange persistence among civilised men even from the remote times when men were uncivilised.

He gives numerous instances to show that the superstition prevailed in the West until quite modern times, some of which we quote below.

If we view these beliefs and apparently meaningless customs euhemeristically we find them based on the very real and awful fact of human sacrifice before the undertaking of any

tant enterprise such as great buildings, launching of ships or the conduct of a war. Immolation of human victims beneath the foundations of buildings was the last of these to die, and that to quite recent times. Numerous indeed are the cases in which human skeletons have been found immured in the walls of the demolition of ancient—and some not very ancient—edifices in Europe. When the wall of the Castle of Nieder-Manderschied was opened in 1844 a cavity was found in which was enclosed a human skeleton, thus confirming the popular local tradition which had existed for centuries that a young girl had been immured in the foundations. On the restoration of Holsworthy Church in Devon, England, a skeleton was found imbedded in a wall of the building, a pleasant commentary on the mentality of the Christian Church—who erected the edifice in not such very remote times. As late as 1865, at the building of a block-house at Duga near Scutari in Albania, 150 children were rescued from the Arnaut leaders who were about to bury them alive under the block-house.

to come to Britain itself, the legend of the founding of St. Columba's monastery states that that great Christian saint said to his people, that it would be a good thing if their graves should pass into the earth, and he announced that it was kindly permitted that some of his followers should go under the earth to consecrate the site. "Saint" Oran who was sentenced for this ecclesiastical murder "was afterwards honoured as the patron saint of the monastery."

Superstition lays bare some hideous origins of modern customs. At the building of the wall at Blex in Oldenburg, Germany, this custom was exemplified. The village authorities took over the river Weser and bought a child whom they built alive into the foundations. At the building of the fortress at Liebenstein, similarly, a child was bought and enticed with gold into a cavity in the wall where it was picked up by the masons, the mother looking on according to the legend. Legend states that at the building of Copenhagen the wall was laid as fast as it was laid, so the masons took an innocent little girl and set her at a table with toys and eatables. Then, while she slept, twelve master masons closed a vault over her." At Arta in Italy the bridge collapsed and again "till they built in the master-mason's wife."

Roumania to this day it is a custom of builders to entice a stranger to the foundaⁿ, where they secretly take the measure of shadow and bury it. This no doubt is false in practice, but not so in intent. They believe that the person so buried in will die in forty days and his spirit be a guardian of the building. All these

former days when the stranger so enticed would have been a stranger the less, without any wait of "forty days." The belief lingered indeed long after the practice but dwindled into symbolism.

Hindu Culture in Chile.

The *Collegian* writes in its "World Culture" section that there is a regular "Tagore circle" at the Ladies Club in Santiago, Chile.

The *Gitanjali* has two Spanish translations, one by a Chilean, the other by a Bolivian. Tagore's *Chitra* has been translated into Spanish by Heramba Lal Gupta for the Mexican intelligentsia. It is well known, besides, that *Gita* has a Spanish version circulated in South America.

Indian Labour Invited by Bolivia.

From the same periodical we learn :

About 2,000 Indian agriculturists can be absorbed at once by Bolivia, says Mr. Tegada, Director-General of Railways with headquarters at La Paz. The tropical lands of northern Bolivia are promised to immigrants from India at nominal rates. Indentured labor is not in force in this country. Bolivians, already Mongolized as they are to a certain extent, are anxious, says Tegada, to have an infusion of Aryan blood and for this they seek the co-operation of India.

The Snake Institute at San Paulo.

The following information is derived from the same source :

A most remarkable institution of Brazil is the Snake Institute at San Paulo near Rio de Janeiro. Its experiments in toxicology have proved quite successful. The Director, Dr. Vital Brazil, has offered to teach without fee two Indian medical men the methods of dealing with snake-bites and the general science of antidotes against poison. The course extends over two years.

India and Indians in Foreign Countries.

The Collegian also tells us :—

The Roman Catholic appreciation of Hindu culture is progressing in the United States. Father James N. Connolly of the church of "Our Lady of Good Counsel", Father J. H. Doyle of the church Corpus Christi, Father B.

Reverend pastors of New York City have been holding "Bazars" under the auspices of their respective churches in order to disseminate among their flock an accurate knowledge about the conditions of life in India. They have found in Sailendra Nath Ghose, late of Calcutta, an organiser of stalls for the display of Indian merchandise, arts and books, as well as a connecting link between the aspirations of the new Orient and the thought currents of Latin Christendom. Lectures, music and dance form regular features of these Hindu-Catholic social gatherings.

The Deutsche Rundschau of Berlin has in its April number published an article on "Meine Schule". The essay deals with Rabindra Nath Tagore's school at Bolpur and is a translation of one of his essays in the volume on *Personality*. The translator is Helene Meyer-Franck. It is announced that Kurt Wolff of Munich is publishing her translation of the entire book.

Rajani Kanta Das is a lecturer on economics at the North-Western University and on sociology at De Paul University both located in Chicago. A research work by him dealing with the factories of India is in the course of publication. Professor Commons of the University of Wisconsin contributes an introduction. Das has been eleven years in the United States. His doctorate comes from Wisconsin.

The Fusion of the East and the West in India.

From a timely English translation in *the Dacca Review* of one of the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri's articles by Prof. J. N. Samaddar, we learn what importance that thoughtful writer attached to the fusion of eastern and western ideals and civilizations. According to the Pandit :

Those who would ponder deeply would be able to feel, that in this age, those whom we have accepted as our leaders in the regeneration of Bengal, have combined in their thoughts and aspirations, the East and West.

Who is our ideal among the learned Bengalee Pundits? Who is that learned man, to whom the Bengalees give a prominent place? Let us think over it. Even now there are many well-known Pundits in Navadvipa; the famous Chandra Kanta Tarkalankar of Sherpur is still shining in the Metropolis of India; how is it that the educated Bengalis are not hailing them as the future leaders of Bengal? How is it that even those educated ones who are seeking after the Renaissance of Hinduism have not appointed them their leaders? Is it not because these revered Pundits have no new message, have no new ideas for future India? They are fully engrossed in the old-world ideas ;

they have nothing to add to the new. So we see that even those who want the old, do not want the too old. Sashadhar Tarkachuramani was engaged as the leader of "the New Hindus" for the simple reason that he had commenced to put a scientific interpretation of the Hindu doctrines. That is to say, he tried to pour a bit of western wine into eastern bottles. Those in whose thoughts there is no scent of European culture cannot become the leaders of this great regeneration.

The Pandit then goes on to show how the two cultures and civilizations are found combined in the life and works of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen.

Salient Points of Educational Interest in England.

Sir Michael Sadler writes in *Indian Education* that three subjects absorb attention in educational discussions in England at the present time.

They are Psychology, School Organization and Finance. Psychology is making educational thought more discriminating, human and scientific. New ideas of school organization are strengthening the desire for greater unity in the teaching profession. The cost of providing educational opportunities adequate to the needs of the nation harasses every administrator and menaces reaction.

Fifty years ago educational debates found their liveliest centre in questions of social welfare and economics. Fifteen years ago the most vigorous controversies turned upon points of political control and upon ecclesiastical claims which seemed to challenge the rights of public authorities. To-day it is the working of the mind that occupies the thought of investigators. They think of the individual pupil-child, adolescent or adult—and endeavour by observation and experiment to ascertain how he can most surely learn and acquire self-control. For example, in his address to co-operators at their congress in Bristol on May 25th, Lord Haldane said, "I have come to the opinion, after a good deal of study, that the chief cause of separation between rich and poor arises, not really so much over questions of wages and hours and social surroundings, as over chances of education. The man who feels that he has it in him to have made fuller use of the faculties that have been bestowed upon him is embittered if he thinks that he has been denied the chance of doing so by being shut out from the training that has been lavished on many whom he sees to be by nature inferior to himself." And he

followed a psychological clue when he went on to advise the subject-matter of adult education. "It is of the essence of the movement that it should be based upon freedom of choice. The only authoritative guide should be the self-compelling sense of quality in the freely-choosing mind of the student. The workman who comes to the extra-mural University course must be free to choose his subject and his teacher. There must be no forcing of opinion."

Sir Michael has quoted several writers and speakers in connection with the discussion of educational psychology. For example :

At a meeting of the Montessori Society at University College, London, on May 28th, Dr. Crichton Miller said that he agreed with Dr. Montessori in condemning the fairy tale and fantasy in education when these are subversive of the truth that we must arrive at self-realization largely by our own efforts. "In so far as fairy tales bring the idea that there are snags and traps to come, and a magical salvation round the corner, fairy tales are wrong. The universal tendency to fantasy in children we must accept but we must not present life to them so watered down and smoothed out that they grow up without desire or power to adjust themselves to reality—unable to grasp the hard fact that human happiness is of the nature of a moral achievement."

Coming to the subject of school organisation Sir Michael writes :

This habit of considering the psychological needs of children is beginning to affect the outlook upon questions of school organisation. Hard and fast lines used to divide the elementary from the secondary schools, the secondary schools from the universities. These walls of partition are still serious obstacles to unity. But breaches have been made in them. And the trend of educational discussion is in favour of their being removed.

"But," says he, "in the background of all these hopes and aspirations lies the menace of increasing cost. The expense of education, in consequence of the rise in prices and of the need of adjusting salaries to the new value of money, is already enormous and must increase..... We know, better than ever, what the nation needs. But will the nation be able to afford it?"

The Bengali Element in Telugu Folklore.

The Editor writes in *South Indian*

Research an interesting article on, "The Bengali element in Telugu Folklore." Says he :—

In his preface to the *Folktales of Bengal*, Mr. Lal Behari Day says, "Sambhu's mother used always to end every one of her stories—and every Bengali story-teller does the same—with repeating the following formula—

"Thus may story endeth,

The Natiya-thorn withereth."

"Why, O Natiya-thorn, dost wither?"

"Why does thy cow on me browse?"

"Why, O cow dost, thou browse?"

"Why does thy neat-herd not tend me?"

"Why, O neat-herd, dost not tend the cow?"

"Why does thy daughter-in-law not give me rice?"

"Why, O daughter-in-law, dost not give rice?"

"Why does my child cry?"

"Why, O child, dost thou cry?"

"Why does the ant bite me?"

"Why, O ant, dost thou bite?"

Koot, koot, koot.

The author of the folktales does not know why every Bengali story should end with the lines quoted above. In his folktales we find him repeat at the end of every story, these lines. He confesses his ignorance of the necessity for this formula when at the end of his preface he says, "What these lines mean, why they are repeated at the end of every story, and what the connection is of the several parts to one another, I do not know. Perhaps the whole is a string of nonsense purposely put together to amuse little children."

The author ends his preface there and it is left to people of other nations than the Bengali to find in that very recurring formula a forgotten affinity at one remote time of the Bengalees with the Telugus.

The writer's observations on the above are as follows :—

The ending lines of every story as quoted above lead to more primitive times when the ancestors of the Bengalee race may not have used the repeating formula. Does the reader think that such a stage is impossible? When we know that there have been many Aryan and non-Aryan nations on earth, whose folklore requires no repetition of any formula, must we presume the Bengalees to be an exception to the general rule and that they from the earliest times had tales which are not simple, but only compound such that to the actual story there is always a tail which is the tale in the formula added to it?

In his opinion the Bengali formula repeated at the end of every folktale is only a short independent story of immemorial times, in support of which assertion

he gives the following translation of an independent Telugu folktale :—

THE TELUGU STORY.

Long long ago there was a king.
He had seven sons.
The seven sons went a-hunting.
Thy brought seven fish.
The seven fish were exposed to be dried.
Among them a fish did not dry.
"Fish! fish! Why did you not dry?"
"The stubble of grass screened me."
"Stubble of grass! Stubble of grass, why did you screen it?"
"The cow did not graze me?"
"Cow! Cow! Why did you not graze it?"
The cowherd did not tend me."
"Cowherd, cowherd, why did you not tend it?"
"The granny did not give me rice-water". (conjee.)
"Granny, grannny, why did you not give conjee?"
"The child is crying."
"Child! child! Why do you cry?"
"The ant bit me."
"Ant! ant! Why did you bite?"
"Wont I bite it when it stole my jaggery and placed its finger in my anthill?"

The first story which a grandmother says to the child during evening times is the one given above. There is no story in all the Andhra land so well known as this story, and we here see that it is not used as a formula at the end of another story but only a distinct independent story complete in itself.

The writer's conclusion is :

The story adds weight to the belief that the Telugus and the Bengalee speaking population once lived in a common home from which they migrated—the Andhra section leaving that land earlier than the Bengalees.

The Dassera Animal Sacrifices.

In view of the coming Dassera festival and the gruesome animal sacrifices which marks it in too many places, the *Indian Humanitarian* writes :—

The Dassera Festival is approaching and we are afraid a number of he-buffaloes and goats will be slaughtered as an offering to the Goddess. Our latest appeal to Princes will reach them before the festival, still we here take an opportunity of placing this before the public so as to make it possible for their refocussing and expressing opinion on the question. We may thankfully acknowledge, our appeals have received careful consideration at the hands of the many Princes to whom they were sent. They have already prohibited such slaughter in their states and we hope more will join their ranks this year. But sometimes it is argued

there are communities in India still steeped in ignorance and superstition whom it is more prudent to persuade than to command. We realize our difficulties in this case from our own experiences of the Kamatipura sacrifices last July. Nevertheless, such communities must be weaned away from this cruel superstition and placed on better lines. Hence this special appeal to persons of local influence and standing.

It may be interesting to know that while these sacrifices are made in the sacred name of religion there is a consensus of the weightiest religious opinion in India against them. We consulted a large number of Hindu religious leaders and one and all pronounced unhesitatingly against the righteousness of Animal Sacrifices. If once the light of this unrighteousness dawns upon the communities that are at present attached to this cruel practice, there is no reason why they would not give it up—in matters of religion. They are so tractable and capable of being led by their religious heads.

Slaughter of Animals in Municipal Slaughter-houses.

The *Indian Humanitarian* gives an eight page long list—to be continued—of the number of cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats and other animals killed in 1917-18 and 1918-19 in the slaughter-houses of 132 municipalities in India. The figures are shocking.

The Indian Territorial Force Act.

Writing in the *Indian Review* on the Indian Territorial Force Act, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer observes that there was at first a want of correspondence between the principles underlying the Territorial Force Bill and the Auxiliary Force Bill and the members of the Select Committee succeeded in assimilating the provisions of the Territorial Force Bill to those of the sister Bill to a very considerable extent.

Provisions have been introduced in the Territorial Force Bill for the appointment of a Provincial Advisory Committee, for enabling any portion of the force to be called out in aid of the civil power, for the modification of the provisions of the Indian Army Act by rules, for vesting the power of prescribing punishments in the Governor-General in Council instead of the Commander-in-Chief and for restricting the duration of military service after calling out to the minimum required by military exigencies.

That is all that he says in favour of the Territorial Force Act. Against it he says:—

In spite of these marked improvements in the character of the Bill it must be admitted that there are invidious differences between the provisions of the two bills based upon racial discrimination.

So far as laymen can conjecture, one essential difference between the two bills seems to lie in the fact that, while the Territorial Force is intended for service anywhere in India, the Auxiliary Force is primarily intended to serve only within the prescribed military area. This difference in the scope of the two organisations is not, however, sufficient to justify all the differential provisions of the two bills. There is no satisfactory explanation of the restriction of the Territorial Force to the Infantry branch of the Defence Force. It has been suggested that the organisation of a Territorial Force is in the nature of an experiment, that the infantry is the basis of the army and that without knowing the nature and extent of the response in this branch it would not be possible to incur the enormous liability to expenditure which would be involved in the formation of other branches. It cannot be said that this explanation is convincing or that there are adequate reasons for the differentiation.

But being resolved, it seems, to make out the best possible case for Government, Sir Sivaswamy ventures the following guess:

Probably the real reason at the back of the mind of the authors of the Bill is some amount of distrust as to the manner in which military skill may be used by the people of this country. It is unfortunate that the virulence of the language employed by some of the extremist politicians should lend some ground for such misgivings. On the other hand, it may be said that more generous concessions might cut the ground from under the feet of the extremists and deprive them of just grounds for attack against the Government. The attitude of the Government and the attitude of the politicians are obviously interdependent.

But why bring in the extremist politicians at all. The British distrust of Indians has existed since a time when there were neither moderate nor extremist politicians in India. Britishers know that they hold the country mainly by means of the army, and therefore the white branch has superior equipment, arms and ammunition, and there are no Indian artillery and flying corps. They would be fools if

they did not distrust Indians, but they are not fools.

It is a matter for some satisfaction that the government saw their way to accept the amendment of the Hon. Mr. Sastri empowering the Governor-General in Council to establish all or any branches of the Force as circumstances might permit from time to time. It is a recognition of the absence of any legal bar to the eligibility of Indians to other arms of the Defence Force and it affords an opportunity to the Legislature to convince the Executive Government of the expediency of throwing open other branches of the Defence Force to Indians.

Blessed "absence of legal bar!" As if any legal bar has ever been able effectively to stand in the way of whatever the bureaucracy wanted to do. And who makes and removes these legal bars? The writer's concluding reflections are:

There is one point to which no reference is made in the discussions in the Bill and it is the designations of the various officers commissioned and non-commissioned and the existence of distinctions of status between the King's Commissions and the Viceroy's Commissions. The fact that an Indian officer however well-born or well-educated he may be, can only rise to the position of a Jamedar or Subhedar while a European British subject, real or statutory, can hold any King's Commission and that an Indian commissioned officer must salute and acknowledge the superiority of every European commissioned officer in spite of any length of service of the former, cannot but be felt as galling marks of inferiority of treatment based upon racial grounds. The perpetuation of these distinctions of designation and status is bound to affect the popularity of the Territorial Force to be newly constituted. It would be the part of wise statesmanship to abolish such irritating differences, but how far considerations of statesmanship will influence military administration is open to grave doubt.

The Difficulty of Real Monasticism.

To illustrate his opinion that "real monasticism is not easy to attain. There is no order of life so rigorous as this. If you stumble ever so little, you are hurled down a precipice and are smashed to pieces,"—Swami Vivkenanda once told the following story of his life to a disciple, as reported in the *Prabuddha Bharata*:—

One day I was travelling on foot from Agra to Brindaban. There was not a farthing with

me. I was about a couple of miles from Brindaban when I found a man smoking on the roadside, and I was seized with a desire to smoke. I said to the man, 'Hallo, will you let me have a puff at your *chilim*?' He seemed to be hesitating greatly and said, 'Sire, I am a sweeper.' Well, there was the influence of old Samskaras, and I immediately stepped back and resumed my journey without smoking. I had gone a short distance when the thought occurred to me that I was a Sannyasin, who had renounced caste, family, prestige and everything—and still I drew back as soon as the man gave himself out as a sweeper, and could not smoke at the *chilim* touched by him! The thought made me restless at heart; then I had walked on half a mile. Again I retraced my steps and came to the sweeper, whom I found still sitting there. I hastened to tell him, 'Do prepare a *chilim* of tobacco for me, my dear friend.' I paid no heed to his objections and insisted on having it. So the man was compelled to prepare a *chilim* for me. Then I gladly had a puff at it and proceeded to Brindaban. When one has embraced the monastic life, one has to test whether one has gone beyond the prestige of caste and birth etc. It is so difficult to observe the monastic vow in right earnest! There must not be the slightest divergence between one's words and actions."

By the by, the boy or young man who may happen to read the above should bear in mind that smoking, a bad habit, will not make one a Vivekananda.

"The Holy Mother."

"The Holy Mother", by which name the wife of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was known to his disciples and followers, was a remarkable woman in her way. Some glimpses of her spiritual and benignant figures can be obtained from a character sketch of the revered lady published in the *Prabuddha Bharata*. When "in August, 1886, the soul of Sri Ramakrishna passed off into regions immortal,"

In pursuance of an orthodox Hindu custom, the Holy Mother was putting off her ornaments, and was about to take off the bangles, when quite unexpectedly she saw the radiant form of Sri Ramakrishna who seized her hands and forbade her to remove the bangles, saying he was just as he had been, and there was no need for her to take the mourning weeds. So the Holy Mother retained the bangles, and from that day arranged for regular daily worship and food-offering to Sri Ramakrishna. She knew

that it was Mother Kali who moved amongst men in the form of Sri Ramakrishna, and it is said that after his Mahasamadhi she wept in the words, "O Mother, where art Thou gone, leaving me alone!" Surely such a relation between husband and wife is most unique in the world and one that compels all to pause and revere.

A few more sentences may be quoted.

She was Mother to all, irrespective of caste or creed, and as such her doors, both at her village home and in Calcutta, were always open to all her children, be they white or black, Hindu, or Parsi or Christian.

She was a personification of considerateness. Among those who visited her at her village-home were many who were accustomed to the comforts of town-life, and the Holy Mother would perhaps be seen, early in the morning, asking of her neighbour if she had milked her cows, for she wanted some milk for "her son to take tea with"! Every mother dearly loves her own son, but has anybody seen such ethereal love for the sons of *all* mothers? And how she would work the whole day, and a great part of the night, to serve her children who came from distant parts of the country, though herself suffering from rheumatism, and often from the after-effects of malarial fever to which her country-home, like all unfortunate West Bengal villages, was particularly a prey!

Eastern and Western Art.

In the course of an elaborate review of the second number of *Shama'a*, Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyay's quarterly magazine, Sri Aurobindo Ghose points out in *Arya* the fundamental difference between the East and the West in Art, "which remains constant."

The fundamental difference is that the Eastern artist paints in two and the European in three dimensions. Eastern painting suggests depth only by successive planes of distance; the Western artist uses perspective, and while the use of perspective to create an optical illusion is an error, its emphasis on depth as a mental conception extends the opportunities of expressing truth. It is in any case in the use of the third dimension that there comes in the true and essential difference.

In his opinion,

The great periods of Eastern art were not periods of a passive acceptance of life. In India, they coincided with an active exploration of the material universe through physical science and a strong insistence on life, on its government, on the exploration of its every detail, on the call of even its most sensuous and physical

attractions. The literature and art of India are not at all a dream of renunciation and the passive acceptance of things, but actively concerned with life, though not as exteriorly as the art of the West or with the same terrestrial limitation of the view. It is there that we have to seek for the root of the divergence, not so much in the intellectual idea as in a much subtler spiritual difference.

The difference is that the Western artist,—the Western mind generally,—is led to insist on the physical as the first fact and the determinant, as it is indeed in vital truth and practice, and he has got hold of that side of the truth and in relation to it sees all the rest. He not only stands firmly on the earth, but he has his head in the terrestrial atmosphere and looks up from it to higher planes. The Eastern has his foot on earth, but his head is in the psychical and spiritual realms and it is their atmosphere that affects his vision of the earth. He regards the material as the first fact only in appearance and not in reality: matter is to him real only as a mould and opportunity of spiritual being and the psychical region is an intermediary through which he can go back from the physical to the spiritual truth. This it is that conditions his whole artistic method and makes him succeed best in proportion as he brings the spiritual and psychical truth to illuminate and modify the material form. If he were to take to oil painting and the third dimension, I imagine that he would still before long break out of the physical limitations and try to make the use of the third a bridge to a fourth and psychical or to a fifth and spiritual dimension. That in fact seems to be very much what the latest Western art itself is trying to do. But it does not seem to me in some of its first efforts to have got very high beyond the earth attraction.

Old Gold-diggings in India.

According to *Commerce*, Messrs. John Taylor and Sons are not quite hopeful or certain as to the likelihood of gold mining being conducted on a paying basis in Dhalbhum. It however adds:—

On this point the shareholders of the company may take heart of grace from the recollection that the Kolar gold field was about to be abandoned, after a million pounds sterling had been spent upon it when Captain Plummer, recognising the importance of old workings, planned what was known as Plummer's Incline in order to go beneath them to the depth of 309 feet. Below an ancient pit he struck a shoot of gold ore that turned out eventually to be the richest in the world. This shoot has enabled the Mysore Gold Mining Company, of which Messrs. John Taylor and Sons are the London agents, to pay dividends exceeding 100

per cent. per annum for thirty years. As regards the unknown folks who delved for gold on what is now the Dhalbhum estate, it is remarkable that there are no traditions among the aboriginal tribes who live in this locality, although gold-washing is with them a traditional handicraft, which might serve as a guide to their identity. The ancient miners have left indications of their skill and enterprise in numerous pits and galleries underground. They left behind them when they went away—whither went they?—stone implements, crucibles of granite, pestles and mortars. But was it merely a people, or was it a nation, that has passed away? It is a question of considerable interest to the ethnologist. It is a mystery over which time has thrown an impenetrable veil; a veil which, perhaps, no mortal hand will raise. This people, or this nation has perished without a name. It has died, and, in dying, has left no sign.

This is a fit subject for the anthropological and archaeological researchers of the Calcutta University.

"India's Hidden Wealth."

The articles with the above heading published in *Commerce* contain useful information. We extract a few paragraphs.

Cocoonut-Shell Buttons—In 1914 a demand sprang up for cocoonut shells for export to Germany. Lately it has become known, that a most valuable fusel oil is obtained from the shells, and that after removing the fusel oil, the shells were subjected to a process which toughened the shells and rendered them capable of being moulded into finished buttons of all kinds at a price which defied competition. The Great War has prevented the spread of the industry, but why should not India utilize this waste product for its own benefit? Fusel oil is deemed essential for the manufacture of synthetic-rubber and for some explosives.

German Science—A German missionary attached to the Basel Mission in Calicut (Malabar) noticed the strong verbenal-like odour of certain species of elephant grass common in the forests of the West Coast. Samples of this lemon-scented grass were sent to Germany and the chemists there devised an easy method of distilling a scented oil from the elephant grass.

Oil of Citronelle—There are, I believe, eighteen different kinds of elephant grass. Four of these are lemon-scented, that is on bruising the leaves, a strong odour of lemon is observed. It is from these that the oil of citronelle, so much in demand by the perfumer, is distilled. In my wanderings in the Terai I have frequently stayed off thirst by chewing a blade of lemon grass. Why not utilize this leaf of the forester for the many

facture of an essential oil that commands a ready market? I am told that the distilling apparatus costs but a few rupees and is readily manipulated by any intelligent Indian. No central manufactory is necessary, but hundreds of these stills, wherever lemon grass is available, would give profitable employment to many and also serve to keep down this growth of grass that is so troublesome to the forester. Messrs. Koder and Co., a Jewish firm in British Cochin, can supply samples of the oil and give information as to its manufacture and the best markets for its sale.

Obstructed Drainage and Physical Degeneration.

By citing many facts and quoting the opinions of many authorities, Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose shows in the *Hindustan Review* that obstructed drainage, water-logging, and high level of sub-soil water, caused by railways and canals are responsible for the spread of malarious fever. There are several ways in which railways tend to obstruct drainage.

First. The tremendous pressure exerted by the trains on the high embankments over which they run, convert these into practically impervious walls through which water cannot percolate.

Secondly. The "borrow pits" on either side of the majority of the railway lines are converted into pestilential pools frequently choked with weeds.

To show what physical degeneracy is caused by malaria, Mr. Bose quotes the following passage from the Census Report of 1911 :

"Year by year fever is silently at work. Plague slays its thousands, fever its ten thousands. Not only does it diminish the population by death, but it reduces the vitality of the survivors, saps their vigour and fecundity and either interrupts the even tenour, or hinders the development of commerce and industry. A leading cause of poverty—and of many other disagreeables in a great part of Bengal—is the prevalence of malaria. For a physical explanation of the Bengali lack of energy malaria would count high."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Power over Fire.

Mr. Reginald B. Span writes in *Chambers' Journal* :—

Dr. Boissarie, in his work on 'Lourdes', tells how Dr. Dozous saw Bernadette, the 'Seeress of Lourdes', hold her hands in a flame for fifteen minutes without the slightest pain or scorching; nor did the fire mark the flesh in any way. He took an exact record of the time by his watch. This miracle is known at Lourdes as 'Le Miracle du Cierge'. Mr. Daniel Dunglas Home, the famous Scottish medium, one of the greatest wonder-workers of modern times, who was an adept in many ways where magic is concerned, possessed this power of averting the natural consequences of fire on material substances. His remarkable experiments in power over fire were witnessed by many well-known people, amongst whom were Sir William Crookes (the eminent scientist, and late President of the Royal Society), Mr. S. C. Hall (writer and Lecturer), Dr. Robert Chambers (the well-known *litterateur*), and joint founder of the firm of W. and R. Chambers), the Earl of Dunraven, and Lord Crawford and Balcarres. At many meetings were these exhibitions of power over fire manifested by Mr. Home—generally at the houses of his friends—and no preparation whatever

was necessary, nor were any chemicals or drugs resorted to to render the operator immune, Home always claiming that the protecting agency was psychical, or spiritual.

The following is a typical instance.

On the 9th of May 1871, at the house of Sir William Crookes, F.R.S., Home gave a special exhibition for the benefit of the great scientists, who had proclaimed his intention of giving the matter a thorough scientific investigation, in the presence of the most expert and reliable witnesses, amongst whom were Dr. Wilkinson, Messrs S. C. Hall and H. Jencken, the Earl of Crawford, and Lord Dunraven.

Home's hands were first carefully examined by Sir W. Crookes, who was perfectly satisfied that they had not been chemically 'prepared'; then, a large and blazing fire having been made up, Home without the slightest hesitation, plunged his hands into the centre of it, and after holding them there for a few moments, began to stir the red-hot coals until his hands were well into the hottest part and the flames licked his wrists. He then selected a red-hot piece of coal as large as an orange, and almost enclosing it in his bare hands, blew into the small furnace thus formed until it was white-hot (like a blacksmith's fire) and little flames flickered over and licked his fingers.

Coming into the centre of the group of witnesses, he extended his hands for them all to examine closely, and exclaimed in a voice of rapt reverence, 'Is not God good? Are not His laws wonderful?'

Home then handed red-hot coals to some of those present, promising them immunity from scorching, and none of them was burned. This feat of handing on the 'power over fire' to others did not, however, always succeed, as Mr. Andrew Lang related an instance of a friend of his, a clergyman, whose hand was badly blistered after receiving a red-hot coal from Home. Probably on that occasion the 'conditions' were not good, and consequently the 'power' was inefficient; or the fault may have lain in the mental attitude of the clergyman, at the back of whose mind there probably existed the idea of 'diabolical agency'.

Home concluded that *seance* by taking handkerchiefs from those present and wrapping red-hot coals in them. On being examined afterwards the handkerchiefs showed not the slightest sign of burning or scorching. Sir William Crookes took them at once into his laboratory in the adjoining apartment, and after carefully testing them, found that 'they had not been chemically prepared to resist the action of fire.'

The instance of Mr. Home taking some blazing coals from a fire, placing them on the head of Mr. S. C. Hall, and drawing that gentleman's long silvery locks over them is very well known, but may bear brief repetition here. Mr. Hall was seated near the fire, and was unaware of Home's intention, until he heard him say, 'Keep perfectly still, and don't be afraid; it won't hurt you.' Home then placed some red-hot coals he had just picked from the centre of the fire on the crown of the old gentleman's head, and quickly covered them with the long gray hair. Not a hair was singed, nor was there any trace of scorching, and all that Mr. Hall felt was a pleasant sense of warmth.

The writer says that though 'power over fire' is exceedingly rare amongst Western nations, it is not so amongst the natives of those countries which have not come under the control or influence of European civilisation. "The Fijians, the Maoris, the Hindoos, the Malays, the natives of Polynesia, and the less civilised Japanese are all acquainted with the 'power over fire', which forms one of their religious rites."

The Red Indians of North America, when in their primitive natural state, were experts in this line, but they have long since lost all their old powers and tastes. Then they lived very close to nature, fully cognisant of its occult powers, and acquiring somewhat of those powers in their own natures. It was a common occurrence for these men to walk on red-hot stones and pass naked through fiery furnaces without manifesting any sign of pain, or indeed being burned by the fire. An old chief once told him that the secret of the marvellous stoicism, or indifference to pain, of the Red Indians lay in a peculiar mental condition which, by constant practice, could be brought to a high state of perfection, being induced, at any time, by a kind of self-hypnosis. The seat of all sensation lying in the brain, it is the brain, therefore, which must be

numbered to annul the sensation of pain, and this can be done by a certain mental process known only to the 'adepts'. When this condition was induced, red-hot irons could be applied to the body without any unpleasant sensation being produced. The face of the adept at such times took on a stone-like rigidity, due to the absence of life and feeling in the brain.

Mr. Span has brought together in his article much information relating to the subject from various sources, some of which is reproduced below:

In the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Wellington, New Zealand, March 1899) Colonel Gudgeon, British Resident at Rarotonga, gives an account of a Fire-Walking ceremony which took place amongst the natives of Rarotonga, and in which he and three other Englishmen participated. The performance consisted in walking through an 'oven', over a number of flat stones (twelve feet in diameter) which had been heated for hours in a furnace. The distance to be traversed was twenty feet, and it had to be done barefooted. The furnace was lighted at 5 A.M. on the 20th January, and at 2 P.M. the *tohunga* (or priest) told Colonel Gudgeon that everything was ready for the ceremony, and they accordingly proceeded to the oven. The *tohunga* and his *taura* (pupil) began by chanting a short invocation; then the priest took a branch of the ti-tree shrub and struck the edge of the oven three times, and, followed by his pupil, deliberately stepped bare-footed on to the scorching stones and walked slowly across. The two men then walked back again. The *tohunga* next approached the Englishmen, and handing the ti-tree branch which he carried (like a magician's wand) to Mr. Goodwin, said shortly, 'I hand my *mana* [power] over to you; lead your friends across.' They did not 'half like' it, but could not show the white feather before the natives, so sat down and took off their boots and socks, and otherwise prepared themselves for a 'hot reception'. Mr. Goodwin, armed with the magic ti-branch, led the way, followed by Colonel Gudgeon, Dr. George Craig, and Dr. William Craig. They stepped out boldly—though Colonel Gudgeon had considerable qualms, as the soles of his feet were particularly tender. They all got across safe and uninjured except Dr. W. Craig, who disobeyed one of the injunctions, and (like Lot's wife) looked behind him. He was badly burned, and was laid up for a long time after. Colonel Gudgeon, in speaking of this experience, stated: 'I can hardly give you my sensations, but I can say this, that I knew quite well I was walking on red-hot stones and could feel the heat, yet I was not burned. I felt something resembling slight electric shocks both at the time and afterwards, but that is all.' To test the heat of the stones, half-an-hour afterwards Colonel Gudgeon threw a branch on to them, and in a few seconds it caught fire. Later on two hundred natives (who had been given the 'power') walked across with bare feet, and not one was burned, though the stones were still intensely hot.

Interesting accounts of the Fire-Walking ceremony are given in Mr. Basil Thompson's *South Sea Years*; and in *The Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol. xxxi., there is a remarkable account of a Fiji Fire-Walking ceremony by Dr. T. M. Hocken F. L. S., which was read by him before the Institute of Otago in May 1898. The performance which took place on

the tropical island of Fiji, was witnessed by Dr. and Mrs. Hocken, Dr. Colquhoun, and the Hon. Mr. A. Duncan (a member of the Fijian legislature).

A native magistrate named Jonathan, on being questioned about the matter by Mr. Walter Carew the English stipendiary magistrate at Fiji, stated, that he had done fire-walking, but had no idea how it was effected, and that he never felt any heat. Mr. Carew considers that *faith* in an extraordinary degree has some sort of magical influence over the fire-walker. In the *Polynesian Journal* it is stated that an English woman—Lady Thurston—laid her handkerchief on the shoulder of one of the fire-walkers. It was there only a moment or two before being withdrawn by means of a long stick, but it was scorched through. On another occasion an English magistrate, who was looking on, threw a handkerchief on to one of the stones in the oven just as the first of the native performers was stepping in. The native proceeded unscathed, but the handkerchief was burned before the last man had crossed the pit—and yet they stepped on or over it.

Photographs of the Fire ceremony in the South Sea Islands have been taken by Lieutenant Morne of the French Navy. Miss Tenira Henry, a resident of Honolulu, in a letter to *The Polynesian Society's Journal* stated that her sister and her sister's child walked over the hot stones at a Fire ceremony in the Uum-Ti (an account of which was published in that journal, vol. ii, p. 108).

The Prince of Wied, in his work *Reise in das innere Nordamerika* (Coblenz, 1839), describes the Fire ceremony amongst the Red Indians of the Far West, as he had himself witnessed it in the early times of American settlement.

In India and Japan the secret of 'power over fire' has been preserved in certain families (being handed down from father to son) through many generations. In the nineteenth century there was a family of this kind in Spain which possessed the power of walking through fire uninjured.

In *Les Annales des Sciences Psychiques* for July 1899 there is a paper by Dr. Pascal, entitled 'Les Dompteurs du Feu', in which he describes the Fire ceremony as he had seen it at Benares, India, in October 1898 and February 1899. The performance was of the nature of a religious rite, as prayers were uttered and holy water was used. The natives passed over red-hot stones above a fiery furnace. On one occasion (in February 1899) three of the Hindoos came into collision through one of the stones giving way, and they fell into the fire, but came out unharmed—not even their garments being singed.

According to the writer,

Fire-walking originated in India, and is an extremely ancient rite. A case is recorded in the *Tāndya Brāhmana* of the *Sāmaveda*, of two Brahmin priests who exhibited their superior sanctity by 'power over fire', and walked through fiery furnaces without being burned or having a hair singed. That story dates back to 800 B.C. There are still earlier records than that in India, probably surpassing in antiquity the Bible narrative of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

Contact Between Chinese and Japanese Students.

Inter-racial and international friendship and good will may be better promoted by peoples themselves than by their governments and officials. From this point of view, it is quite true, as the *New Republic* of New York notes, that one encouraging development in the Far East is the new contact between the young students of China and Japan.

For years the militarists of the two countries have worked in partnership; now the students ask their turn. At the end of last year two undergraduates of the University of Tokyo went to China and addressed a mass meeting of Chinese students at Shanghai. This did not suit the local Japanese authorities. They advised their government to keep its students home. The government acted on the advice. It instructed every university in Japan to forbid the sending of delegations into China. Recently, however, the Chinese students have themselves gone visiting. Five of them have come from the University of Peking to Tokyo, to exchange opinions with the young leaders of Japan.

Professor Sakuzo Yoshino of the University of Tokyo gives an account of these student conferences in a Japanese journal named *Chuo-Koron*.

The best hope of peace and progress in the Far East is a rapprochement of the liberal forces in China and Japan, however impotent they now may be in the latter country, and for such a rapprochement Dr. Yoshino pleads. "The well-wishers of the two nations . . . cannot attain their ends because of the perverted relations existing between the militarists of the two countries. The result is the recurrence of the violent anti-Japanese movement . . . It is most urgent that a real understanding should be restored, and the only means to attain this end is to build up the movement which is now only beginning—and that is the understanding of the students of the two nations."

Bertrand Russell on Soviet Russia.

Bertrand Russell's articles on Soviet Russia, published by the *Nation*, have given rise to some controversy. The *New Republic* considers them extraordinarily interesting from two angles—as they throw light on Russell and as they throw light on Russia.

They reveal Mr. Russell as an unimpeachably candid human being. They reveal Russia as a country governed by a war dictatorship.

ing of two factions—one tending towards Bonapartism, the other tending towards a radical amendment of the original communist theory. The articles show further that the Bonapartist faction thrives on war, and they prophesy that the evolutionist element would thrive on peace. They point out that the government of Russia is not democratic and that there is privilege, corruption, bureaucracy and militarism. They show also the immense danger to the world which would come from the imitation of Bolshevism by the socialist and labor parties of other countries. They argue that the Third International thrives on intervention, war, blockade, and censorship. The articles themselves illustrate the immense effect of permitting a convinced and sincere radical to disillusionize himself by seeing Russia through his own eyes.

In the opinion of *the New Republic* there is nothing surprising or novel about this. So far that paper is able to judge, Mr. Russell's picture of Russia coincides with its own.

Communism pre-supposes a gregariousness which human beings do not possess; it involves a degree of centralization and of social control which are inevitably destructive of liberty; it proposes a social organization that is altogether too officious and all-pervading for the development of invention and enterprise, and for the satisfaction of variety. Communism strikes us as a dreary ideal, could it be established, and for our part we look forward to an entirely different line of progress. We look forward to an increasing socialization of industry, but to the nationalization of very few industries. We do not wish to see an aggrandized economic state, but the creation of a better social equilibrium through the development parallel to each other, and as checks upon each other, of enlightened capitalism, voluntary co-operation, workers' participation in management, and the public ownership of a few basic services on which all other forms of activity depend.

The Bolshevik method of establishing communism through a temporary dictatorship of a minority has always seemed to us as without justification if it is intended to revolutionize the world for the better. The dictatorship in Russia has little to do with social progress. It has had an enormous amount to do with saving a demoralized people from complete disintegration. It has probably saved Russia from dismemberment and subjection.

We share Mr. Russell's belief that no government could overthrow the Soviets and reorganize Russia within a decent period of time. We share his belief that peace and trade will do to Russia what they have done in the United States and everywhere else.

Domestic Servants' Rights in Austria.

The Living Age writes that Austria has recently passed a law regulating the working conditions of domestic servants in towns of more than five thousand population.

Among the principal provisions of this law is one requiring that a maidservant of sixteen years of age or over shall have a minimum of nine hours of uninterrupted rest out of each twenty-four. Maidservants of less than sixteen years of age shall have eleven hours' rest. The only exceptions are in case of illness in the employer's family. They are to have eight hours' rest in addition either on Sundays or on some other day of the week to be agreed upon. Servants are to have eight days' vacation each year at full pay, plus one-half month's pay additional in compensation for their food and lodging. After two years' employment in the same family a servant is entitled to fourteen days' vacation with one month's pay and additional allowance in lieu of subsistence during that period. After five years the annual vacation becomes three weeks at full pay with a month and a half additional salary. This additional salary must be paid before the vacation begins. Servants are not obligated to accompany the families of their employers from the country to the city or the city to the country.

Both masters and servants would gain by some such law in India.

Liquor Laws in Europe.

Many other countries besides the United States of America have either abolished or curtailed the liquor traffic. *The Living Age* tells its readers:

In 1907 and 1908 the Finnish Parliament adopted a prohibition law which was approved by a referendum to the people, but was prevented from going into effect by the Russian Government. Immediately after the country attained its independence the law was reenacted and went into force last summer. It prohibits the manufacture, importation or sale of intoxicating liquors containing more than two per cent of alcohol, and provides no compensation for manufacturers and dealers previously engaged in the business.

Belgium has prohibited since last September the sale of distilled liquors in bars, hotels, restaurants, and other public places, for consumption on the spot. Liquors can still be bought in limited quantities at licensed houses for consumption at home. However, the law

provides for gradually decreasing the number of licensed houses and increasing their fees.

Norway, which passed restrictive laws in 1916 and 1917, adopted a plebiscite last October forbidding the manufacture or sale of distilled liquours. This law has not gone completely into operation on account of the protests of certain foreign powers interested in the liquor trade, especially France.

Italy and some of the Swiss cantons have recently adopted laws limiting the number of licensed houses in proportion to the population and in Sweden and Denmark legislation has been enacted confining the alcoholic content of intoxicating liquors within certain prescribed percentages.

In India, though drinkers and drunkards are to be found among the followers of all the principal religions, the religious books of the vast majority condemn the use of intoxicating drinks. Yet we are far from prohibition.

Japan and Siberia.

The Japan Weekly Chronicle, an Anglo-Japanese paper published at Kobe, summarizes Japan's military activity in Siberia as

The military occupation of a friendly country, the disarmament of its forces, the destruction of its communications, the killing of those who resist, the imprisonment of those who surrender, and the hoisting of foreign flags on its public buildings. This is the result of an intervention undertaken for purely pacific purposes and without the slightest intention of interfering with the self-government of the country. Thus have we established public right, made the world safe for democracy, laid sure and firm the principle of self-determination, abolished the old diplomacy, dethroned militarism, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes!

The Asian Review, however, denies that Japanese activity in Siberia has been on the whole, such as to deserve condemnation. The editor of that well informed and ably conducted Japanese monthly writes:

"When at the earnest request of the Allied and Associated Powers Japan despatched her troops to Siberia in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the whole Japanese nation, she was charged with harbouring ambitious designs on Russia."

Dr. E. Uyehara, M. P. writes in the same review:—

Japan desires a hasty restoration of order in Siberia. Japan has despatched her troops to Siberia not only with the object of rescuing Check Slovacks, but with the desire that order in that region may be speedily restored. Siberia being adjacent to Japanese territory, disturbances in that region are likely to endanger her own national existence. Japan has never sent her army to Siberia with territorial ambition. However great her population may be, should her productive industries be fully developed, she would experience no difficulty in supporting and developing her people.

Three Views of the League of Nations.

Writing in the Swiss Liberal Republican *Daily Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, Dr. Alfred H. Freid holds that the League of Nations is an ethical institution. Says he in part:

It is only too obvious that a League of Nations which is still taking its first toddling steps cannot immediately surmount obstacles which are in fact a legacy of trouble from the very powers which gave it being. It justifies its existence at first merely by living. The present chaos does not prove that the institution is worthless, but rather that it is necessary. That chaos thus becomes, in a sense, a guaranty for its future existence and development.

He adds:

The League of Nations is not endangered by the present discouraging political situation. Such an opinion seems to me to be based on the erroneous idea that it is the duty of the League to employ force to suppress the prevailing international anarchy which is the legitimate outcome and result of the World War. Such a conception is begotten of old ideas which are directly antagonistic to the ideal which inspires a League of Nations. You cannot erect a superstate on a foundation of blood and iron. We hear from all sides the demand that the League of Nations should have an armed force—that it should organize an international police. This is asking for something which contradicts the very character of the League. It is true that such an organization must have executive authority; but such authority will be the last stone of a superstructure for which we are today only laying the foundation.

His conclusion is:

We must teach ourselves to regard the League as a moral institution. But moral authority is more difficult to procure than arms and munitions. It can be acquired only with time and experience.

A League of Nations will in time develop this moral authority if it concentrates its efforts

upon building up a system of super-state law and justice, which will serve as a guide for all its actions. It should endeavor to be an unbiased helper, mediator, and counsellor for all the bleeding and oppressed peoples of the world. The latter must be taught to trust it as a source of hope and sympathy, as an individual trusts a skilled physician. Its authority must grow out of gratitude, of a mediation that is not compulsory but healing. When mankind has acquired the habit of regarding a League of Nations in this light, we shall be less skeptical as to its ultimate success. We shall discover that it possesses a power which will enable it to overcome obstacles which now seem insuperable. That power is the power of an ideal, not of an armed police.

A second view is that of Marcelino Domingo, who calls the League a futile and sterile thing, in *El Socialista*, a Madrid daily. He writes :—

The League of Nations finds itself unable to deal with the first serious problem referred to it. That is the problem of the war in Persia. The latter country joined the League in the belief that it would deal with measures of this kind and has appealed for its assistance. The League in solemn counsel has investigated, deliberated, and then failed to do anything. Like Pontius Pilate in the trial of Jesus it has washed its hands of its duty.

The clause of the Covenant, in accordance with which the League should have acted, is perfectly clear. Persia is a member of the League of Nations; Russia is not. Such cases are provided for in Article 17 of the Covenant, which says definitely, that in case of a difference between two governments of whom only one is a member of the League, the government which is not a member shall be invited to assume the obligations of a member in that particular controversy.

To him the case of Persia and Russia is a perfectly clear one.

No case could possibly be clear. It was the duty of the League to ask Russia and Persia to lay down their arms. If Russia had refused and had continued its hostilities against Persia, every member of the League would have been obliged to break off commercial, financial, and personal relations with Russia, and to mobilize an army against that country. Why did it not fulfil its duty? Why has it decided in this instance to wash its hands of its clear and definite responsibility? Perhaps it may venture a purely Byzantine apology. Russia not only does not belong to the League of Nations, but it is not even officially recognized by other governments. To have invited Russia to submit the question to the League would have been a virtual recognition of the Soviet government.

But that government would have been quite justified in asking for formal recognition before it replied to the invitation. What would have been the attitude of the governments in the latter eventually? What would the reply of the League have been if Russia had inquired why it was so eager of intervention in Persia, when it had neglected any effort to intervene in Poland? Quite possibly, of course, some purely catch answer might have been found to that inquiry. But the real explanation is quite different. The fact is that the League of Nations is a creature without body, roots, or life.

The governments of to-day cannot help the League of Nations because they cannot help themselves, and the League of Nations is a futile thing because the governments which compose it cannot lend it strength. The initial fault is that the League of Nations, like the whole Treaty of Versailles, is an illusory compound of the very ideals and purposes which caused the world war. The League of Nations ought to be a federation; it ought to have a democratic constitution; it ought to represent a union of peoples and not of governments. It ought to employ first and foremost judicial methods without forgetting for a single moment that its first duty is to respect the sovereignty of every government elected by its own citizens, and that small states are entitled to the same rights within their own jurisdiction and territories as great states. The founders of the League have not been able to make these ideals prevail, and therefore the League is not entitled to represent those ideals.

The third view is that of the *Spectator*, the British conservative weekly, which holds that it is necessary and that the Powers ought to secure its revision. It asserts :

If the world is to become safe for those who want to see the true fruits of civilization, some form of league or pact, covenant or agreement among the nations must be secured. That agreement must prevent recourse to war and, what is even more deadly than war, competitive armament. Our sense of the necessity for disarmament, or, at any rate, for keeping armaments within the strictest bounds lest they should be the undoing of us all, is so strong that we will support any and every organization that makes for the objects we have just named. We have regretfully come to hold that the League of Nations as it was finally passed is in many ways an imperfect organization. It aims too high, and so is likely to achieve too little. It tries to accomplish too much too quickly. It regards the superstructure more than the foundation. It forgot, or was misled in regard to, the essential characteristics of the American Constitution. It does not ensure the inclusion of the United States.

But though we fear that the faults of construction in the League of Nations may be its undoing, we feel that every effort should be made to render it a success, and that it is our duty and the duty of everyone who feels with us, to support the League as the only organization in being for doing what we desire.

Germany Alive and Busy.

Herbert Kaufman describes Germany in the London *Times* as alive and busy.

Her people are making roads, repairing telegraph and telephone systems, building houses, pushing production, and cultivating every inch of arable ground with an intensity that betokens unbroken morale and undeterred resolve.

The milliards for which the Supreme Council is ineffectually reaching lie heaped along the roadside ready for eager shovels. They are being transmuted into mortar and moulded into bricks. I speak only for the section I have personally visited.

German bones are still well upholstered, and the common fare is more varied and nutritious than Italy's or Japan's. Sundays and holidays are marked by throngs of picnickers, by-lanes are crowded with bicycles and pleasure carts. Horses are numerous and, if anything, far too plump.

The slopes of the Schwarzwald seem as thickly timbered as ever, and every little copse is as trim as a public park. There may be a lack of metal, but it is not apparent on the telegraph poles. Germany has metal enough and money enough to keep her communications in pre-war condition, which is more than can be said of America or France or England.

Nowhere did I encounter any appreciation of the outer world's attitude toward the German.

There is no servility, no cringing; a strange dignity rather, and well-measured courtesy, as befits a people satisfied as to their status and worth.

I saw grain everywhere, and in most excellent condition, plenty of poultry, and enough cabbages and potatoes to promise bumper crops.

One reads of weak governments and potential revolutions, but there are no obtruding signs of mismanagement or national dissatisfaction. To me, Germany appeared alive, vital, and prosperous—neither repentant nor regretful. She is wasting no time in *douleurs* or daydreams. Her head is clear and soundly set upon her shoulders.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu Interviewed.

The interview with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu published in *Britain and India* makes

attractive and interesting reading. One of the questions she was asked was "What led you into politics?" Her answer was:—

"I think it is inevitable that one should become interested in politics if one is a true Indian. The importance of Hindu-Mahomedan unity appealed to me. That was the great problem that attracted me. I lived in a Mahomedan city, you see; and I had so many Mahomedan friends. Very few Hindus have had such intimate relations with Mahomedans as I, for I have taken part in all their political and educational movements. I have presided over their meetings—and even spoken at Mosques. That is the thing which counts most among men and women, especially men. The first political speech I made was at a meeting of the Moslem League."

"Then you are drawn to the Mohomedans?"

"That is not exactly my point. I feel my special work to be to draw the two people together for I know them better than any other Hindu knows them."

Asked what results she had seen in India consequent upon all the political and other agitation that has been carried on, she answered that during the past ten years she had seen the general waking up of India to the fact that "a nation can only evolve itself." It is the realisation that flows from within that matters.

Her opinion of the woman's movement in India is embodied in the following paragraph:

"There is a great difference between now and ten years ago. The women are more articulate. But the curious thing at present is the effort to make a difference in national life between the women and the men. Indian history does not show any record of women being kept out from anything they wanted to do. They have shared the national life, but not in the modern sense of public life, which is recent everywhere. The Indian woman hangs back because of her conservative nature, not because of any antagonism to her. Sex disqualification is a Western difficulty, and we do not want to introduce that into India. The women have always had a very great responsibility in India in all matters. So it is a kind of chivalry with Indians that the women should have the franchise without coming out to scuffle for it. It is a sacrilege when the goddess comes out into the market-place!"

She does not want women to mix in politics as they are now, "for politics are dirty."

"We want our women to stand for national ideals. But women must keep their eye on

public life and keep it pure. The franchise must exalt public life. When I take part in politics I feel it to be my service to stand for ideals unflinchingly. Parties fight the shadows and lose the realities. Men will always take sides ; but ideals will always be national. Women will unify politics. Their temperament will drive them into action, but not into parties. We want women to leaven public life, to keep it implacably clean. We will not side with party but will side with ideals. We will side with those who are going in the right direction. Then we will not be bound by any conventional loyalty, but by loyalty to ideals."

In her opinion the ideal development of India is to go along without the Government.

"That is to say—here is an ideal, and never mind the Government, whether it is for or against it. We do not want England to give arrogant help, but the comradeship of culture. By greater knowledge of the culture, the art, poetry, philosophy and literature of India shall that comradeship come about. It is the soul that we must understand—and that is true comradeship. How many know our Scriptures and know how our lives are shaped by them? Yet this is the only way to understand each other."

The last question which the interviewer put to Mrs. Naidu was, "What do you think India has to offer England?" Mrs. Naidu answered softly :

"I think India has some wonderful power to assimilate world-thought yet retain her own individuality, and give it back as a great vital gift. All things in all the ages dropped into India's river of life—so in the future she will take all the world gives and give it back, transmuted by her spiritual vision and power and sacrifice. India's wonderful power is her power of realisation. That is her marvellous magic ; if she loses that she might as well be dead.

"Only to understand India through her politics is fatal. But because of the present time of transition we must all make sacrifices. Instead of creating art and literature we are all immersed in politics. It is the same spirit as makes every man a soldier when his country is in danger—so are we all politicians for the moment. But it will pass, our country will emerge ; we will give her then the powers and treasures we keep in readiness for her larger, fuller day of freedom."

So be it.

New Plant Foods in America.

The Scientific American reports that

the United State of America Department of Agriculture recently placed on exhibition in Washington specimens of edible plants which the department has introduced into that country and which have now passed from the experimental stage of culture to a permanent position among American Crops. The fruits and vegetables exhibited all of them grown in the United States at Government Stations, included cassava root, dasheen tubers, udo shoots, passion fruit, white sapote fruit, chayotes, and a number of highly coloured and extremely fragrant varieties of mango. "The Department's activities in extending the range of crops must in the long run be of extreme value."

Wireless Research in India.

Upon completion of the research work, which is being done in India by a staff of scientists in order to find means of overcoming the meteorological obstacles which interfere with the proper working of wireless telegraphy in India during certain seasons of the year, there will be a great extension of the wireless system in "that country." So writes the *Scientific American*.

"The Aristocrat and his Work."

Glenn Frank has some very elevating paragraphs on "The Aristocrat and His Work" in the *Century Magazine*. One should first understand what he means by an aristocrat.

When the Greeks built the word, they joined the word *aristas*, meaning best, to the word *kratia*, meaning rule ; so that aristocracy, save when perverted, is the rule of the best. The original aristocrat, therefore, was accounted aristocratic not because of inherited privileges, but because of inherent powers.

If we push our studies back to origins, we find that nearly all aristocracies gained their preeminence by virtue of superior excellence in the performance of some socially necessary work. The fathers of the world's aristocracies have not been the pampered sons, but the powerful servants of society. When later generations of an aristocracy begin to rest content with ancestral achievement and idly to live on inherited privilege, the "aristocracy" in question becomes the legitimate butt of ridicule. It is only when life has become highly artificial that

such perversions of aristocracy are accorded social rank. This is proved by the fact that when men, by some stroke of fate or fortune, are taken out of the artificial life of a modern city and thrown into the natural association and elemental environment of the wilderness or the frontier, the old credentials of aristocracy are demanded. There only the superior servant is recognized as superior.

The aristocracy that our disordered country, no less than America, sorely needs, the aristocracy that it is the business of liberal education to foster, is not a social caste, but an attitude of mind toward useful and necessary work.

Hanford Henderson, in an illuminating essay on "The Aristocratic Spirit," defines the spirit of the aristocrat as a disinterested love of excellence. "To be an aristocrat," he says, "one must be an unselfish devotee of excellence, and happily such devotees are found in every walk of life, from the humblest to the most exalted. To love excellence, not the appearance of excellence, and to love it disinterestedly, not for the sake of the loaves and the fishes—this is the whole creed of the aristocrat."

Traditional education has fostered this aristocratic love of excellence for its own sake in the arts and the sciences. Poets, painters, sculptors, philosophers, and the pioneering adventurers of the laboratory have been stimulated by traditional education to bring to their work this aristocratic spirit. But it is in the doing of the ordinary work of the world that the aristocratic spirit is most greatly needed. Too frequently, so-called liberal education educates men away from instead of for the doing of the ordinary work of the world by which the race is fed and clothed and sheltered. So-called liberal education has too often made for a pseudo-aristocracy of the arts and the sciences and the professions, instead of a genuine aristocracy of good workmen in every field.

The "prosaic" work of the world cries aloud for workmen with the genuine aristocratic spirit, men who will be dominated in their work by a love of excellent performance. In an American story called "The Game of Light," the author tells about a Jimmy Birch, unschooled and very middle class, whose job was the installation of electric light fixtures.

Jimmy had completed a job of lighting a big hall in which his employer's daughter was to conduct a society bazaar, and the daughter, charmed by the way in which the tone of spring sunlight had been reproduced in the hall, had inveigled Jimmy into talking about his work—the putting in of light fixtures. Jimmy's talk was a superb illustration of the way in which

the spirit of the aristocrat and the artist can be brought to the doing of the ordinary work that we are accustomed to regard as deadly prosaic. Here are a few random sentences from Jimmy's discussion of his job in answer to the queries of the girl.

He had said, when it was suggested that there were greater opportunities for advancement in other departments of the lighting industry: "But I'll stick to the lighting end. . . . because it's a great field. Making night a mighty agreeable time for folks is my game."

"What's the point of being a salesman of light?" the girl asked. "Is it salesmanship? Is that all?"

"No! It is n't all!" Jimmy countered. "It's faith. It's a kind of religion. Anybody's work should be; I'd quit it if I did n't believe in electric light."

"You saw that work I've done for your bazaar?" he asked.

"I told you," she said, "it is lovely."

Then Jimmy showed the idea that lay behind his work.

Those that come will have a better time because of it, won't they? It is spring sunlight, and I tell you spring sunlight is good for men and women. You don't realize how much light affects life, do you? Houses lighted the wrong way hurt the souls of the people who live in 'em. I'll bet I have put installations in people's private dining-rooms and parlors that have prevented divorces. . . . I've put lights in the front parlor of a workman's cottage that have kept his daughter off the streets! . . . I can light a church so that people will feel the place. . . . I can light a school so evening classes can think in it.

The Jimmy Birch of Mr. Child's story was not a college graduate, but the conception of a salesman of electric light and an installer of fixtures who can see running out from his job lines of influence that he believes touch the divorce record of the community, the morality of working-men's daughters, the intellectual quality of night schools, and the worship of the church, is the sort of conception that a liberally educated man ought to bring to every job. This is, of course, a highly idealized picture of a workman. But an education that, even slightly, stimulates this aristocratic attitude toward work is the sort of education our democracy needs.

Georgian Negroes Deprived of Their Votes.

The Japanese Kokusai service reports that before the Presidential Election Funds Investigation Committee in Congress Mr. Johnson, the representative of the Republican Negroes in Georgia, testified that 85 per cent of the Negroes in Georgia were forced to abandon their vote, and

those who voted for republican candidates were lynched.

Japan's Neutral attitude in Chinese Strife.

According to the *Asian Review*, the following statement, declaring a policy of strict neutrality and impartiality adopted in China by the Japanese Government has been issued by the Japanese Foreign Office :

"Since the outbreak of disturbance in Hunan, which had every promise of still further complicating the political situation of China, the Japanese Government have maintained an attitude of strict neutrality and impartiality, warning their officials and subjects resident in China against any action that might be taken for an interference in the political strife.

"As was feared, the situation has now been aggravated to a point where the provinces of northern China are threatened with the dire evils of military disturbance, the results of which nobody can foresee. As is customary in a situation like the present, there have been set afloat rumors that a certain group of Chinese approached Japanese capitalists with a secret demand for war expensés, and more recently it has been alleged that the Japanese Government are covertly backing one faction against the other. These rumors concerning the part which Japan is wantonly represented to be taking in the development of the disturbances have given rise to so much misunderstanding that it is even said that a conference or meeting is going to be held for the purpose of lodging a protest with the Japanese Government.

"The Japanese policy of non-interference and impartiality toward any internal feuds of China has on several occasions been declared. It may not, however, be amiss at the present moment to declare once more that that attitude of neutrality has not been and will not be changed, that the necessary instructions to that end have already been given to the civil and military officials in China and that the rumors and allegations above instanced are entirely groundless.

"As for the Japanese military officers who are in the employ of the Chinese Government for the purpose of training the Frontier Defence Army, nothing is farther from the truth than the inference that the Japanese military authorities are, through that medium, interfering in the internal political disturbances of China. These officers belonging to training schools which are quite independent from the Frontier Defence Army itself and are therefore shut out from a semblance of interference in the mobilization or disposition of that army. They were,

moreover, admonished by the Japanese Government at the outset of the present disturbance to have absolutely nothing to do with the activities of the Army. These instructions have been faithfully followed by these officers."

Germans under Foreign Rule.

The Asian Review writes :—

We in Japan were taught to believe, in the early stages of the last war, that Alsace-Lorraine, the bone of contention between France and Germany, was the cause of the world-conflagration. The Peace of Versailles has restored this French irredenta with its 300,000 French speaking men and women to the *patrie*. But as all students of international politics are aware, it has created at least half a dozen new Alsace-Lorraines throughout Europe.

By the new dispensation, 1,500,000 Germans have been made over to France along with her coveted districts, 1,600,000 Germans have to live as undesirable aliens in Poland, 3,600,000 Germans have become subjects of Czecho-Slovakia, 190,000 Germans have to bear the yoke of Jugoslavia, and 2,000,000 Germans are transferred to the kingdom of Roumania.

In each of these arrangements the peoples and provinces have been "bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere pawns in a game." And the nationalities affected (in the present instance, all of them Germans) are painfully conscious of the violations of President Wilson's grandiloquent speech on February 12, 1918.

British Policy about Palestine.

The same journal tells its readers :

We read in Reuter's London despatch of 20th June last: "With regard to Britain's interests in Palestine, he (Lord Curzon) said that Britain had there not only historic, traditional and religious interests, but above all an important strategic interest." This declaration, coming as it does from the lips of no less an authority than the British Foreign Secretary, should give food for thought to every lover of humanity. It clearly indicates that the British reactionaries had no other view in pleading the cause of the Jews than to make them a pawn in a game of international chess and secure a firm hold on Palestine in order to strengthen the defence of England's shortest sea-route to Asia. The utterances of Lord Curzon are indeed ominous. If the policy outlined therein is followed by England in future then the aspirations of our Jewish friends will not materialize and their position—at least in Palestine—will become manifestly worse. This is the situation.

Causes of China's sad Plight.

People are apt to attribute the cause of the present chaotic condition in China to the incapacity of the officials at the helm of the affairs of state. They lay the blame at the latter's door for all the troubles from which China is suffering, ignoring the fundamental factors which have brought about the critical situation there. Undoubtedly the government must shoulder the responsibility to a certain extent, but, in the opinion of the *Asian Review*, the chief drawbacks which prevent it from carrying out the desired reforms are the various limitations under which it is compelled to act.

Even in matters which are of purely domestic concern, China is denied the right to take necessary and legitimate action. The powers interfere with the most trifling matters. The consequence is that, on the one hand, the prestige and authority of the government are damaged, and, on the other hand, internal strife takes a new lease of life.

Recently there was the case of the Chinese newspaper *Vi Shih Pao* of Peking. Some indiscreet comments detrimental to the interests of China appeared in it. The Police searched the office and seized some documents. They wanted to examine the editor, a Chinese gentleman. The latter apprehending arrest went to the Legation quarter and put up at a foreign hotel where, because of the disgraceful law of extraterritoriality, the arms of Chinese law cannot reach so easily. The matter, however, was not to end there. The American Legation came

down upon the Chinese government with an emphatic protest for its unpardonable sin in searching the newspaper office without the previous consent of the American Minister, as the paper was owned by an American corporation. Similar cases involving nationals of other Powers very frequently happen in which the culprits who violate the Chinese law escape punishment under the cover of extraterritoriality.

Thus any paper can abuse, defame or threaten the government, or publish state secrets with impunity. The government, is utterly powerless to take any effective measures. The most it can do is to appeal to the good sense of the diplomatic representatives of the Powers. In such instances, however, miscarriage of justice usually occurs and the offenders go scotfree.

Under these circumstances, it is impossible for the Chinese government, hindered, as it is at every step in the exercise of its proper function, to unify the country and bring order out of chaos. For the deplorable state of affairs in China, the Powers are mostly, if not chiefly, responsible. So long as they follow their old tactics, China can never stand on her own legs.

A Correction.—With reference to our note on distress in flooded areas in our last issue, p. 463, Mr. Anil P. Som writes from Jamshedpur that the distress caused in Jamshedpur by flood in August last "was small and insignificant, compared to happenings in the other flood-stricken areas." "To the best of our knowledge, there is now no case of outstanding distress on account of the flood."

THE STARRY ISLES

Swift eyes are turning
Unto these shimmering islands,
Eyes that venture afar.

Look long, look earnestly,
Until the sun be set ;
Look through the rain of star on star
Down all the depth of night ;
Look through the laughter of the sea
That leaps the golden spears of light
At sunrise from dim cavern halls,
And winnowed into spindrift falls
Back to profundity.

Look long, until your eyes are bright
And tremulous with wonder,—yet

Not your the deeper sight

Not yours
The vision of all that endures
Through onrush, victory and dismay
To the world's eventide.
For ye shall traverse a strange land
Where is no beauty, no desire,
And ye shall pass through surging fire
Ere ye may ever understand
Whereunto they who guard this way
Have lived and fought and died.

O eyes that venture far, look long and
deeply
Unto these starry isles.

E. E. SPENCER

NOTES

New Zealand and Fiji.

The Government of India has decided that the Report of the Governor of Fiji concerning the disturbances in February and March was so full, that no further enquiry was needed. It should be noticed that the Governor's Report entirely exonerated officials and contained only the very mild statement that, if the C. S. R. Co. had increased their payments for the sugar labour and the sugarcane earlier, a strike might have been avoided. It contained no statement at all concerning the iniquity of heaping up colossal profits, year after year, while many of the Indian labourers were on the point of starvation.

The 'Round Table' is an Imperialist Quarterly, published in London, and it contains Reports each quarter from highly responsible authorities in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. The New Zealand authority is a strong imperialist, living in New Zealand itself. His account of the information that has reached him is of great interest, in the light of the decision of Sir George Barnes and the Viceroy of India to close the whole matter. In this note, I shall quote only a few salient passages, relating to a visit of forty-four members of the New Zealand Parliament, under the Chairmanship of Sir James Allen, the Minister for Defence. They came to Fiji, very shortly after the disturbances. The 'Round Table' authority writes as follows:

"The party also visited Fiji which, although a Crown Colony, has many ties with New Zealand. Suva, the capital, is only 1,100 miles from Auckland. New Zealand is entirely dependent on Fiji for its sugar supply: in the recent Indian strikes we sent a Government schooner with an armed force for use if necessary. Contrary to the wishes of Sir James Allen, the Labour members of the party made independent enquiries among the Indians as to the causes of the strike, a course which was assailed in some quarters as 'in bad taste' and vigorously supported by others (notably Labour) on the ground that the New

question, seeing that our aid had been invoked (i.e., military aid.—C. F. A.).

"The strike began with the workers of the Road Board, who objected to having to work nine hours a day instead of eight: it spread to the municipal labourers, Government employees, and domestic servants,—the central demand being for 5s. a day. The Indian women were especially active in inciting to strike, their organisation asserting that the value of the pre-war shilling was now 4d. Bands of strikers became threatening, there was shooting, and a woman was killed. At length they were over-awed and returned to work. About 200 convictions were registered, and a commission was promised to enquire into their demands (i.e., the local commission on wages.—C. F. A.).

"As was inevitable, the struggle engendered acute racial consciousness on both sides..... The whole affair was undoubtedly a reflex of the nationalist movement in India,—a movement, which combines certain political aspirations with a demand for the ordinary humane treatment of Indian subjects wherever they may be..... The Government took the easy course of ascribing the trouble to 'agitators' and ordered a Hindu Barrister to leave the affected area. But the matter cannot be cured thus. The nemesis of an economic policy of cheap Oriental labour and large profits is upon us, and, like the Negro problem of America, it will tax the resources of statesmanship to counter the results of its reckless immorality."

I have two remarks to make on the above, referring to the two passages which I have italicised.

(i) What can be said strongly enough to condemn the mis-statement of fact, that was put in the mouth of the Prince of Wales, who was reported to have said that he was glad to hear that in the recent disturbances racial questions had not been involved?

(ii) What can be said strongly enough to condemn the Government of India for conniving at and hushing up this disgraceful matter, about which the New Zealand authority in the *Round Table* writes—"The matter cannot be cured thus..... It will tax the resources of statesmanship to counter its reckless immorality?"

(C. F. A.)

• The Policy and Programme of Non-co-operation.

There has been some controversy in the

press as to whether the special Congress session in Calcutta has or has not approved of Mr. Gandhi's full programme of progressive non-violent non-co-operation. The Sub-committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee, consisting of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. V. J. Patel, to prepare the draft instructions regarding the Congress non-co-operation resolution, say in their report :—

"The Congress has approved of Mr. Gandhi's full programme of progressive non-violent non-co-operation, but has adopted for immediate use the items in the first stage only. The Congress is to determine the pace for the remaining three stages, viz., resignation of civil employment and military employment and suspension of payment of taxes."

Mr. Patel, in his separate note, says, he regrets he cannot see his way to accept the suggestion contained in the report that the Congress has approved of Mr. Gandhi's full programme of non-co-operation and that having adopted the first stage for immediate application it has merely to determine later on the pace for the remaining three stages. According to the Associated Press service, Mr. Lajpat Rai also takes strong exception to the statement that the Congress have approved of the whole of Mr. Gandhi's programme.

The truth is, in the draft of the non-co-operation resolution as printed on the agenda paper—and we believe the resolution was accepted by the Congress as drafted without any substantial change—the words used are :

"This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and *Swarajya* is established."

So it was the *policy* of non-co-operation which was approved of, not the *programme*. And it is easy to understand that men may agree as to a policy but may not agree as to the things that should be done, which constitute the programme, to give effect to the policy.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that it is a great pity that the Congress Secretaries do not appear to have sup-

plied to the press the exact text of all the Congress resolutions *as passed*.

Boycott of Foreign Goods.

The Congress non-co-operation resolution advised, among other things, the boycott of foreign goods. There was no qualifying word used to show whether this boycott was to be gradual, whether only particular classes of foreign goods or all foreign goods were to be boycotted, etc. We pointed out in our last issue how impracticable, undesirable and ridiculous this advice was. We wonder how any sane man could either propose or accept this part of the resolution in its unqualified form. The members of Congress sub-committee have perceived the mistake made, but all of them have not had the straightforwardness to admit it. According to the Associated Press of India, "regarding the boycott of foreign goods the committee state that the item was an unfortunate interpolation due to a misapprehension....." But in the sub-committee's report as printed in the *Mahratta* the words, "This clause was an unfortunate interpolation due to a misapprehension," occur in one of the paragraphs coming after the thick type heading "Mr. Nehru's Note", to which, nevertheless, puzzlingly enough, the signatures of all the three members are affixed ! However, as Mr. Patel says distinctly in his note, "I cannot endorse the view that this clause [relating to the boycott of foreign goods] is an unfortunate interpolation due to a misapprehension," either Mr. Nehru or both he and Mr. Gandhi are responsible for the view that it is an interpolation due to a misapprehension. As Mr. Gandhi has not said that it is not an interpolation, we are disposed to think that both he and Mr. Nehru hold that it is. We are surprised how anybody can make such an inaccurate statement. Will the two gentlemen concerned say, who interpolated the clause, when, and under what misapprehension ? If it was an interpolation, how did it find a place on the printed agenda paper of the Congress, and how and why did Mr. Gandhi move the resolution including the clause with his eyes

open and in the full possession of his senses? The resolution was before the public for more than a fortnight before the publication of the sub-committee's report, and during that period nobody made the faintest suggestion of any interpolation in it. Mr. Lajpat Rai, who presided over the Congress and ought to know, "takes strong exception to the statement that the clause relating to foreign goods was an unfortunate interpolation due to misapprehension. It was, he says, neither an interpolation nor passed under misapprehension. It was proposed by Mr. Gandhi in open Congress and passed." Even Mr. Gandhi did not suggest the interpolation theory in what he wrote in *Young India*, dated September 15, 1920, viz. :—

Boycott of foreign goods finds a place in my resolution. I am sorry for it. I may not state how it came to find a place there. But as it did not conflict with my conscience, and in order to show my reasonableness, I undertook to move a resolution whose musical harmony was marred by a false note. Boycott of foreign cloth is included in Swadeshi. Boycott of all other foreign goods is a senseless proposition if only because it is a virtual impossibility. But if the introduction of the addendum stimulates us to sacrifice our luxuries and superfluities, it would have served a good purpose. It is certainly our right and duty to discard everything foreign that is superfluous and even everything foreign that is necessary if we can produce or manufacture it in our country.

Nobody has questioned this "right and duty". But in the case of things that are necessary, is it not to be expected that wise men would make the discarding of a particular foreign article of that description dependent on the condition "if (and when) we can produce or manufacture it in our country"? The Congress did no such thing.

When the unwisdom of a thing is fully perceived by its authors, the right course to adopt is to call a mistake a mistake, a manœuvre a manœuvre, or an unwise act an unwise act. We do not expect any Indian leader to have recourse to terminological inexactitudes or clever subterfuges to save his or anybody else's face.

On the general principles and policy of boycotting foreign goods, we have expressed our opinion in our last issue.

Boycott of Recognised and Affiliated Schools and Colleges.

On the "gradual boycott of Government or Government-controlled schools and colleges and establishment of national schools and colleges," the report of the sub-committee contains, in part, the following instructions :—

This step ought really to be the easiest, because the parents of children receiving education, as also grown-up boys and girls receiving education, have taken keen interest in the politics of the country. And yet this step has been considered by many to be almost impossible of accomplishment because of the rooted bias in favour of these Schools and Colleges. It must, however, be clear to any one who is anxious to attain Swarajya within a measurable period, that, unless we are able to dispense with Government employment, which the collegedegrees promise, we cannot reach our goal for generations to come. The only way to become independent of Government employ and to evolve a truly National culture is to create a want for National Schools by emptying the present Government schools, which give but an indifferent education, teach us false history and take no note of the National want. We have therefore no hesitation in advising immediate withdrawal of boys and girls from Schools and Colleges, and till National Institutions spring into being, reliance should be placed upon private education and where even that education is not available or possible for want of means, boys should be apprenticed to patriotic merchants or artisans.

No nation which is not self-governing has yet been able to teach its children according to a system and methods of education evolved or approved by itself in schools and colleges under its control. In self-ruling countries also, "which have an organised system of education, the great majority of schools and colleges are dependent upon public revenue. The larger part of education is thus in a considerable degree a public service." (Sir M. Sadler.) Therefore national autonomy ought to precede the establishment of a network of "national" schools and colleges all over the country. But as even in a country under foreign rule, truly independent educational institutions, however small their number, have a useful function, we are not opposed to their establishment, though for reasons stated in our last issue, we are opposed to its being connected with a political propaganda.

As the leaders of the non-co-operation movement hold that "this step ought to be the easiest," there would be no harm in placing certain facts before the public to

enable it to form some idea of the magnitude of the task. In the official publication titled "Indian Education in 1918-19", it is stated that the number of pupils in all grades and kinds of institutions in British India was 7,936,577 on the 31st March, 1919. These formed only 3.25 per cent. of the total population of British India. In progressive self-ruling countries the percentage of the population under instruction is much higher. For example, in the United States of America in the year 1913 (figures for any more recent years are not at hand) 21.22 per cent. of the total population were under instruction; at present the figure must be higher. This shows our backwardness in education. It shows that if we want to educate as large a proportion of our boys and girls and young men and young women as the United States was educating *seven years ago*, we shall have to teach nearly seven times as many pupils as were under instruction in our schools and colleges last year. But to provide educational accommodation in "national" institutions only for the nearly eighty lakhs taught last year in recognised and affiliated institutions would be a gigantic task. The number of Government and Government-controlled institutions in which they were taught was 197347. The amount spent for them from public funds was Rs. 7,17,26,292 and that from private funds Rs. 5,81,36,781, total Rs. 12,98,63,073. This means that if "national" institutions are provided for the 80 lakhs of pupils already under instruction, the nation will have to pay Rs. 7,17,26,792 twice,—once in the form of taxes to Government (for Government will not remit any tax whether we have our own schools or not), and again for the up-keep of national institutions. In addition to the money required for their maintenance, large amounts will be required for constructing suitable buildings for them.

Supposing the nation is able to afford this enormous *extra* expenditure of money, the question arises as to how best to spend it and for whose education. The sub-committee are for emptying the existing Government-controlled institutions and

then teaching their pupils in national institutions. Their reasons are stated in the extract given above. One reason is that the parents of these pupils and the grown-up male and female students have become politically-minded or have had political consciousness roused in them, and, therefore, they would agree readily to boycott the existing institutions. But this only explains why it would be easy to empty the existing schools and colleges, it does not tell us why they are to be emptied. The fact of the birth and existence of political consciousness being granted, our conclusion would be different from that of the sub-committee. We would say that as in spite of the teaching of "false history" and other defects of the present institutions the grown-up boys and girls in them have become politically-minded and patriotic and the guardians also are so, they do not require so much attention as do the masses who and whose children are illiterate and not yet as politically-minded as the literate classes. Therefore, if we be able to spend any considerable amounts for national education, we should devote ourselves not so much to the emptying of the existing institutions and starting in their place national institutions for teaching their pupils, as to the provision of school accommodation for the unschooled classes and to attracting them to these, in order, among other objects, to rouse in them political consciousness and patriotism. We know education has other ends besides rousing political consciousness, but as the present movement in favour of national schools is political in origin, we speak only of the political object. One of the reasons urged for not granting self-government to Indians is that the politically-minded class is a small minority, the vast majority being indifferent to politics. We need not for our present purpose try to ascertain the extent of this indifference, nor discuss whether the reason assigned for withholding self-rule is really a reason or a pretext. What is undeniable is that it would be of great advantage to rouse political consciousness in and give sound

political education to the masses. To some extent this is possible without literacy, as the present unrest among the masses, caused by economic and political world forces, shows. But literacy and the education built upon that foundation are needed, if political education is to be sound, far-reaching and productive of good results.

The other reasons given by the sub-committee are that, (1) in order to attain swarajya within a measurable period we must be able to dispense with Government employment which the college degrees promise, (2) that the only way to become independent of Government employ is to create a want for National schools by emptying the present Government schools, (3) that the only way to evolve a truly national culture is to create a want for National schools by emptying the present Government schools, and (4) that the present Government schools give but an indifferent education, teach us false history and take no note of the national want.

(1) The college degrees do not promise Government employment, though some degree-holders—neither all nor a majority of degree-holders—get Government employment. By dispensing with Government employment swarajya can be attained within a measurable period, if all persons at present employed by Government gave up their posts and no successors could be found for them, or if no successors could be found for them after their death or retirement on pension. But neither of these two contingencies seems probable. One underlying idea in the mind of the sub-committee is probably this, that by emptying the present Government-controlled schools and colleges we can cut off at its source the supply of future Government officials after the retirement of the present batch of them and so bring about a deadlock in the administrative machinery which would end in the bureaucracy parleying with us and giving us what we want. But at present there are considerable numbers of men educated in the Government schools who are not in Government employ but

who would be glad to be so employed. So even if there be no fresh admissions into Government schools and colleges, these persons would suffice to run the administration for 15 or 20 years to come. Therefore no surrender on the part of the bureaucracy need be expected soon. If it be said that these men who are not now in Government employ are so impregnated with nationalism that they will not accept Government service, well then, that would prove that even education in Government schools does not prevent large numbers of men from becoming so nationalistic as to refuse tempting offers of good jobs, and therefore the boycott of Government-controlled schools and colleges is not an essential condition precedent to the attainment of swarajya. There is another point to be borne in mind. The few national schools that are in existence teach English, and others which may be founded are also likely to teach English. If Government did not at some future time find a sufficient number of recruits for its offices from the ranks of men educated in schools and colleges under its control, nothing would stand in the way of its employing persons trained in national institutions. Would every one or a large proportion of the latter refuse Government posts? As far as we are aware that has not invariably been the case with persons connected with national institutions.

The number of persons employed by the Government *plus* their dependents was a little more than four millions according to the census of 1911. This number included soldiers and municipal and village officials. The number of Government employees alone (not including dependants) cannot then ordinarily be more than a million. The total population of British India is more than 244 millions. Swarajya can, we presume, be attained, if four millions or one million be indifferent or hostile, and 240 in deadly earnest to win it.

(2) "The only way to become independent of Government employ" pointed out by the sub-committee does not appear to us to be the only way. We who have been

educated in Government and Government-controlled schools and colleges and lots of others similarly educated have been independent of Government employ all our lives. And the vast majority of the population, as shown in previous paragraphs, have never been in Government employ. And they have also never either filled or emptied either Government or national schools.

Swarajya can be attained even if the classes who have a liking for Government service and who have hitherto been employed by Government be left severely alone.

(3) "The only way to evolve a truly national culture" is not the one pointed out by the sub-committee. One way—it may or may not be the only way—is, first, to think out and determine what is national culture, secondly, to formulate a system and elaborate methods for imparting this culture, and thirdly, to establish independent schools and by giving education there according to that system and those methods to prove the superiority of national to "official" education. All this cannot be done by those who are in the thick of a political struggle. Government schools cannot be emptied merely by repeating the words "national culture" as a sort of *mantra* spell. People will not give up even an inferior thing which is certain for what is given out as superior but which is uncertain.

Mr. Gandhi and his followers have too many irons in the fire. It is not possible to attend calmly, deeply and thoroughly to so many things. Our professors and teachers are poorly paid. But that does not justify a tacit belief that education is neither an art nor a science, that knowledge of education comes by itself, and that an amateurish omniscience is equal to all tasks, including the evolving of "a truly national culture" by political propagandists in the intervals of political campaigns.

(4) It is quite true that the present Government schools give but an indifferent education, teach us history which is false to a considerable extent, and take no note of all national wants. But, as we have

said before, an amateurish omniscience cannot suffice to evolve a better educational system than the present official one, cannot suffice to carry on or direct historical research with a view to writing and teaching true history and cannot suffice to take note of and attend to the many-sided wants of the nation, spiritual, physical, moral, intellectual, cultural, industrial, &c.

That history may be false in two ways is exemplified by the historical text-books in use in our schools and colleges and by some of the historical books and articles written by our countrymen. The officially approved text-books minimise the importance of and blacken the pre-British periods of Indian history and whitewash the British period and magnify its importance and beneficence. The true origins of British rule in India and the true meaning and inwardness of British policy cannot be learnt from the official text-books. They are mostly pictures of the lion painted by himself or by his hangers-on. On the other hand, some patriotic history is false because of its concealing or whitewashing the darker side of our national life in pre-British days. But commonsense suffices to convince one that a large and populous country like India, inhabited by some of the most martial peoples in the world, could not have been brought under the yoke of strangers if there had not been great national sins and shortcomings. These we ought to know and purge ourselves of in order to be strong again. But some patriotic historical writers would keep us in ignorance of them and feed us on false history. That is not the kind of history we want. A truly and severely impartial history of India cannot be written by men with a strong political bias such as political propagandists have and must have. In fact, it is only independent and free nations who can write true history, though they generally also write false imperialistic history.

Not being lawyers, we are not sure whether a true Indian history of the British period can be published in India without bringing the book and its author

printer and publisher within the clutches of the press laws, pecal code, etc.

What can be at once *begun* to be done and what we can afterwards go on doing continually and gradually is to expose *some* of the lies, suppressions of facts, exaggerations, &c., of the official text-books, and to make known all those facts relating to Hindu, Buddhist and Musalman rule, culture and civilization which we ought to know but which are not to be found in the official text-books. This work has been done to some extent by some of our journalists and historical writers.

In the case of the majority of the 80 lakhs of pupils of the present schools and colleges, the guardians cannot, either for want of means or for want of capacity and leisure, provide private education. As for apprenticing boys to patriotic merchants or artizans, have we got a sufficient number of them willing and able to teach and accommodate such a large number of apprentices in their shops and workshops? Supposing the boys can be apprenticed, what of the girls? Moreover, if apprenticed to our merchants and artizans, boys can receive only an inferior kind of vocational training. There is only a small number of big up-to-date merchants and up-to-date artizans among Indians. Another thing that the sub-committee appear to ignore is that merchants and artizans can teach only their own particular business, not literature, geography, history, mathematics, philosophy, science, the fine arts, &c. These are, we presume, parts of "a truly national culture."

We are aware that in this note our criticism has not been of the constructive kind. Nevertheless we believe we are not hostile to "national culture." Our object in writing what we have done is to make men think before hastily and light-heartedly assuming that the promotion of national education and culture is an easy task.

In the moulding of national character, education at school and college does certainly tell, but it is all that matters. But it certainly not seems to be frequently taken for granted that for the determination of public opinion and the direction of the

human spirit all that matters is what is taught in schools and colleges and how it is taught. Had that been true, the national spirit which manifests itself in the non-co-operation movement would never have been born. For surely our bureaucrat-controlled education in our present schools and colleges never worked towards such an end, but rather, on the contrary, has all along tried to prevent such an untoward result. What has happened has happened in spite of the schools and colleges. Therefore, though we are undoubtedly in favour of independent schools and colleges, we do not certainly see any cause for despair if our formal education in school and college continues to be controlled for some years more by the bureaucracy. Let them do what they can within the schools and the colleges during the hours of tuition, provided we do our utmost by our newspapers, periodicals and books for home study and other means to influence and mould the ideas, thoughts and opinions of young and old alike. In order that we may do so effectively we should be always against residential schools, colleges and universities under Government control. Our views as expressed above find support from what Sir Michael Sadler has written in the August number of *Indian Education* on a different subject. Says he:—

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has formed an Education Committee, which proposes to establish a Permanent International Council for Education and Popular Enlightenment. The Council is to consist of "the best pedagogues of the day and well-known social and peace workers." Its aim will be "to develop amongst nations a mode of feeling and thinking upon which can be founded a condition of international justice and trust." Quite truly the promoters of the movement say that such a spirit will not spring forth suddenly and spontaneously but must be created by work among the younger generation in schools. It is there that "the principles of mutuality and co-operation" must be proclaimed and the belief in "new humanistic ideals" engendered. The organisers of the new International Council point out that "it would be of little use if in one country young people were educated to regard their native land as a part of the great community of nations where all are connected by common bonds whilst in another country young people were educated to narrow-minded chauvinistic methods of thought." There must be some authority which could act in all countries as "an internal corrective" and "as a regulator and corrective."

On this Sir Michael Sadler observes :—

Whenever the world is in the throes of a great moral conflict and is disturbed by economic revolution, some sanguine people conceive the hope of producing spiritual unity by means of education. It was so in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century, and again in the latter half of the eighteenth. Superficially, education looks like a great force which can be quietly harnessed and directed to a single end. In reality it is hard to canalise and is itself the object of rival ambitions. If one group can use it for peace, another group can use it for war. But neither group can win the mastery over it. The task of gaining control over the educational system even of a single country is too costly and difficult. Human nature is recalcitrant. Ethical aims are discordant. Public opinion affects schools at least as much as schools affect public opinion. Schools interpret rather than create. If they are free, their influence is various. If they are under control, they exaggerate what they are ordered to communicate in the way of political ideals, or they attempt to evade the task by half-hearted obedience to orders. What in the long run determines public opinion is the movement of the human spirit, not lessons given in school. You can improve the lessons : that is the work of educational science. You can secure a hearing for those who have principles to teach : that is the work of statesmanship in a free commonwealth. But you cannot permanently direct the course of the human spirit by educational devices or by administrative regulation. [The italics are ours. Ed., M. R.]

The Boycott of Law Courts.

There can be no question that the increase of litigation is a great evil. If the volume of litigation is small in any country in spite of facilities for instituting law-suits, it speaks volumes in favour of the character of its inhabitants. Litigation should be diminished by the improvement of the character of the people and other means. We are in general agreement with the object aimed at by the sub-committee in the following passage in their report :—

The increase of litigation is an acknowledged evil. That litigation keeps pace with the increase of lawyers is also a fairly established fact. That a Government wields tremendous powers through its law-courts and its system of punishments is also equally true. When there is a real national awakening amongst the masses, it must be reflected in the statistics of crime and civil suits. A nation which has set its heart upon gaining self-determination, can have little time for private quarrels, civil or criminal, and it must be the duty of every one and specially of those who are versed in law to bring about such a state of affairs. Moreover, hitherto lawyers have controlled (and very properly) public agitation in the law courts. They do not give their whole time and

affairs, and assuming that the lawyers remain in charge of public movements the establishment of Swarajya must be indefinitely postponed. It is absolutely necessary for reaching out into the immediate future that lawyers should leave their practice.

The sub-committee want that lawyers should devote their whole time to public affairs by suspending their practice. At the same time they say :

Those who do so and who require to be supported can be easily supported by the Nation either utilising their services for the National School in connection with private arbitration or for propaganda work.

Lawyers who would work as teachers in national schools or in connection with private arbitration, would not be whole-time political workers, which the sub-committee want them to be.

The policy and method advocated by the sub-committee is to empty the present Government-controlled schools and colleges and establish national institutions in their place ; and in the latter ex-lawyers are to be employed as teachers. May be asked, what employment and means of earning an income would the teachers and professors of emptied Government-controlled institutions, thrown out of employment, have ? Is no thought to be taken for them ? In 1911, the total number of those whose occupation was educational work or work connected with schools, including dependants, was 5,30,579 ; the number of those who lived by practising law or doing work in connection with law practice, including dependants, was 2,55,663. Supposing the non-co-operation succeeded in their efforts, that would involve the deprivation of 5,30,579 persons of their means of support and the provision of new means of support for 2,55,663 at the most. That is certainly not intended by any national leader. It was only an oversight which led the sub-committee not to think what would become of teachers and others connected with education, thrown out of employment.

Boycott of Councils.

The following observations of the sub-committee on the boycott of Councils are of great force :

and requires the greatest concentration of energy. People at large cannot understand the meaning of Non-co-operation if the best workers seek election to the councils. The Reform Act has not been framed so as to grant immediate Swarajya. Whenever Swarajya comes, it will not come as a free-will offering from the British people, but it will come when the demand becomes irresistible. A force of an irresistible character, we contend, cannot be generated on the floor of the reformed councils. It will have to be generated by an incessant education of the electorate and those who are outside the electoral rolls.

The Indian Viceroyalty.

Every now and then a cry is raised that what India wants is a royal viceroy. India wants nothing of the sort. If Indians ever were children, they have long ceased to be, and these baubles cannot now deceive and please them. *The Times* has come out with the latest prescription. In the course of an editorial article dealing with the viceroyalty it says that the issues at stake are too great to make so high an office the reward of party services or of satisfaction of personal claims. Some previous experience of India and the East would seem advisable in its opinion, and it might be expedient, it observes, to appoint a Civil Servant of exceptional eminence already possessing the confidence of the people of India. There are two or three very able Civilians, it says, answering to this description. We do not know of any such. It matters very little, the *Times* thinks, whether the new Viceroy is a Peer or a Commoner. There we agree. *The Indian Daily News* is perhaps right in suggesting that the heart of the London paper is so full of the milk of sympathy for the Civil Service because probably it has somehow found a clue as to a likely candidate whom the Northcliffe Press does not like.

In course of its leading article the "Times" further says with reference to the choice of a viceroy that the matter should not be postponed, as canvassing of names is no longer profitable. The view that "never before has it been so important to choose the right man" is at present no mere conventional declaration, for a mistake now might have grievous consequences. Parliamentary experience is, perhaps, an additional qualification. The best choice would appear to lie among men

already in India or men here with special knowledge of Indian affairs. There are at present in India three Governors of provinces all unusually successful administrators with considerable Parliamentary experience, two of whom have been familiar not only with India but with the atmosphere of most eastern countries almost from boyhood.

We do not recognise that any Governor now in India, far from being "unusually successful," has been even tolerably successful. Not one has been able to cope with the serious problem of sanitation of the rural and urban areas and thus to reduce the death-rate. Not one has been able to grapple with the economic situation leading to chronic mal-nutrition, semi-nudity, bad housing, and phenomenal illiteracy. Not one has been able to allay unrest, or to tackle the problem of strikes. The questions of finance, currency, exchange, &c., lie beyond the powers of the Governors to deal with. But even if they had the power, we do not think any one of them would have succeeded where the Viceroy and his cabinet have failed. For these English rulers have to look and do look at these problems from the angle of vision of the British capitalists and other British exploiters, whose idea is that, however enormous India's loss may be, Britain and Britishers must not lose a farthing. So there is "high finance" resulting in what is practically organised plunder of India.

Viceroyalties of all sorts may come and go; but none of them will be able to solve the problem of India, until it is recognised that the ultimate solution can lie in nothing short of independence and freedom for India. The goal of India is that Indians must be masters in their own house, both in internal and foreign affairs. They must man and control both the civil administration and the military, naval and air forces maintained at India's cost. In the meantime the Government of India Act should be so amended as to make it statutorily obligatory to give India Dominion Home Rule within the next ten years. We cannot wait for our re-incarnation in the distant and indefinite future, if that

happens at all, to see India free. We feel and know that we are fit to be free during our present life-time. Having attained Dominion Home Rule, India would be fit to judge for herself whether she would retain the British connection or cut the painter. At present the protestations of Indian politicians that they wish to remain "within the Empire" may proceed from expediency and various other motives. It is only when men are free to choose and give unfettered expression to their choice that self-determination can be a reality and not a sham.

Dr. J. D. Anderson on Bengali Literature.

Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (Retired), on whom the University of Cambridge has conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature, has taught the Bengali language and literature for years at Cambridge and London. He is deeply interested in the development of this language and literature, and loses no occasion to draw the attention of the British public to its growth. His latest views on the subject appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* for July 8, 1920, page 438, wherein he wrote, in part :—

"It happens that the first volume of a new series of Cambridge Guides to Modern Languages is a little manual of the Bengali language. It is much to be hoped that this is a tacit academical recognition of the fact that our forty-five millions of Bengali fellow-subjects possess a great modern literature already comparable with those of the nations of Europe, and full of a promise which in some Western nations has for the time been ruined by the political and social results of war. It is a misfortune that Bengali literature is known to us almost exclusively through the translated works of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, whose novels, and especially his admirable "Gora," are really part and parcel of a modern form of literary art in which Bengal stands apart from other Indian nations and provinces, a new modern literature which deserves the same attentive and respectful study that we give to the fiction of France and Germany. And since Rabindranath's prose, in its artful artlessness, in its sly and subtle humour, is notoriously difficult to put into adequate English, Bengali literature will not come by its own in the incurious West until the work of other, if minor, writers has been translated.....

Again :—

".....Bengalis in their own homes are a good-humoured and cheerful race, very acutely conscious of and amused by the odd contrasts presented by the modern mingling of Christian and Hindu culture. Europeanized they are, yet they remain Hindu at



J. D. ANDERSON, D. LITT.

heart, retaining much of the classical sentiment which similarly survives in the life and literature of our own Latin races, much of that old attitude towards the problems of life which finds philosophical and religious expression in a contented and, indeed, happy Pantheism. Surely it is we Britons, and not Frenchmen or Teutons, who should introduce this modernized, Europeanized Indian literature to the Western world. It owes its new Renaissance to English poets and novelists. It is a lovely Hindu graft on the sturdy English stem, for all its tropical exuberance and fragrance. Surely we should be proud that in the British Empire we have now at least two great literatures. It is not to our credit that, while Bengalis eagerly assimilate our literature, old and new, there are few Britons who recognize that Rabindranath Tagore is not the only Bengali poet or novelist.....there are others, who if they had written in French and German, would probably have had a world-wide reputation."

Woman Suffrage Goes Ahead in Bombay.

The women of Bombay could hitherto vote for the election of municipal councillors. Henceforth they would also themselves be entitled to become municipal councillors. This is as it should be. We have not the least doubt that Bombay will be a gainer by this act of justice to her women. The disfranchisement of

women as women is un-Indian. There is convincing historical and archaeological evidence that in times past our women could and did sit in village councils and many other elective bodies. And that they should do so is quite reasonable too. Even very conservative people hold that the special sphere of work of women is the making of homes, and keeping them wholesome and pure, and the care of children. Giving full value to this very conservative view, one may ask, why a city, the home of its citizens, should not have the service of its women citizens, to make it beautiful and to keep it healthy and pure. If the fathers of children can become City Fathers and do good work as such, why cannot the mothers of children be City Mothers and render good service in that capacity? Surely the Motherhood of Woman is not meant to confine the beneficence of maternal love only to the children of her own womb. She has the will and the power to do good to other women's children also.

Mr. Gandhi and Work.

The October number of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* contains an article on Mr. M. K. Gandhi by Mr. S. C. Mookerjee, in which the writer repeats what the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale told him with reference to Mr. Gandhi's ideas of hospitality. Says Mr. Mookerjee :

"There in South Africa Mr. Gokhale's guide was Mahatma Gandhi, and their earlier acquaintance ripened into a fast friendship. On his return Mr. Gokhale used humorously to tell his friends here about the heartless tyranny of the Mahatma as a South African host—that the Mahatma, without regard for the outraged feelings of his guest in the matter, used to insist upon himself doing the very menial servants' work, not excluding that of the sweeper's, for the guest, whose rebelliousness on that account was checked by the Mahatma by the following remark:—'That as regards a piece of work which had to be done and got through there was no highness or lowness about it—if a piece of work was thought to be too dirty and low for him (the Mahatma), it should be regarded as too dirty and low even for the poor sweeper, who was just as much a human being as he himself (the Mahatma).'"

Mr. Gandhi has always been prepared to accept and has always actually accepted

for himself the direct logical outcome of his principles, whatever hardship and breach of social convention it may involve. This, combined with his utter sincerity, the austere simplicity of his life and his readiness to serve the people at all cost and sacrifice, explains his unparalleled hold over his countrymen. No trick or posing can give such influence to any leader.

Increase of Population of U. S. A.

It has been officially announced that the recent census shows that the population of the United States of America is at present 105,500,000, an increase of over fourteen per cent. compared with the last census. This great increase is all the more remarkable as during the period of the war emigration to America from Europe was greatly checked.

Presidential Address of Mr. C. F. Andrews at the Bihari Students' Conference.

The Bihari Students' Conference has been the first institution of its kind in India. No other province, we believe, holds the same kind of conference every year. This year it was held at Daltonganj, with Mr. C. F. Andrews as its president. He chose as the theme of his elevating address the question "How can I serve my Motherland?" for that is the question which, he said, was put to him almost every week by some young student or other. The answer that he gave at the conclusion of the address is quoted below in full.

And now if you ask again the question : How can I serve my Motherland? I can only tell you : Seek and you will find, ask and you will receive, knock and it shall be opened to you. The way can only be found by patient earnest search, by uncompromising following of ideals, by strictest adherence to the Truth.

My own answer I have found after very many years of anxious search, in *Shantiniketan*, the Abode of Peace. There I have listened, in silence, for the ultimate word of Truth. As the Poet sang of her :

"The stillness of her shades is stirred by the woodland whisper.
Her *amlaki* groves are a quiver with the rapture of leaves.



MR. C. F. ANDREWS

U. Ray & Sons, Calcutta.

She dwells in us and around us, however far we may wander.
She weaves our hearts in a song, making us one in music."

In the silence of her skies and in the peace of her groves and in the companionship of boys and teachers I have found a nearer vision of the Truth than in the busy money-making world. And what I have been trying to do all this while, in speaking to you from my heart, is to help you, each one of you, if I can, to seek and find your *shantiniketan*, your own abode of peace, where you too can hear in the silence the Ultimate Word of Truth. I can wish for you no better boon on earth than this and I can desire for you no better way to serve your motherland.

The steps leading to this answer should be known in order that one may be impressed with its convincing power. These we shall give in an abridged form.

HOW CAN I SERVE MY MOTHERLAND ?

We have had the political answer often given of late to our question, and many have devoted their lives to politics in the service of their Motherland. Many too have devoted their lives to Social Service in the same cause and have done most noble work. But practical experience has shown me, that neither of these two answers goes deep enough, or far enough, to bring me that inner peace, which gives assurance of the Truth and in which alone the heart of man can ultimately rest.

Both these paths were trodden in my younger days. But the doubt always haunted me : "Is this the Ultimate Truth which I am seeking ; Or is it only some form of Expediency after all ?"

IS IT ULTIMATE TRUTH ?

More and more, I have grown older in that hardly-bought wisdom, which only comes after heart-breaking failure and unsuccessful attempt, and I have learnt the lesson, that the political motive and the social motive, however generously and patriotically held, when separated from the highest motive of all,—the search for the Infinite Truth, are vanity and vexation of spirit. They are not sufficient, in themselves, to bring about a real national regeneration. The wheel comes round full circle and swings backward. It sweeps away any temporary success in a great reaction.

That brought him to the idea of progress, and he asked :

Is it an invariable sequence, that each political or social revolution leads forward ? May not these movements often lead backward ? Is there not such a thing as retrogression ? Our modern conception of history seems to involve that we have only to extend political rights and to ame-

liorate social conditions, and the progress is assured. But the story of mankind lends itself to no such facile interpretations. We have the actual, historical records of vast civilisations of by-gone days, which became retrograde and vanished. There are ruins of civilisations in Africa with nothing but savage life around them. We have records of dead civilisations.

THE EMPIRES OF THE PAST.

To take instances, the Egyptian dynasties passed away almost entirely into oblivion. Archaeologists are only deciphering to-day the hieroglyphics which tell of their magnificence. The Babylonian Empire was no less imposing than that of Egypt. Its engineering devices, for irrigating and cultivating the plains, were marvels of scientific skill. Yet for more than 2,500 years, Babylon has been a heap of ruins, and its wonderful scientific irrigation has been utterly destroyed. The Roman civilisation went further in law-giving and political franchise than either Babylon or Egypt. Rome gave full citizenship in the course of time to all its different races. It gave also the privileges of an equal franchise and a common equal law. Yet the Roman Empire declined and fell, when the time came, in spite of its gift of political and social rights and its equality of legal privilege.

EUROPE'S DECLINE AND FALL.

Many of the sanest thinkers in Europe and many of her most eminent writers are asking the question openly in the light of recent events and in the face of all the destruction wrought by the Great War, whether the decline and fall of the new Empire of the West has not already begun.

From the story of these dead civilisations Mr. Andrews passed on to tell of two civilisations which, though hoary with age, still survive.

In India a noble civilisation began at least 3,500 years ago. This civilisation still survives in all its essential qualities down to the present day. Long before Greece and Rome were heard of in history, the *Vedas* and *Upanishads* had been composed, and the unique culture which they imply had flourished. To take one other date, the great Buddhist Movement, which was to transform all Asia, had its origin and early growth before the age of Pericles at Athens.

It is no empty phrase, therefore, to call India the "Mother" among the civilisations of the world. She gave with both her hands to China and the Far East out of her own spiritual wealth. She also implanted seeds of thoughts, of philosophy and religion, in the soil of Persia and Greece.

INDIA'S PERPETUAL YOUTH.

Egypt has perished utterly. But India which was their contemporary, has not perished. She

is still producing men of genius in religion, philosophy and art. This vast antiquity and perpetual youth of India is a phenomenon almost unique in the history of mankind. There is only one other fact, as far as I am aware, that can be compared with it, and that is the history of China : and Chinese civilisation owed its greatest religious debt to India.

How do India and China differ from the West ? Why have they renewed their youth so often in the long course of their history ?

The answer is to be found in the spirit of the East :

The more we think out the problem, the less shall we be satisfied with any merely political explanation. It has certainly not been India's political structure that has saved her from extinction. Again, when we come to her social institutions, the answer is no less clear. For while the caste system has had its uses and conveniences in the far distant past, India's greatest thinkers have almost universally acknowledged, that in later times caste has been an actual dead-weight upon progress.

What then is the salt, without which Indian civilisation would long ago have lost its savour ? The deep religious spirit which made countless Indian thinkers and saints ready to sacrifice all that earth holds dear, if only they could attain to the Truth. In India the religious motive, which lies deepest of all and at the back of all as the very source and fount of inspiration, has been always vitally active. This has been the salt of purification, which has again and again renewed India and saved Indian civilisation from decay. And what I have written about India, has been true also of China in a lesser degree.

Mr. Andrews found one more striking example of the spirit of the East in the Jews of Asia.

When the immensely powerful Roman Empire was at its height and had crushed all external opposition, a small nation, called the Jews, had lately been reduced in outward appearance to complete subjection. This had not been the first of its outward defeats. It had been crushed by every imperial power in turn,—the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Assyrian, the Greek, the Roman.

Yet at the very time when this last Roman subjection had reached its uttermost point, it was a Jew named Jesus who gave the world one of its greatest religions.

Here, in the Jews of Asia, we have yet again another people of Asia, whose true genius has been ever set towards religion. The reason why the Jews have never been finally defeated, although they have been scattered over the face of the earth, has been the same as that of India. Their deeply implanted religious instinct

has preserved them. This has been the salt of their national life that has kept them from extinction.

THE SECRET OF ASIA'S GREATNESS.

The more I have thought over this historical problem of Asia, the cradles of all noble civilisations and the birth-place of all noble religions, the more convincingly the conclusion has come home to me that it is because her peoples as a whole are fundamentally religious, that they have survived while others have perished. It is no accident which has brought about the well-known historical fact, that the founders of every world religion that has ever flourished in human history were born without any exception in Asia.

THE MODERN PERIL.

If, however, the time should come when the peoples of Asia, hypnotised by the material power of the West, should abandon their own God-given function of creative life in religion, then I cannot tell you how great would be the fall, not only for Asia itself, but for the whole world.

Reverting to India, Mr. Andrews said :—

I have a profound faith, based on experience, that India in our present generation has a spiritual message of supreme value to give to mankind.

MATERIALISM IN INDIA.

But there is materialism to-day which has infected the very air we breathe.

THE SOUL OF RELIGION.

I do not think that, in order to avoid materialism in life and conduct, it is necessary to remain strictly orthodox and to keep up religious observances of the past, though no one should lightly reject them or despise them. Religion does not mean the same thing as orthodoxy. In its essence, Religion is as simple and pure as the sunlight which gladdens the heart. For Religion means, above all, faith, faith in God, faith in truth, faith in immortality, faith in the higher life, faith in mankind, which shows itself in deeds of love. With such faith in our hearts we can never wholly sink down into the mire of money-worship.

ASIA AND THE FUTURE.

Asia has always had faith in spiritual ideals. She has always placed the value of life in things divine, not in material possessions.

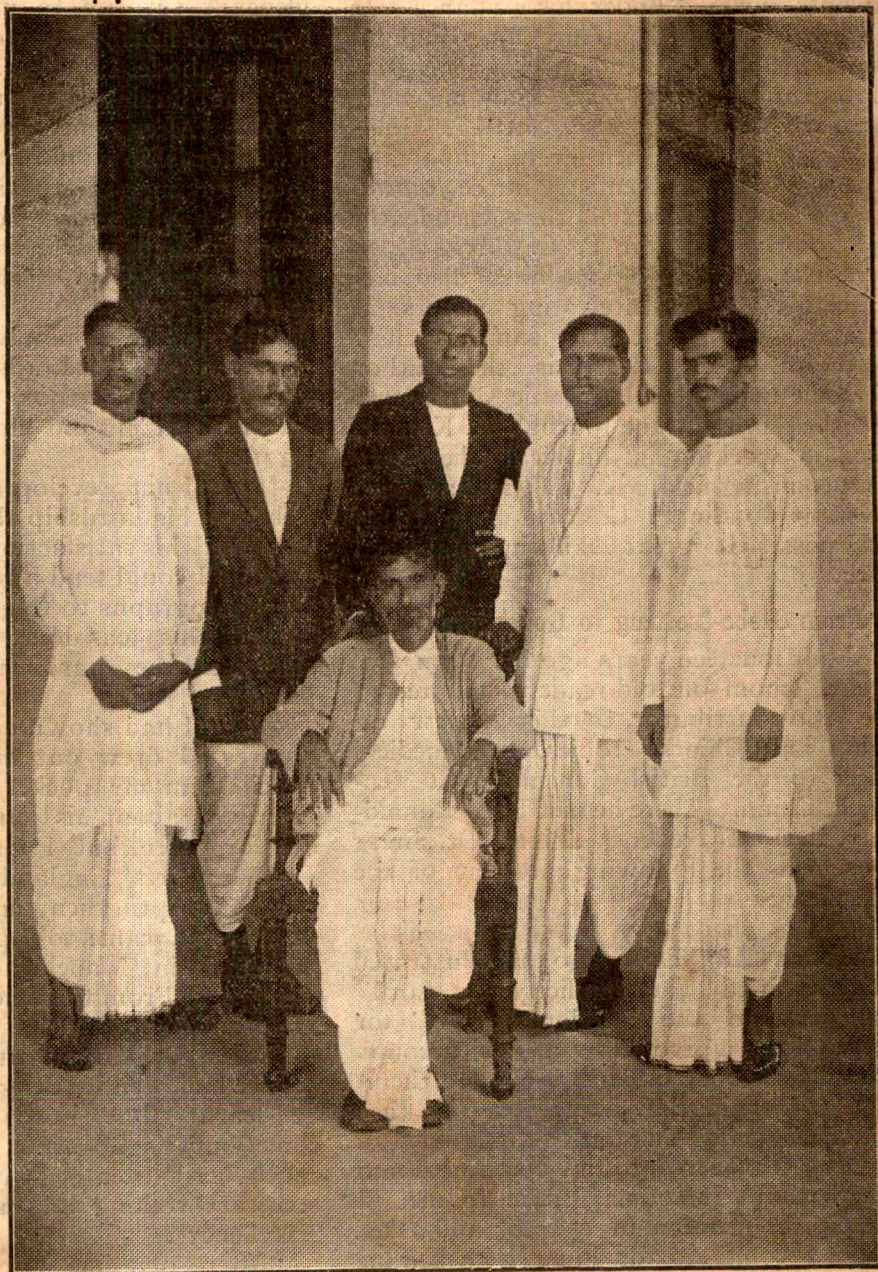
Readers of the *Modern Review* need not be told that it was not to discourage political action and social service but to place them on the firm basis of religion that Mr. Andrews delivered his address.

My one object has been to seek to increase the hold which religion has upon your lives. For religion is the one foundation of all true political action, of all true social service, of all true national regeneration.

Sir P. C. Ray.

Sir P. C. Ray, the "Doctor of Doctors", has been a teacher of youth and a researcher for more than the life-time of a generation. He has trained up a band of enthusiastic chemical researchers. He and his co-workers have also built up the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works. He is also actively connected with several other factories. As Sir Rash Behary Ghose's second large donation will enable the Calcutta University at no distant date to undertake technological training, Dr. Ray was naturally thought of as the person who should have a leading hand in such training. He has consequently been deputed by the Calcutta University to visit

Great Britain and spend some months there, taking note of the latest



SIR P. C. RAY AND HIS RESEARCH SCHOLARS.
(Photo taken—on the eve of his departure for England.)

Sir P. C. Ray (seated).

Standing from left to right—Lilananda Gupta, Jnanendranath Ray, Prafullachandra Guha, Kalikumar Kumar, Kshitishchandra Ray.

Photograph by Mr. Nirranjan Ghosh.

technological and industrial developments.

He has always had a group of research students working under his guidance. On the eve of his departure for England his present batch of students got their *guru* photographed, themselves standing near him. P. C. Guha, m.sc., (1917, Gold-medalist) has published several important papers in Organic Chemistry in the *Journal of the Chemical Society* both independently and jointly with Sir P. C. Ray. J. N. Ray, m.sc., (1919, Gold-medalist) also has contributed some interesting papers in Organic Chemistry to the same *Journal*. L. Gupta, m.sc., (1919), is the author of some papers in Inorganic Chemistry, published in the same *Journal*. K. Kumar, m.sc., is working in Physical Chemistry in a promising field. K. C. Ray has been assistant to Sir P. C. Ray from 1914, and possesses great skill in analytical work.

From Globe-trotting to Governorship.

About fourteen years ago Dr. Ram Lal Sircar, whom our old readers will recognise as a contributor to this *Review* on China and Chinese topics, was medical officer to the British Consulate at Tengyueh, China. There he met Lord Ronaldshay, then a traveller in China. Dr. Sircar has sent us the following account of the interview:—

"About 13 years ago an illustrated article entitled 'The Simplicity of a Lord' was sent to the 'Modern Review' for publication. I give below a brief account from my memory of what happened then.

"One morning Mr. McGregor, the then Commissioner of Customs assistant, led an English traveller into my compound and left without introducing him to me. I offered the gentleman a chair and asked what I could do for him. He asked me if I could give him some boric acid, required for his eyes. I was requested to send the medicine to Mr. Maze, the Commissioner of Customs. I did not know the gentleman's name and I thought that it would be against etiquette to ask his name. So, I placed a piece of paper and a pencil on

the table with a request to write his address on it. The traveller wrote in the paper, 'Lord Ronaldshay.' It was a pleasant surprise to me that I had the honour of having a Lord as a visitor in my humble abode. I apologized to his Lordship for not having shown proper respect to him. After some conversation, I asked if his Lordship would have any objection to my taking a photograph of him. Lord Ronaldshay readily consented to my proposal and with his usual simplicity promised to come to my house next day at 10 A.M.

"Before the appointed hour, I kept my camera ready. His Lordship arrived exactly at 10 A.M. and I took two photographs, one in the sitting and another in the standing posture.

"After I had developed the photographs, I showed his Lordship the negatives, who expressed his satisfaction at the result and asked if I could send a couple of copies of the photographs to England through Mr. Maze. This was done, and Lord Ronaldshay sent me thanks through the same person.

"After I had shown his Lordship the negatives, I drew out my note book and pencil from my pocket and recorded an interview about his journey. The details are forgotten, but I remember that his Lordship left England for Canada in March or April, then via the United States of America came to Japan. Therefrom he travelled in Manchuria and came to Tengyueh. From there he went to England via Burma.

[When Dr. Sircar after retiring from service had been in Bengal for some time he learnt that Lord Ronaldshay had come out as Governor of Bengal. After much hesitation he wrote to his private secretary seeking an interview with His Excellency.

"After sometime I received a card of invitation to a garden party held in the Government House at Dacca. I was introduced to the Governor and to Her Excellency the Countess of Ronaldshay by the private secretary and was handed a gold watch and certificate of honour sent by the Government of Burma. On



LORD RONALDSHAY 13 YEARS AGO.

From a photograph taken by Dr. Ram Lal Sircar at Tengyueh, China.

this occasion His Excellency made a speech mentioning our previous acquaintance. This speech breathes sincerity, simplicity, and genuineness of feeling towards one of my humble position. I give an extract from the speech.

"In consideration of your long, faithful and meritorious service, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Burma has awarded to you this certificate of honour and this gold watch. It gives me particular pleasure to hand these to you, because by a strange coincidence I myself chanced to meet you some years ago in a distant corner of the world beyond the confines of the Indian Empire. I remember well just 13 years ago, coming after many months of solitary travel in the less accessible portions of the Chinese Empire, to the town of Tengyueh, some days' journey from the Burmese frontier. Above all I remember finding there a fellow subject of His Majesty in the shape of an Indian medical practitioner. You, too, may perhaps remember the arrival of the English traveller, for the appearance of an Englishman was a rare thing in the town of Tengyueh. You were the medical practitioner, and I was the English traveller. Thus after years does fate decree that the paths by which we travel should cross once more. The heartiness of my congratulations to you on this recognition of your

services is all the greater by reason of the previous acquaintance which I can thus claim with you."

The Indian Association on the Financial Position of the "Reformed" Bengal Government.

The Indian Association has sent the following cable to the Secretary of State for India :—

The position of reformed Bengal Government is serious under the financial arrangements. The present year's budget expenditure is 903 lakhs *plus* increase of salary for services sanctioned since the budget, probably 50 lakhs, against an income of 857 lakhs under the Mes-ton Committee Report, less 107 lakhs transferred expenditure and contribution by the Government of India. Thus the deficit of first year's budget is two crores, unless fresh sources of revenue are available, as gain from share of income on Super-Tax, as recommended by the Joint Committee, is illusory."

On this no comment is needed.

Strikes.

Economic distress more than anything else is at the root of the various strikes all over the country. To be able to cut at the root of the strikes, the bureaucrats, the capitalists and all others who are able to lead comfortable lives because of the labour undergone and the work done by the masses of the people, must not only have the sincere conviction that these masses are entitled to a living wage, but they must have the additional conviction that the coolies, the artizans, the peons, and all other workers of the same kind, are entitled to a comfortable, decent and enlightened existence. We must cease to believe that the possession of capital gives a man an immeasurable greater natural right to the good things of the earth than the possession of physical fitness and manual skill. We must cease also to believe that all brain-work and so-called brain-work depending on literacy, are so immeasurably superior to all other kinds of work that it is only the brain-workers and so-called brain-workers who are entitled to the good things of the earth and all others must slave at their appointed tasks all their lives, satisfied if perchance their stomachs can be somehow filled and their backs somehow

covered. This is not to say that true brain-work is not superior to physical labour. It is superior. But the money-value of even genuine intellectual work should not be considered so immensely greater than that of physical labour and manual skill as at present. There should be not only profit-sharing but also management-sharing, and in order that the latter may be practicable, the state should hold itself responsible for universal, free and compulsory education, and fulfil its trust. As regards capital, the more concerns we have where the workmen are themselves the capitalists on a co-operative basis, the better.

Bombay Workmen's Protest against Export of Foodstuffs.

The Associated Press of India report that a largely attended meeting of Bombay workmen was held on the 10th October to protest against the export of foodstuffs from India in view of famine and high prices. In the absence of Mr. Baptista, Mr. Ginwalla opened the proceedings, but Mr. Baptista occupied the chair at a later stage. Mr. Ginwalla declared that the main cause of industrial unrest was the high prices of foodstuffs, which were due to export of foodstuffs from India and Burma, increase of freights rendering India unable to get corn grown in India and Burma, while England benefited by them. He next criticised Government control over coal and corn and the inactivity in dealing with profiteering. They must tell the Government that if they did not stop export of foodstuffs, bring corn from Burma, reduce freightage and remove control, then, even as dockyard labourers in England refused to handle munitions for Ireland, likewise Indian dockyard labourers would refuse to load bags of corn in the docks. The meeting passed the following resolutions among others :—

"That this meeting of workers of Bombay calls upon the authorities to prohibit export of all foodstuffs, chiefly rice and wheat, from this country, as the monsoon has failed this year, and to give all transport facilities to Indian merchants either by sea or by rail until the needs of the country are attended to and at the

same time to issue orders to all grain-merchants of India in this respect.

"That this meeting calls upon the authorities concerned to make arrangements for one year's supplies of foodstuffs to be always kept in stock in order to meet the needs of the current year.

"That this meeting recommends to dock labourers of India to copy the example of British dock labourers with regard to munitions and decline to load foodstuffs for exportation from India. They should strictly act as benefactors of India."

In concluding the proceedings, Mr. Baptista urged the workmen to realise that it was in the hands of labour to stop the export of foodstuffs if Government would not, and he hoped, dockmen would not fail to be equal to the occasion.

Rebels and Not Rebels.

The Times of London wrote on August 19 last :—

Is it accurate to call the tribes engaged in the Mesopotamia rising, "rebels"? Against what authority are they "rebellious"? Mesopotamia does not form part of the British Empire.....By no straining of words can the participants in the rising be called "rebels".

But India notes that a few days afterwards the *Times* headed a telegram announcing executions in Baghdad, "REBELS EXECUTED," and later the War Office *communiqué*, describing the operations of military columns, was headed, "PUNISHING ARAB REBELS". Thereupon India observes :

Evidently words are very easily strained in the news columns of the *Times*, whatever the editorial columns may say. We note that a "rebel" has been hanged for his participation in the murder of Mr. Buchanan, who was killed, according to all accounts, in a military engagement in which he took part as a combatant at Samawa. His wife, and the survivors, be it noted, were well cared for and respected until their release. By what right was this man hanged as a "murderer"?

University of Calcutta Student Welfare Scheme.

It is very gratifying to learn that the University of Calcutta commenced in July last a health examination of all college students. An efficient staff, composed of medical men and others, has been engaged by the university. The members visit college after college to hold the exami-

nation, which is thorough. It is becoming popular every day. Its object is to determine the state of the general health of the student community at large with a view to its improvement.

The medical examination will enable the University to establish a normal of the Indian student's physique. Its aim is the upbuilding of the nation and of a sturdier future generation. At present it is not known how much a student, say 20 years old, should weigh. Is he to be as heavy and as developed as a student of an European University? What is the standard and what should it be? The medical test will accumulate data upon which to establish a normal. This will be useful for future guidance. Society will benefit by this national health examination; greater earning power will develop in the student with better ability to combat the onset of disease by taking steps to nip it in the bud. To cite only a single instance: it may be said that headache and unwillingness to study is often due to the defective eye-sight in a large number of cases. A vast majority of students do not care to realise this evil which, when removed, effects appreciable improvement in the mental calibre of the youth.

It is a great and beneficent work which the university has undertaken, in which it ought to have the help and co-operation of the student community and the public at large.

The National Council of Education.

It gives us pleasure to note that recently a special meeting of the National Council of Education was held for the purpose of impressing on the country "the inherent and vital need of education on national lines and under national control, of which practical and technical education should form an important part." The Council have resolved to take steps "to make an effective appeal to the public through the press and the platform," for, we believe, support in all forms. We are inclined to support this appeal. We also beg leave to make a suggestion. If among the members of the Council there be any gentlemen, as we hope there are, who had or have sons or other wards of the school- or college-going age studying in the institutions maintained by the Council, that fact should be mentioned in the Report of the Council proposed to be drawn up and also in the appeal to be issued by it. Mention of such facts will greatly strengthen the cause of National Education. For people are more inclined to believe in those schemes

in which their promoters have faith as evidenced by their conduct, than in schemes which are considered good enough for others but not for themselves.

The Saving of Cattle.

Encouraging news continue to be received of municipalities in different provinces resolving to prevent the slaughter of cows and calves. Pasture lands should be provided for cattle throughout the country, as also healthy sheds.

The Honorary Secretary of the All-India Cow Conference Association proposes to submit a memorial containing definite facts and figures, and to send a deputation consisting of the leading men of India to His Excellency the Viceroy early next winter, with a view to the introduction of suitable measures for the protection and improvement of cows. The Association has, with considerable efforts and enterprise, collected valuable statistics relating to the condition of cattle in India in comparison with that prevailing in other countries of the world, and it is to be hoped that the result of the deputation will be to the advantage of the cattle of the country.

Bolshevik Scare.

The Englishman's frontier correspondent has sent information that the Amir of Afghanistan has in effect become pro-Bolshevik and anti-British. It would be very injurious to the interests of India if this scare led to the wasteful expenditure of vast sums on the army in addition to its normal expenditure, which is very much larger than the country can bear. Could not the British Cabinet prevail upon the Soviet Government of Russia, by commercial and other treaties with it, to refrain from making any advance towards India?

It may, however, be that the correspondent of the *Hare Street* journal is not correctly informed.

The "Indian Social Club," Paris.

We have received from Paris the following appeal, which we have much pleasure to support:—

An appeal to all Indians, from the
"INDIAN SOCIAL CLUB", PARIS:

Friends and countrymen,

The great war is at last at an end. Now we have time and energy to spare to promote

the peaceful interest of our country at home and abroad. It is a sign of the times that an increasing number of Indians are now-a-days going to foreign lands for education, for commerce, for travel, or for other purposes. Paris being the centre of attraction in Europe, every Indian who visits Europe naturally visits Paris.

Considering the number of Indians who are either permanent residents in Paris or who pay temporary visits to this city, it is hardly necessary to dilate upon the desirability of establishing some kind of social institution at which they can meet one another. It very often happens that some of the greatest Indians come to Paris and they have no practical means of coming into contact with their countrymen here. Such institutions exist in other foreign cities, notably in London, and there is no reason why a similar institution should not be started in Paris. We have therefore started the "INDIAN SOCIAL CLUB" in Paris on the following lines :

Aims and objects :

1. To provide a permanent Indian centre in Paris ;
2. To encourage Indian Art, Literature, and Drama by holding periodical conversations, by translating important Indian works into French and in various other ways ;
3. To receive eminent Indians who may come to Paris and give them opportunities of meeting their compatriots ;
4. To form a Reading Room and Library which will take Journals and Books of special interest to Indians ;
5. To publish a periodical containing articles in French and in English.

N.B.—The "INDIAN SOCIAL CLUB" will not embark on any kind of political propaganda.

We hope that all Indians, whether they are likely ever to leave India or not, will do their best to help the club with money or in other ways. It is impossible to overrate the importance of foreign travel or stay in foreign countries from the Indian point of view. For an Indian, as for anybody else, it is admitted on all hands to be an education in itself.

Help for the club may be sent directly to Mr. Amitava Ghose, 9, Rue du Sommerard, Paris (5^e), or to the following addresses in India :

1. To the editor, Bombay Chronicle, Bombay ;
2. To the editor, Mahratta, Poona city ;
3. To the editor, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Bagbazar, Calcutta.

We hope that the appeal will not go in vain.

Prof. R. D. KARVE (Poona).

Dr. E. RAMA (Mauritius).

AMITAVA GHOSE (Calcutta).

Mr. Amitava Ghose, who has sent us the appeal, was a soldier in the French army during the war, and in consequence has the sympathy of the French public. Some French professors and other Frenchmen of repute have promised him help. They are convinced of the necessity of such an institution as the Indian Social Club, which will materialise as soon as some capital is found to meet its necessary expenses.

Mr. Asquith and the Premier on Irish Affairs.

In a communication to the press, Mr. Asquith describes the "great" speech of Mr. Lloyd George on Irish affairs as a declaration of insolvency on the part of the Coalition Government. "Ireland," he says, "presents the one issue of supreme importance involving both the safety of the Empire and the honour and good name of Great Britain. The only Irish policy the Premier has to offer is repudiation, root and branch, of Dominion Home Rule and condonation of the hellish policy of reprisals. The attempt to answer murder by murder and outrage by terrorism is not Government but anarchy."

Mr. Lloyd George has issued a very brief reply to Mr. Asquith's statement. The Premier declines to take any notice of the statement, adding : "There is my speech for all to read who care to. I merely say that I notice no mention by Mr. Asquith of the hellish policy of murder."

Teaching and Research Activities in the Calcutta University.

At a meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University held on October 9, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee made an important speech in which he described in some detail the "extensive arrangements" "made for instruction and investigation" in different branches of study. He then went on rightly to characterise the University not only as a teaching

University but also as a research University, and mentioned the research work done by the university teachers. That good teaching is done and genuine research carried on by many of the teachers admits of no doubt, and that is an opinion which we have expressed on many occasions, though we are unable to approve of the methods of research adopted, for example, by one "professor" who has plagiarised some of his deceased father-in-law's work (published in the *Calcutta Review*, in 1892, if we remember aright,) and passed it off as his own.

In his peroration Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee said :

Let me assure you, however, that the present statement has been made, not so much with a view to glorify the University as to rouse the public conscience and to make the people of Bengal realise in some measure their responsibility for the promotion and advancement of learning. No people attained to real eminence as a Nation, unless they maintained in a state of the highest efficiency and excellence their chief seat of learning, their most potent instrument for the discovery and dissemination of truth in all departments of human activity. Let the people of Bengal take this to heart; let them realise that the work of their University as an institution for teaching and research is carried on under extremely unfavourable circumstances. Our embarrassment, due chiefly to the lack of funds and of accommodation, is almost overwhelming.

The people of Bengal, particularly the professional classes, owe a great deal to their University. Sir Rash Behari Ghose and others of less note have shown how that debt should and may be repaid. It would be good for the public and for the university if the example of these benefactors were largely followed, as it ought to be. It must at the same time be added that there should be perfectly satisfactory arrangements for preventing defalcation, checking wasteful and unnecessary expenditure, scrutinising all expenditure, concentration of energy and expenditure on a manageable area of teaching and research instead of spreading them over a large field of work, and the regular, early and punctual publication of the audited accounts of all departments of the University.

Sir Ashutosh regretted to find,

That the number of students in the departments of Science has fallen off from 174 to 137, whereas the number of students in the Department of Letters has increased from 1312 to 1380. This increase in the Department of Letters may

perhaps be explained on the hypothesis that the recently established sections of Ancient Indian History and Indian Vernaculars have attracted new recruits; but no satisfactory reason has been assigned for the diminution in the number of students in the department of Science. The number of new admission in that department has remained practically unchanged, but a large proportion of Science students abandoned their studies in the Sixth Year Class than of those that had selected literary subjects. We have no data to determine whether they left because they could no longer struggle with poverty or because of some other equally potent reason.

For lack of funds, the equipment of the Science Department is not satisfactory, a fact which is known to the student community and which can be gathered from some previous utterances of the speaker himself, in which complaints were made of Government not giving sufficient help to the science college. That may be one "satisfactory reason" to explain the diminution in the number of science students.

But we must not make any further remarks. For it seems, though in this world nobody and nothing are perfectly impeccable, the Calcutta University and Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee must be presumed to be. Otherwise what can be the reason for the following petulant outburst?

At the same time, if friends and benefactors are numerous and generous, our enemies and detractors cannot be lightly discounted. Public servants whose minds have been petrified by the illusion that Calcutta does not require a teaching and research University, pre-eminent for its comprehensiveness and excellence, are not quite negligible in point of numbers or influence. But far more mischievous are the irresponsible critics who imagine that they have monopolised not only all wisdom but also all virtue. Most dangerous of all are those that masquerade in the garb of friends and yet miss no opportunity to malign and stab the University in secret. But let us not be frightened away by these fleeting spectres of humanity.

In this passage the speaker refers to three classes of "fleeting spectres of humanity". It is certain we do not belong to the "most dangerous" class, for we do not "malign and stab the university in secret"; what we do may or may not be maligning and stabbing—it is a matter of opinion—but what we do we do quite openly. Nor do we "masquerade in the garb of friends"; having no axe of our own to grind, we are perfectly frank in our hostility to jobbery, inefficiency, camouflage,

and "frauds" of all sorts, and perfectly unreserved, too, in our appreciation and support of all that is excellent and valuable. The one thing that we do not lay claim to and have never laid claim to, is infallibility of judgment, fulness of knowledge, and perfect freedom from bias.

We do not think, too, that the speaker could have meant to do us the honour to include us among "public servants." We are, therefore, irresistibly led to conclude that we are included by the speaker among those "enemies and detractors," "the irresponsible critics who imagine that they have monopolised not only all wisdom but also all virtue," who are "far more mischievous." It seems then that in the speaker's opinion there cannot be any reasonable and fair criticism of himself and the university, and that all critics must be "enemies and detractors"; for there is no mention of reasonable and fair-minded critics. Bad advocates of causes that cannot be supported with good arguments are frequently reminded of the trite instruction (real or imaginary) said to have been given to a lawyer, "No case. Abuse the plaintiff's attorney." Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee was never an inefficient practising lawyer, and he is now a judge. One may, therefore, hesitate even jocosely to say that he has in the present instance followed the aforesaid instruction. But whatever the case may be, we leave the public to judge whether he or any of his satellites has ever been able to meet our arguments, facts and figures in this REVIEW and the *Prabasi* with counter arguments, facts and figures. Cheap sneers will not do, nor will it avail to say that we are beneath notice, contemptible and unworthy of the university knight's steel. For those who are abused in the course of a serious academic discourse, are proved by that very fact to be not beneath notice. Not being of the band of illustrious immortals, we are indeed "fleeting spectres of humanity." May the speaker derive much consolation from the thought that in some future age some archaeologist and professor of Ancient Indian Culture and History may come upon that statue in the Durbhanga Building which is inscribed with some doggrels telling the reader that its subject installed the image of the Mother in "Step-mother's Hall", and that he may then throw its photograph on the screen for the delectation, edification, and,

perchance amusement, too, of the historical students of that distant day!

From the extract given below, we would omit the first nine words, and give our support to the rest.

Whatever our detractors may proclaim, the fact remains that the University of Calcutta at the present moment possesses a teaching organisation which, notwithstanding its many deficiencies, is engaged in the performance of a work of the highest importance to the State. We confidently claim for it the character of a great seat of learning which is entitled to unstinted assistance both from the people at large and from the custodians of the public funds.

"Despotism in the Calcutta University."

In the course of an article with the above heading the *Servant* recently published a notice over the signature of Mr. G. N. Banerjee, Officiating Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, which ran as follows:

Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan will move at the next meeting of the Council, the following propositions:—

1. A University Teacher may not, unless generally or specially empowered by the Executive Committee in this behalf, communicate directly or indirectly to persons other than University Teachers or to the Press any document or information which has come into his possession in the course of his duties as University Teacher or has been prepared or collected by him in the course of those duties, whether from official sources or otherwise.

2. A University Teacher may not, without the previous sanction of the Executive Committee, become the proprietor in whole or in part, or conduct or participate in the editing or management of any newspaper or other periodical publication.

Such sanction will be given only in the case of a newspaper or publication mainly devoted to matters not of a political character, and may at any time, in the discretion of the Executive Committee, be withdrawn.

3. Subject to the provisions of rule 1, a University Teacher may contribute anonymously to the Press, but must confine himself within the limits of temperate and reasonable discussion; and if his connection with the Press is contrary to the public interest, the Executive Committee may withdraw his liberty to contribute. When there is room for doubt, whether the connection of any University Teacher with the Press is or is not contrary to the public interests, the matter should be referred to the Executive Committee for orders.

Thereupon Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee,

Lecturer, Calcutta University, wrote to that paper to say :

You have quoted a notice of a resolution to be moved by a member of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts as evidence of the autocratic administration in the Calcutta University trying to shut out news from the public. The resolution has not yet been accepted by the Post-Graduate Council, nor has it been confirmed by the Senate of the University. It is a mere proposal of an individual member, who desires to introduce certain rules which are in force regarding the conduct of the members of the Government Educational Service. It is highly to be regretted that you have thought fit to condemn the Calcutta University simply because one member of the Post-Graduate Council has moved a resolution which has not yet received the sanction of that academic body. That the resolution has not been accepted by the Post-Graduate Council is evident from the fact that a signed article on "Non-co-operation" appears in this very issue of your paper over the signature of Mr. S. C. Roy, a senior Lecturer of the Calcutta University and a scholar well-known alike inside and outside the portals of the University. This is only one among many instances of the University Teachers appreciating the great privilege of placing their independent views on current topics before the public over their own signatures.

Technically Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee is quite right, and all lovers and advocates of freedom of teaching in the widest sense will be pleased to be assured that "university teachers appreciate the great privilege of placing their independent views before the public over their own signatures." But it is known to the Bengali public that the Calcutta University is an autocracy camouflaged as a democracy, and some may, therefore, be disposed to say that, though the hand is the hand of Esau, the voice is the voice of Jacob. And it is probable that there may be some member or other of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts who will recognise in the three propositions "His Master's Voice." That recognition may be right, or wrong, but the educated public will wait to judge from the voting on the propositions in the Council and the Senate whether the university teachers and the Fellows do really appreciate "the great privilege of placing their [the teachers'] independent views on current topics before the public over their own signatures."

In the Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Council we are told that the mover wants "that rules 17, 18 and 19 of the

Government Servants' Conduct Rules, suitably modified, may be enforced in regard to the University Teachers." As we have not seen these Rules, we cannot say what suitable modifications have been made. A question may, however, be put, whether the propositions to be moved in the Council of Arts are a sort of feeler or the thin end of the wedge, the intention being to make them applicable to science teachers and law teachers afterwards. We shall see. Lawyers claim to be great fighters for freedom. We shall see whether they will agree to forfeit their freedom for a "handful of silver." Should the propositions remain confined to the Arts Department, their aim will be perfectly clear to the knowing public.

Whenever a new law is made, there is a statement of objects and reasons and a preamble. Will the Pandit or his patron tell us why the new rules are now required after so many years of existence of the University and the Council? How have the teachers abused their freedom that it is to be taken away or curtailed? Has this freedom stood in the way of "The Advancement of Learning," which is the motto of the University? Or has it stood in the way of the advancement of jobbery, nepotism and wastefulness?

Government servants cannot practise in the law courts; some University teachers do. Why does not some Pandit move that in this respect, too, the University should conform to the Government rules? Government servants cannot become members of political associations, delegates to the Indian National Congress, the Moderate's Conference, etc.; some University teachers are and have been. Will this freedom, too, of the teachers be taken away? Government servants cannot stand for election to the legislative councils; University teachers can and did or do stand. Will this freedom be taken away? We hope not.

The Pandit or rather his patron may be asked, what is the nice distinction or difference between a lawyer arguing, in defence, a political case before a legal tribunal, a teacher-member of a political association (e.g., the Indian Association) discussing politics, writing political notes, protests, and memoranda, a teacher acting as a delegate to or a president of a congress or a conference, a teacher-member of a legislative council discoursing on political subjects in the council-chamber, and a teacher contributing to political or other

journals, helping in conducting them or being part or full proprietors of them?

It is very funny that the third proposition proposes to give teachers liberty to contribute to the press *anonymously* on certain conditions. Pray, when anonymous contributions appear in the press, how is the Council of Arts to ascertain the identity of the writers? Or is the Pandit or his patron so simple-minded as to think that, unlike Government servants (both Indian and European) who write in newspapers anonymously, these teachers will themselves bring their anonymous contributions to the notice of the executive committee of the council? Or will there be espionage?

In Japan Government servants in non-educational departments can and sometimes do occupy university chairs and also work as editors of newspapers. It is thus that Japan is able to have the services of very able men as professors for very modest salaries. In the Calcutta University, too, the same man can be for example, a teacher in history, a teacher in law, and a practising lawyer, and thus eke out a livelihood. And at present the same man can also be a teacher and an editor, assistant editor, proprietor and part proprietor of a paper or a contributor to the press. Of these two kinds of freedom, the Pandit or his patron wants to interfere with the latter, not the former. Why?

In his speech at the Senate meeting of the 8th October, Sir Ashtosh Mukerjee declared: "We adopt as our motto, 'search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man: its publication a duty'." All concerned should reflect whether the new rules proposed to be made will be in harmony with this motto.

P. D. Chougule, the Indian Champion Runner.

We are glad to learn that Mr. P. D. Chougule of Belgaum, age 23, has won the Chiswick ten-mile open race, the Gunnersbury Park 10-mile open race and the 13-mile semi-Marathon at Molinari sports, Herne Hill. All these are well-known sporting events of England. He ran fourth for more than half the distance in the Polytechnic Marathon from Windsor to



MR. P. D. CHOUGULE,
The Indian Champion Runner.

London, having to give up at the twentieth mile owing to bad condition. At Antwerp, says India, he was nineteenth in the Marathon among about sixty runners and was given a certificate; but he complains that he was then in extremely poor condition owing to lack of proper dietary, and was for the greater part of his stay in Belgium under medical treatment.

India has published a statement communicated to it over the signatures of five of the team of six Indian athletes who went to Europe to take part in the Olympic games. These gentlemen complain strongly of their treatment, both in England and in Belgium, and declare that want of proper and sufficient dietary and the generally bad conditions under which they were kept made it impossible for them to take part in the events for which they were entered in the sound physical condition necessary. The matter is one which, India trusts, will be the subject of strict investigation by the Committee responsible on their return to India.

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POEMS FROM THE RUSSIAN

Translations from the Russian of five poems by Mr. N. Roerich; a Russian artist, are printed below.

"Nicolas K. Roerich, one of the leaders of Russian Art, born in Russia in 1874, is a descendant of an old Scandinavian family who settled in Russia in the time of Peter the Great. He was educated at the University of Petrograd, and was intended for the legal profession; but in the meantime he also attended classes at the Academy of Arts. In 1897, one of his paintings was acquired for the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow; a great distinction for so young an artist.

"Roerich spent a year in Paris where he studied under Fernand Cormon. On his return to Russia in 1901, he was appointed Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Art. Five years later—at the early age of thirty-one—he became Director of the Art School of this Society. This was the largest institution of its kind in all Russia, with two thousand pupils and sixty-three professors. It was actually a "free" school. Verestchagin, Bilibin, Repin, Vrubel, were all at various times pupils in this School.

"Roerich himself worked for a time in the studio of the great Russian landscape painter, Kouindjy. In reality, neither Cormon nor Kouindjy was Roerich's teacher in Art, but Nature's self. As a youth he loved to spend whole days and nights in the woods, camping on the ground, and giving himself up whole-heartedly to the study of his surroundings. The trees, the rocks, the vast shining spaces of the northern lakes, yielded their secrets to Roerich. And not only did he discover Nature's secrets. By a wonderful intuition he has come to realize the remote, ancestral life which once filled these scenes. Roerich's pictures are full of distant, primitive memories.

"He began first to exhibit abroad in 1904. Since then, his art has reached many centres: Prague, Paris, Vienna, Brussels, Berlin, Milan, Rome, Venice, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Chicago. In London he had several pictures in the International Exhibition at the Albert Hall in 1903, and was also represented in the Russian Section at the Post-Impressionist Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in 1913.

"Among the honours bestowed on Roerich in recent years were the Presidency of the Society of the World of Artists, which had a membership of some forty to fifty Russian Artists, *elite* of their profession; the Presidency of the Council of the Art Museum, founded by the Society for the Encouragement of Art; and the Honorary Presidency of the Council of the Women's

Architectural Classes in Petrograd, Sociétaire du Salon d'Automne à Paris, Membre de l'Académie de Reims, etc. In the many articles and monographs devoted to his work, Roerich has been called "the Maeterlinck of painting" and "the poet of the North." In France he has been compared with Gauguin and Gustave Moreau; in Sweden with Munch and Gæren, in Italy with the Byzantine painters. These desperate efforts to find his counterpart are a compliment to his versatility, and are no doubt helpful to a public which must compare before it can appreciate. But when all is said, Roerich remains Roerich—one of the strongest personalities in contemporary art."

The translations are by Mr. W. W. Pearson.

HE WHO LEADS THE WAY.

Thou, who comest in the dead of night!
They say thou art invisible, but that is a lie.
I know hundreds of people,
And every one of them has seen thee,
Though it be but once.
Only a few, poor in mind,
Have missed thy image many-shaped

and varying.

Thou dost not desire to disturb our life,
Thou dost not wish to cause us fear;
So passest by silent and still.
Thine eyes can glisten and dazzle;
Thy voice can sound like thunder;
And even a rock can feel
The wrath of thy mighty blow.
But thou dost not dazzle,
Thou dost not thunder,
Thou dost not smite.

Thou knowest that quiet is stronger
than destruction.
Thou knowest that stillness is louder

than thunder.
Thou knowest who cometh in silence
and leadeth the way.

N. ROERICH.

TO-MORROW.

I knew so many useful things
 And now I have forgotten them all.
 Like a traveller robbed,
 Like a poor man who has lost all he had,
 I vainly struggle to call back to my mind
 The riches I had in the days gone by.
 I recall forgotten things suddenly, unwittingly,
 Never knowing when the lost knowledge
 Will flash through me once more.
 Only yesterday I knew many things,
 But the night has darkened them all.
 It is true, the day was long,
 And dark and endless seemed the night.
 And then, when the morning came,
 Fragrant and fresh and wonderful,
 Lighted by a new sun, I forgot and lost
 All I had hoarded:
 All my knowledge melted away
 Under the rays of the risen sun.
 I can no more distinguish friend from foe.
 My vision of coming dangers is obscured.
 I do not know when the night will come.
 And for a new sun my heart will find
 no words of welcome.
 All this I possessed once,
 But I have lost it all, I am a poor man now.
 How sad it is that not before to-morrow
 Shall I know what I need.
 And to-day is long, very long.
 When, Oh when will come—

To-morrow?

N. ROERICH.

IN THE MORNING HOURS.

I know not and I can not.
 When I will, I think there is somebody
 whose will is stronger.
 When I get knowledge, I think there is
 some one who knows better.
 When I can, I think there may be some
 whose power strikes firmer and deeper.
 And behold, I know not, and I can not.
 Thou who comest in the dead of night,
 Tell me, in thy silent way,
 What have I willed and what accomplished
 in my life?
 Put thy hand upon my head
 And then I shall regain my will and my power,
 And what I willed in my dreams at night
 Will be remembered in the hours of morning.

N. ROERICH.

CAN I BELIEVE THEM?

We know at last where our King has gone.
 He has gone to the old place
 of the Three Towers.
 It is there that he will teach.
 It is there that he will give his commands.
 His words are uttered once. Never, O never
 Does our King repeat his words.
 Let us hasten to the place.
 It is better to turn down a bye-street,
 Lest the hurrying crowd should obstruct
 our path.
 That way will lead us to the Tower of Spirit.
 Not to many is that way known.
 But people are everywhere,
 Crowding in streets and bye-ways
 and at the gates of the houses.
 He is speaking already.
 We cannot come nearer him.
 Who was the first to come? No one knows.
 The tower can be seen, but it is very far.
 One catches sometimes a word
 That seems to come from the King.
 No, it is not the King's words that we hear.
 The words are caught by the people
 Who pass them on one to another:
 A woman passes them to a warrior;
 The warrior whispers them
 into a courtier's ear.
 I shall hear them from my neighbour the
 shoemaker.
 Has he heard them rightly from the
 merchant yonder
 Who has mounted the steps of that house?
 Can I believe them all?

N. ROERICH.

THE BEGGAR.

At midnight, it is said, our King came
 And passed to his chamber.
 In the morning he went out to his people,
 But we never knew.
 So we missed him and could not hear
 his commands.
 But patience! We shall find him out
 amongst the surging crowds,
 And, touching him ever so lightly, we shall
 ask him his wishes.
 How great are the multitudes! How many
 the streets!
 Countless are the roads and the paths!
 He may have gone far away; and who knows
 Whether he will come back to his palace?
 There are many footprints left in the dust.

Whence could such crowds have gathered?
It seems as if all have conspired to cross
our path.
But let us hurry on, for here is the trace
of a stately tread,
The marks of a heavy staff steady beside it.
It must be our King's ! We shall hasten on
and ask the people.
We push the people aside and get ahead.
We overtake the traveller.
And the traveller with the staff is but
a blind beggar.
N. ROERICH.

BY MISS SEETA CHATTERJEE.

Basudatta stood mute by his friend. He found no word which could comfort him at such a time. Supriya understood and said, "Do not grieve for me ; it would be of no use." With this he left his friend and hastened on.

When he reached his destination, the night was far advanced. He rapped on the door and called, "Deepikā !"

The door opened, a young girl stood in the doorway with a lamp in her hand. "Why are you so late ?" she asked eagerly. "I have been waiting for you such a length of time. Come in, do not stand there, it is so bitterly cold out there."

Supriya followed her into the room. The room was almost bare, a huge bedstead stood in one corner and at its head was a beautifully carved lampstand. The room contained only another object worthy of notice, it was the portrait of a young girl. The picture did not boast of fine colours, but the face portrayed was too beautiful to need any adornment. The picture was of Deepikā.

Supriya's father, too, had been a painter by profession. He had ever enjoyed the favour of the king and poverty had never entered his household. Supriya had succeeded him in this royal favour, but the fickle goddess of fortune did not want to remain stationary in one family. There was a difference of opinion between the king and the painter about a certain picture. This brought about the ruin of Supriya. As soon as the gates of the palace became shut to him, his friends, too, ceased to know him. At first Supriya kept up his spirits—the hope of youth fought against despair. The bright smile of Supriya deceived Deepikā. She failed to understand their real plight.

But none can live upon mere hope for any length of time. Poverty and want began to make themselves felt. The servants were sent away one by one; the pictures, which were dearer to Supriya than his own life, had to be parted with for far less than their real price. The jewels of Deepikā followed suit and at last even the furniture and the household utensils were sold off in secret. But their troubles had but begun. After going without food the whole day Supriya one day took down the picture of Deepikā, the sole thing remaining to them. But she caught hold of him and would not let him depart with it. "No, you must not sell it," she cried.

"I shall never again be as I was, but this shall serve to remind others." She brought out her only bit of jewelery, a ring which had belonged to her mother. She sold it and thus saved the picture.

The fickle goddess of plenty suddenly put in an appearance once again, perhaps to pay a visit to the old home, where she had so long resided. Supriya was sent for to the royal palace after a long time. We saw him while on his way home from the palace. Poverty bade farewell to the family of the painter. The departed glory and comfort returned again. But the demon of want had departed with two things which were never found any more. The shining beauty of Deepikā became clouded and her youth faded all too soon. Standing before her mirror one day she suddenly discovered wrinkles on her face and grey hairs peeping out of her raven black locks. She dashed the mirror to pieces, then flinging herself down before the image of her departed beauty, she cried her heart out.

The darkness of night thus succeeded to the noonday splendour of her life. Supriya too began to decline. But he kept his secret to himself, no one else knew that he had already received his death sentence. The long absent smile had returned to Deepikā's face, he did not want to dim it again. He steeped himself in work day and night. It would have been hard to conceal anything from Deepikā in her presence; for that reason he ordered his life in such a manner that Deepikā found very little space in it.

(2)

Supriya sat in his room, busy painting. This picture too had been ordered by the king. He wanted to finish it as soon as possible, because he knew not how long the power to work would be vouchsafed to him. The king had promised him an ample fee. If he could leave that to Deepikā, she would be adequately provided for after his death. She would not have to suffer from want.

But suffering does not come in the guise of want alone. He sighed deeply thinking of the terrible pangs in store for

his wife. There was no remedy for it. It would have been perhaps better if he had told her all at first, it would have at least prepared her. But as time passed, it grew more and more difficult to tell her the dreadful news. How would she bear this unexpected shock!

Supriya's parents had died in his childhood. There had been no woman in his early life. The Muse had been the only object of his youthful adoration. But it is hard to remain content with giving alone. As he grew up, his heart occasionally began to hunger for something which no divinity ever gave. The man in him fought fiercely with the artist in him.

In another corner of the same country, a parentless girl was awaiting as if only for him with her wealth of beauty and youth. Fate brought them together and then the Muse left the throne of Supriya's heart in offended pride. Deepikā knew why she had been created and Supriya understood what his heart had hungered for. But dame Fate grew jealous when she found that these two thought the world well lost for each other only.

Thought after thought floated through Supriya's mind as he worked. For a while he sat still with the brush in his hand looking out of the window. The blue sky had hidden itself behind a veil of mist as in fear of the bitter cold of winter and the aspect of nature was tearful and sad. The earth had been made to discard its green mantle, and to accept the white sheet of old age. Death ruled triumphant on all sides. Death lurked everywhere in every shape and guise. Supriya looked long and earnestly at the face of nature. She had been all in all to him before Deepikā usurped her place. But before his final departure he wanted once more to gaze upon the beloved of his first youth. What would follow next he did not know; perhaps oblivion blank and absolute, in which Deepikā even would have no place.

While Supriya was thus taking his final leave of the familiar face of nature, Deepikā standing at the door was gazing at him with her whole soul in her eyes. The pain in her heart was gradually consuming her, she had not even the blessed

solace of work, which made her husband forget all sorrow. The house of the rich artist contained a host of servants. So what was there for the mistress to do? When she first stepped within the threshold of this house, then too there had been nothing for her to do, but time never hung heavy on her hands. The flood of joy which had rushed into her life, left no nook or corner empty. Then came poverty; but it could not rob her heart of gladness; the howl of the wolf at her door, had never been able to rise above the glad music of her heart. But what had happened to her now. How came she to be stranded in this desolate desert, where there was nothing to which she could cling? The studio of her husband, which had hitherto been to her a harbour of bliss, now seemed to frown at her, if she ventured there. But she could not keep away from this place, as a moth could not keep away from the flame. So here she stood, though Supriya was all unconscious of her presence.

Suddenly a heavy gold wristlet slipped from her emaciated arm and tinkled down to the floor. Startled, Supriya looked up and met the eyes of Deepikā. So even now, though your husband was before your eyes, tears had come into them? What would you do, you unfortunate plaything of Fate, when Death had claimed him? Where would you find solace?

Supriya felt his heart weep tears of blood, his eyes had become dry long ago. With averted face he asked, "What do you want here Deepikā?" His voice sounded strange even to his own ears.

So she must now have reason for coming to him? The mere longing to come had ceased to be the best of reasons? "Nothing," she said dully and moved away.

Coming to her own room, she threw herself down on the hard cold floor, while tears of humiliation and sorrow streamed from her eyes. What had she gone to ask for, like a beggar? Why did she forget that she had lost that Supriya, who ever understood the language of her heart, better than the language of her lips?

Daylight had already begun to fade.

The cold northern wind howled among the leafless trees. Huge masses of cloud had begun to gather in the western sky and stretched out dark hungry arms to grasp the last rays of light that still lingered. Deepikā did not rise from the floor and she ordered off the maid servant who had brought a light.

But the maid hesitated on the doorway with the silver lamp in her hand. Deepikā sat up in a sudden gust of anger and rebuked her sharply, "Why do you stand there? Did not I tell you to go away?"

The girl was frightened and stammered out, "Madam, I only waited to know if I should light the lamps in master's studio. It has grown very dark."

In spite of there being so many servants, Deepikā used to do the cleaning and lighting of this room herself. This had been her bridal chamber, when she first came, and to her it had become consecrated. She never allowed servants to enter it. Every evening she herself lit the gold lamp of this room and stood there rapt in her memories.

As soon as the girl had finished speaking, Deepikā snatched off the lamp from her hand and hurried towards the studio. The maid servant stood gaping there at this strange behaviour of her mistress.

The door of the study was shut. Deepikā stood hesitating there for a moment with the lamp. All was silent within, she pushed the door gently. It flew open and Deepikā passed in filling the room with light.

Supriya was not in the room. But Deepikā's eyes suddenly fell on an object which was placed by the side of his seat and carefully covered with a silken cloth. She pounced upon it. It was the picture of a young and beautiful woman.

She stood as if rooted to the spot with the picture in her hand. The sparkling eyes of the fair unknown acted upon her like those of a basilisk. Who was this? Was she the new queen of Supriya's heart in whose favour she had been deposed? O you robber and murderess, was there no other place where to take your death-dealing smile and beauty? You must rob poor Deepikā of all that she had in this

world? And you came when she had lost her own charms and could be easily vanquished! Where were you then when even the goddess of beauty herself had to own defeat to the poor painter's wife?

Suddenly she heard footsteps behind. The picture fell down from her powerless grasp while she looked round. It was Bāsantee, one of her most intimate friends. She moved forward eagerly, her jewels tinkling with every step she took and caught Deepikā by the hand. "You have become such a grand personage, my dear," she cried, "that there is no getting sight of you. Have you totally forgotten us? But I love you too much to take notice of your indifference. Now my dear, you must promise to come over for the spring festivals. I am relying on you for everything. And you must consult your husband about the way in which we are to arrange the votive offering for the god."

A bitter smile played round Deepikā's lips as she said, "My dear, if you take me along to your spring festival it will turn into winter at once. I am fit priestess only for the god of death, not for the god of love."

What an answer to her eager invitation! Was this a joke? But it did not sound like one. "What is the matter with you, Deepikā," asked Bāsantee. "Why do you talk so wildly? You, the most fortunate woman of our land!"

"I, the most fortunate!" almost shrieked Deepikā. "Then look at this, what do you call her?" She took up the picture from the ground and held it up before the astonished eyes of her friend.

"Who is it? O, I see, it is Indralekhā, the dancing girl of the palace. And do you really think that she is more fortunate? You must be crazy. Don't you know what a priceless jewel you possess, that you talk so? Because money pours in upon her from every quarter, you think she is fortunate? I tell you she is the most wretched and unfortunate woman on earth!"

Deepikā suddenly flung away the picture and burst into a storm of tears. She had been a queen and had become a beggar, still people called her fortunate!

Bāsantee, too, wept in sympathy. She knew no cause of her friend's grief; but to see Deepikā, the most envied of women, in this sad state was enough to make her tears flow. After a while she asked gently, "Won't you tell me what has happened?"

Deepikā brushed away her tears. Her proud nature felt the humiliation of having given way to her sorrow before another's eyes. She forced a smile on her lips and said, "It is nothing at all, dear; I am unwell and nervous; that's all."

But Bāsantee was not to be taken in so easily. "You can't deceive me with such childish talk, my dear," she said; "remember, I, too, am a woman. What is the use of hiding it from me, don't I feel equally with you? You are indeed unfortunate, otherwise why should your husband, the best of men, be led away from you by such a wretch!"

Deepikā had nothing to say. After a while Bāsantee went on again: "But you must not give way so soon. We women have always to fight for our rights. I have a cousin who once was in the same predicament. But do you know, a disciple of the famous Kāmandak gave her such a magic drug that within three days the erring husband returned to his home. You know, they say that Kāmandak can command even spirits and demons and there is nothing impossible to him."

Deepikā smiled bitterly at her words. God had forgotten her and she must now turn to demons for help.

The fury of the storm was increasing, so Bāsantee departed in haste. Deepikā shut herself in as soon as her friend had gone and none of her maids ventured to call her.

The cold stormy wind entered in gusts through the open window of her room. The rain had not come down, the lowering cloudladen sky looked like a sullen and angry face. The night was far advanced and silence reigned supreme everywhere. But where was Supriya? She got up and went to the door of his room listening intently. There was no sound. She went to the studio. A light shone within. She entered with trembling steps,

a feeling of impending evil gnawing at her heart.

Supriya had fallen asleep on his seat, with the picture of Indralekhā lying beside him. The eyes of Deepikā flashed like a tigress robbed of her cubs. How had she remained blind so long, standing on the brink of ruin?

A fierce resolve gradually took shape in her mind. She would fight this she-devil with her own weapons. She came out of the room, without casting a look behind. The pallid face of Supriya in sleep looked like that of one already dead, but she had no tenderness for him then. In her heart hatred was reigning triumphant. What did she care for Supriya, the lover of Indralekhā?

She left the silent house, and went out in the howling storm, in the black depth of night.

(3)

The green woodland path had changed beyond recognition. The fury of the storm had denuded it of all its sylvan grace and beauty. Fallen branches and trees had nearly choked it, great boulders had crashed down from the mountain side upon it. The forest was full of fearful sounds. There was not a single ray of light; only the intermittent flashes of lightning served to make these horrors visible.

Through this fearful scene, a figure could be indistinctly seen speeding on its way. A flash of lightning revealed her more fully. She did not look like a human being, she seemed like the incarnation of the storm itself, rushing through the dark forest. Her eyes were fixed on the cave at the foot of the hill. The fire, which was believed to be no earthly flame, still burned within. For the resident of the cave was known as the close ally of the king of darkness.

Suddenly a snake glided over Deepikā's feet. She came to a stop, with a shriek of terror bursting from her lips. But she advanced again after a moment. Was this the time and place to give way to weak fears? She was out for a fight with the god of Death. Like Sāvitrī she had

come determined to gain back her dead love from the grasp of Death! Then how could fear stop her?

Now she was at the door of the cave. Her feet were bleeding and her dress fluttered in rags about her. An icy cold blast from within blew upon her trembling frame. The fire within burnt fitfully in a corner, but the rest of the cave was in darkness. She could see no one, but she felt countless invisible presences all around her.

But no more of vain fears and looking-behinds. The face of Indralekhā flashed before her mental vision and lent strength to her lagging steps. She almost ran inside the cave.

Suddenly an unearthly voice sounded, "What do you want here, woman?"

Deepikā looked up. A curtain of heavy black smoke hung before the fire and sparks tore through it and flew all around. Some one was standing in the midst of that rain of fire drops, his two eyes burning even more brightly than those sparks. Deepikā knew him to be Kāmāndak, the friend of the king of darkness. Again came the question, "What do you want?"

This time she answered. Her voice had no hint of tremor as she said, "I have been deprived of all that I held dear; I want them back from the thief."

The cave suddenly resounded with demoniac laughter. Then the same metallic voice spoke again: "So you want to steal from the thief? Come over here."

Deepikā went forward with firm steps. As she approached the fire, it seemed to her that the skeleton of an arm suddenly shot forward. The next instant she felt bony fingers close round her throat. She fell fainting on the cold stone floor of the cave.

(4)

The rain dashing upon her face, brought Deepikā back to consciousness. She sat up and found that she had been brought out of the cave and placed in the open. The darkness was as dense as ever, but the violence of the storm had abated giving place to a heavy shower of rain.

She stood up and looked at the mouth

of the cave. A voice came to her from within, "Return, you have got what you wanted."

Deepikā felt no tremor of joy in her heart. On the other hand it felt heavy with foreboding. She began to walk hurriedly back towards the town.

When she reached the outskirts of the town, the rain had ceased and the moonlight burst out through rents in the black pall of clouds. She saw her home before her as silent as she had left it. With fast palpitating heart, she somehow reached it and stumbled in through the open door.

All the inmates were asleep. Deepikā sighed with relief, she did not feel strong enough as yet to stand before the gaze of her fellow-beings. Let her fate be decided first.

She slowly advanced to the door of Supriya's studio. The moonlight streamed into the room through the open window and lying on the floor was Supriya, his face looking like a white lotus in the cold light. Was this really his face, so pale and deathlike?

She dragged herself somehow to his side and fell down there. She could not stand any more. Would he never open his eyes? The suspense nearly killed her.

The chill air of early dawn suddenly blew through the room and Supriya opened his eyes at its touch. Deepikā's face bending over him was the first thing that met his sight. Her whole frame tingled in expectation of his glad recognition.

But what was this? Why did Supriya spring up with a cry of despair? Deepikā stretched out her arms to support his trembling body, but he pushed her aside violently and cried out loudly, "Get out, get out of my sight. Even in my last moment you cling like a vampire to me! Deepikā, my darling Deepikā, come, if only for a single moment! I have no time left to ask your forgiveness, but let me once more look upon your dear face!"

He sank down again on the floor. Deepikā clung to him frantically and sobbed out aloud, "Don't you know me dearest? I am Deepikā."

With his remaining strength Supriya

struggled out of her embrace, and shouted hoarsely, "O you she-devil! Do you think I do not recognise you? You are Indralekhā, get out of my sight. Deepikā come—" he expired with her name on his lips.

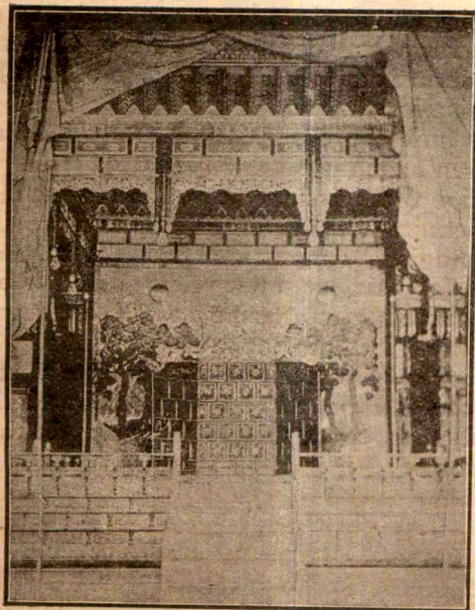
Deepikā sprang up shrieking wildly. A full-length mirror hung in front of her. As her gaze fell upon it, she saw reflected on its clear surface, the bewitching face of Indralekhā!

JAPAN IN KOREA

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

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TO an Asian the European domination of Asia is becoming increasingly intolerable. In the larger interest of justice and humanity, it must come to an end. Meanwhile, the subject peoples of Asia will continue to writhe and suffer under the galling yoke of Europe until they are ready to stand by each other and make a common cause against European domination and aggression. At the present time, division rather than unity seems to

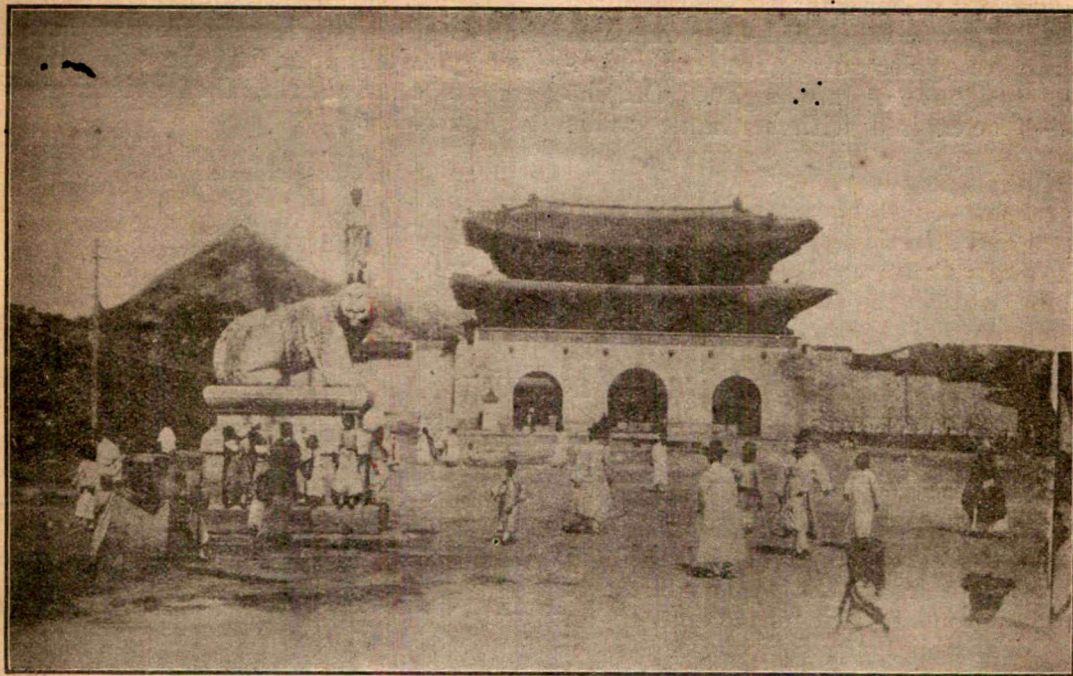


The Imperial Throne of Korea in the Kengbock Palace, before the Japanese desecrated it.



The Ceiling of the Throne Room of the Imperial Palace of Korea.

be, however, the one striking mark of Asian polity. Europe's main protection in her exploitation of Asia, remarks Mr. Arthur Brisbane, the dean of American journalists, "will always be the bitter hatred that Asiatics have for each other. The Chinese would rather kill a Japanese than anybody else. And the Japanese do their human rabbit hunting in Korea." This human rabbit hunting is one of the saddest tragedies in the political history of



The Gateway to Kengbock Palace of Seoul, which is now being used by the Japanese as a factory.

modern Asia. The Nipponese have robbed the independence of Korea, reduced its people to virtual slavery and introduced a system of Government which is nothing if not Prussian in its methods and in its severity. Sword—naked sword—has become the emblem of authority in Korea. Even Japanese male school teachers wear swords by their sides in the Korean class rooms. Korea has practically ceased to exist: its very name has been blotted out of the map of Asia. Korea is to-day called by the Japanese, Cho-sen.

Now Korea is a very ancient country. For the last forty centuries or more it had enjoyed independence, and its sovereignty was never seriously questioned by a foreign power. Koreans early reached a high stage of civilization. They developed their literature and art to a very remarkable degree. They were cultured, while Japan was but a group of islands inhabited by warring tribes. Moreover, it was through the instrumentality of Korea that Japan received its first elements of the civilization of continental Asia: the literature, art, and philosophy of Asia were introduced into

Japan not only by China but also by Korea. Buddhism was brought to Japan largely by the Korean priests. And Buddhism in Korea, notwithstanding the untiring Christian missionary propaganda to the contrary, is very much alive. Professor Frederic Starr of the University of Chicago in his *Korean Buddhism*, published in 1918, tells how the rising tide of nationalism in Korea has infused new life into the Korean national religion, which is Buddhism. In the capital city of Korea, Seoul, there is a theological seminary of Buddhism. For the last six or seven years there has been conducted a magazine in the interests of the religion of Gautama Buddha. The editor of this periodical, it is noteworthy, is the son of a Presbyterian Church elder and was educated in Roman Catholic Schools.

JAPANESE SEIZURE OF KOREA.

Korea lies prostrate to-day at the feet of the Japanese who sneeringly writes of the Korean civilization between inverted commas. The first step toward the seizure of Korea was taken during the Russo-

Japanese war. In 1904 Korea was persuaded to accept the position of "benevolent neutrality," and allow the Japanese soldiers to go through her territory to the Manchurian battlefields against Russia. A year later a protocol signed by Japan and Korea provided that (article 1) "the Government of Japan . . . will have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Korea." This was a plain notice to the world that the sovereignty of Korea was soon to be extinguished, and that the country was on the point of being swallowed by the Japanese.



A Korean Governor of a Korean Province under her independent regime.



The Upper-Classes of Korea.

Another convention signed between the two countries on July 24, 1907, tells its own story. It is as follows :

- I. The Government of Korea shall follow the guidance of the Resident-General in effecting administrative reforms.
- II. All the laws to be enacted and all important administrative measures to be undertaken by the Korean Government shall previously receive the consent and approval of the Resident-General.
- III. Distinction shall be observed between the administration of justice by the Government of Korea and the business of ordinary administration.
- IV. The appointment and dismissal of high officials of Korea shall be at the pleasure of the Resident-General.
- V. The Government of Korea shall appoint to the Government offices of Korea any Japanese the Resident-General may recommend.
- VI. The Government of Korea shall engage no foreigner without the consent of the Resident-General.

From this last treaty to the complete



A Korean Woman Writing.

absorption of Korea was but a short step. Yet in 1908 the Japanese Resident-General, Prince Ito, publicly announced that Japan had no intention whatever of annexing Korea. Finally, on August 22, 1910, the Japanese parliament, as if by way of illustrating how Japan keeps her public pledges, decreed Korea annexed to the dominions of the Japanese Emperor!

IRON RULE OF JAPAN.

Koreans are now under the iron heel of the Japanese Governor-General—

Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die.

In Korean courts there are apparently two standards of justice. A Japanese may commit an offence and his punishment will be but a few days in jail, but for the same offence a Korean is likely to be hanged. Again, a Korean may be swindled by a Japanese and he may never succeed in bringing his case before a court. And even if he does, there is little chance of his getting impartial justice in court presided over by a Japanese whose sympathies are for his own nationals.

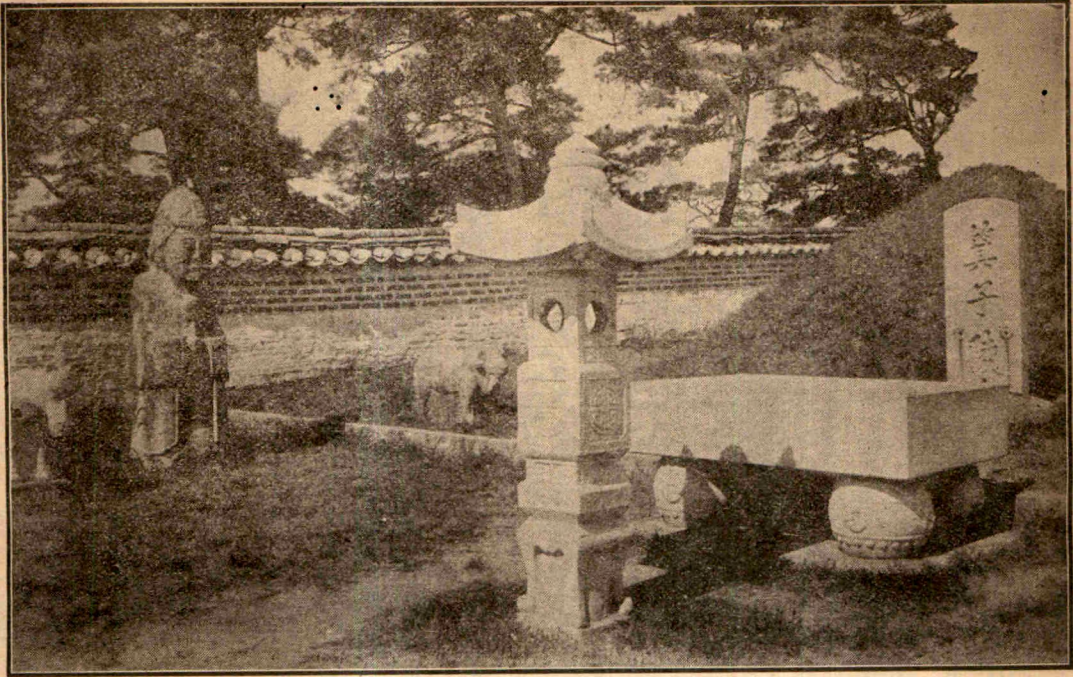
Repression and suppression are the order of day and night. To quote Mr. J. E. Moore, a student of Korean affairs :

"No gatherings of any kind, social or otherwise, where more than five people are to be present, can be held without special permits. Practically all Korean publications are suppressed. A Korean who dares to breathe ideas which show independence of thought or initiative is courting a dark fate, and no Korean may hope to hold high office."

The Koreans are totally disarmed. They are not allowed to carry firearms of any kind. There may be only one kitchen-knife for each three families and that must hang, when not in actual use, in plain sight of the Japanese police.

The militaristic autocratic government of Japan has also inaugurated in Korea a rigid spy system. In describing this system, an unimpeachable American eye-witness has this to say :—

"Everyone must be registered and is given a number, which is known to the police. Every time he leaves his village or town he must register at the police-station and state fully the business he intends to transact and his destination. The policeman phones to this place and if his actions are in any way at variance with



The Tomb of the First King of Korea.
Mark the helmet of the stone figure standing on the left.

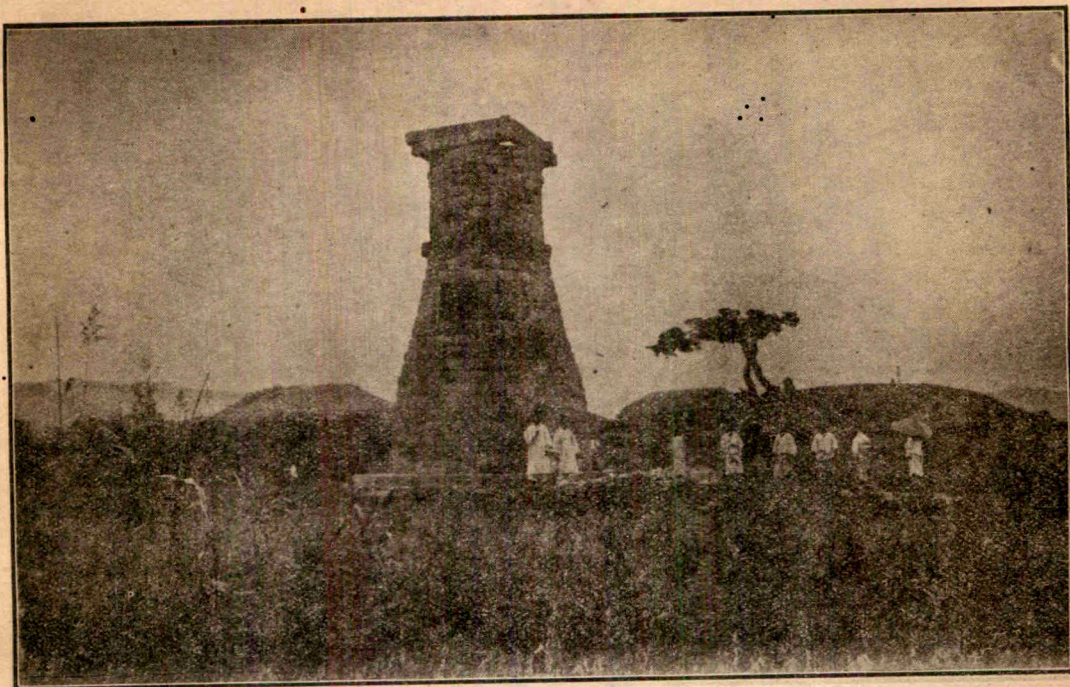
his report, he is liable to arrest and mistreatment. A strict classification is kept on the basis of a man's education, influence, position, etc. As soon as a man begins to show ability or qualities of leadership, he is put in class "a", detectives are set on his trail, and from thenceforth he becomes a marked man, hounded wherever he goes. Even children are watched or bribed for information. If a man escapes the country, his number is traced, his family or relatives arrested and perchance tortured until they reveal his whereabouts. A man is likely to disappear any day and perhaps not be heard of again. It is a very efficient Prussianism which thus aims to crush the spirit of a people.

Education in Korea, as in India, is under the strict control of the government. Most of the higher institutions of learning, which flourished in Korea before she lost her independence, have been abolished by the Japanese Government. A great source of Korea's pride is her national language, which has an alphabet of its own. It consists of twenty-five letters—fourteen consonants and eleven vowels. The Korean language, which is distinct from both Chinese and Japanese, is simple and easy to learn. Now the Japanese government in Korea, like the

former German government in Poland, has forbidden the use of the native language in schools. Korean pupils are taught the Japanese language, which has been designated as "the national language" of Korea. Almost the only text books in Korean schools are those which are published in Japan and which have the sanction of the government. European and American histories have been excluded from school studies, while Japanese history has taken the place of Korean. The object of teaching Japanese history seems to be to instill into the minds of the young Koreans the belief that they are members of an inferior race and that the Japanese are of the superior.

An outstanding feature of the Japanese policy is to destroy the national consciousness, is to undermine the public morality of Korea. Here is a flash-light of the Korean condition given by an authority on Korea :

"Shortly after annexation the Japanese government permitted Japanese agents to travel thru the country selling morphia and developing the morphine habit among the Koreans. Then



The relic of an ancient Korean Observatory, at Kyong-chyu, Constructed in about 500 A.C.

came the prostitutes. Today there are thousands of prostitutes brot over from Japan, who are innoculating Korean society with those terrible evils of social vice for which Japan as a race is almost proverbial. There are the public baths which the Japanese have instituted, where bathing is promiscuous. To Korean modesty and Korean standards of virtue this is a serious menace and will have on the growing generation far-reaching consequences. Between prostitution, public baths and gambling old Korean ideals stand in great peril."

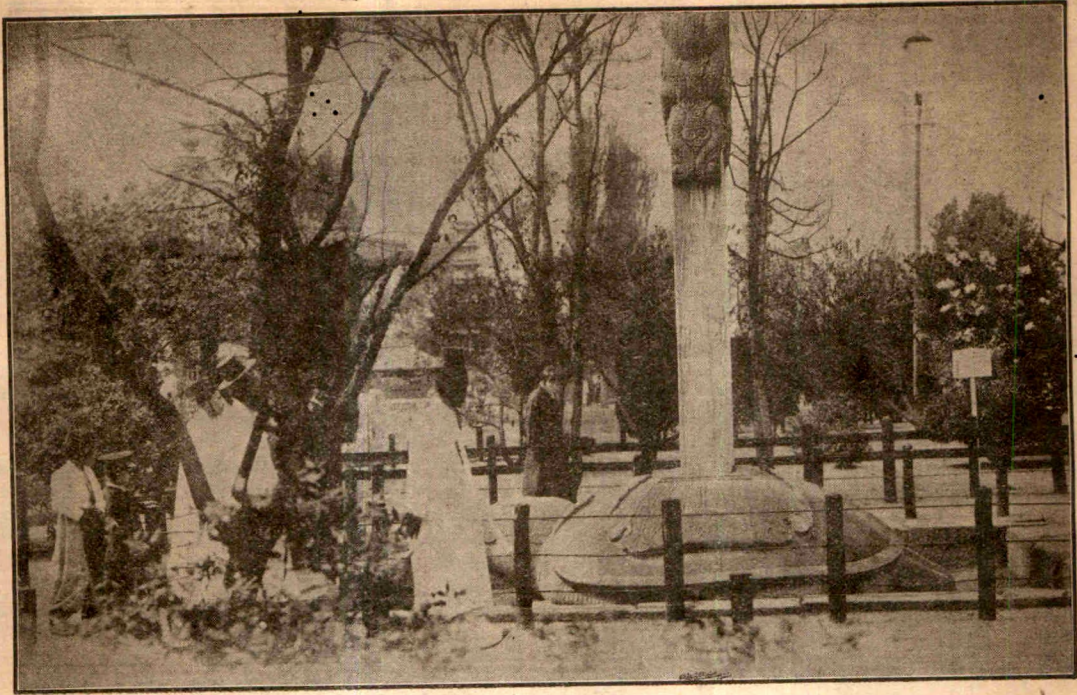
BUSINESS CONQUEST.

Japanese claim much credit, and are doubtless entitled to some, for many improvements they have introduced into Korea. From the elaborate reports of the Japanese government one learns that a postal system has been inaugurated, telegraph and telephone lines established, highways improved, and railroads are being constructed. These are not, however, the only form of enterprise in which the Japanese are engaged in Korea. They have in the propaganda reports and literature drawn a veil of secrecy over their greedy exploitation which reaches many phases of the Korean life. The Japanese, for instance, own and control nearly every

economic resource of importance in Korea. Before a Korean can enter into any enterprise, he must just obtain a permit from the government. The application, under one pretext or another, is neatly pigeon-holed until in due course a Japanese also files an application; then, presto, the permit goes to the latter! A Korean, to give an illustration, may have found a body of ore and is desirous of working it; but he must first make his application for a government permit. His request remains on file until a native Japanese happens along and puts in an application for the same thing, then the permit in some mysterious way finds its way to the Jap.

During the last European war, I heard an American speaker say at a public meeting, "Everything that is damnable is made in Germany. If you turn hell up side down, you will find on its bottom this label: 'Made-in-Germany'." In Korea practically everything has this imprint: "Made-in-Japan." A discriminating writer in a recent issue of *World Outlook* remarks:

"The visitor from the west is told how Japan has increased the trade and commerce of Korea,



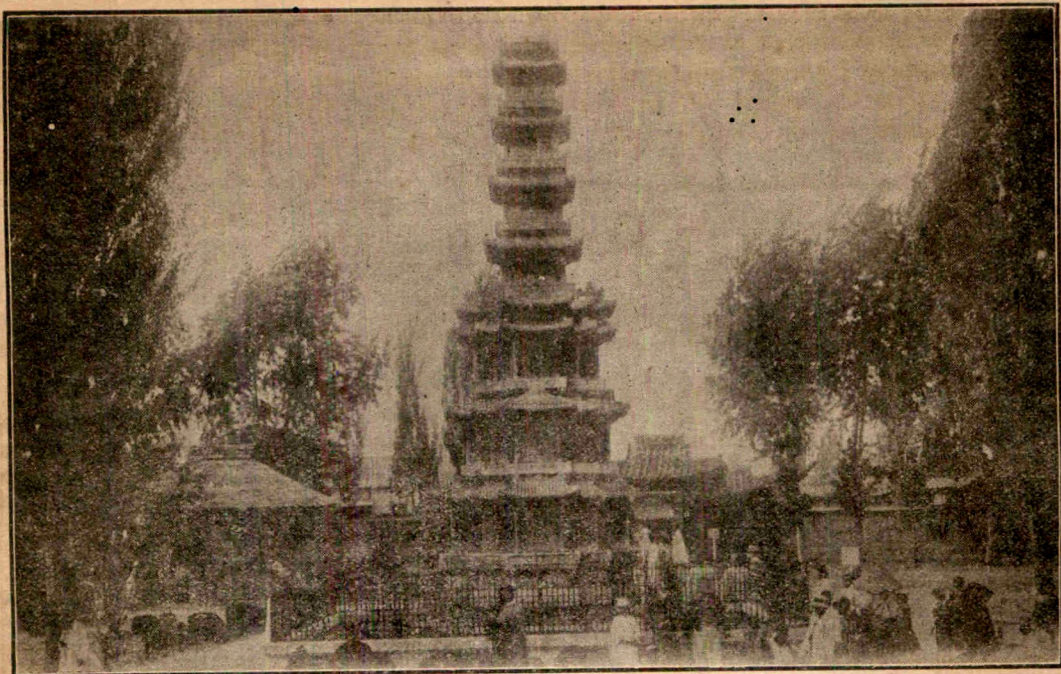
The Pagoda-Park, Seoul.

but he is not informed that seventy-five per cent of all Korea's import and export trade is carried on by the Japanese, and the Koreans have not the slightest chance to compete with the Japanese in the subsidized Japanese commercial companies. The visitor from the west will not be told that the Oriental Development Company, a purely Japanese and semi-official concern, bought up all the rice fields in the higher land levels and cut off the water from the fields below, owned by Koreans, thus compelling them to sell their holdings to their rival at ruinous prices."

Although not admitted in official reports, it is nevertheless a fact that Korea is ruled for the benefit of the Japanese rather than of the Korean. The profits of trade and commerce, while draining the resources of Korea, go to make the Japanese pockets heavy with Korean gold. Under the circumstances all talk of Korean prosperity is a bit ludicrous. Land-holding regulations, emigration laws, and administrative measures which affect the vital well-being of the Korean people are enacted with special reference to the Japanese interests as against the Korean. In short, it is a terrible economic exploitation, a dire industrial serfdom, which confronts Korea.

THE FUTURE.

It is perhaps true that Japan is simply doing in Korea what any European imperialistic nation would have done, had it succeeded in planting its feet in that land. Japan is a precocious baby disciple of Europe. True enough. But—can two wrongs make one right? Can the robbery of Europe justify the robbery of Japan? Moreover, if Japan aspires to the leadership of Asia, the Nipponese statesmen must abandon their policy of ruling Korea by force. In March 1919, Koreans proclaimed their country a republic. Korea, which is more than one half as large as Japan proper, is now seething with deep unrest, profound discontent. The Koreans being disarmed, are offering passive resistance to the Japanese government at every step. And the Japanese, in order to crush the Korean opposition, are inflicting upon the Korean Nationalists most frightful tortures. They include, among others, such cruel barbarities as pulling out finger and toe nails, stretching out nerves, and searing the live flesh with red hot irons. Nothing has, however,



The Pagoda-Park, Seoul.
The Marble Pagoda in the foreground was built in 1466.

succeeded in breaking up the passive revolutionary movement. Japan, almost driven to despair, is to-day promising "reforms" in order to conciliate the Korean leaders; but Japan has no intention whatever of giving independence to Korea. The Sun Rise Empire is not even repentant for the many crimes committed in the subjugated country. There appears to be a parallel in one respect between the Japanese policy in Korea and the underlying English policy in India. The government of the mikado is occasionally administering rebuke to some of the participants in Korean outrages just as the government of the viceroy is doing to a few guilty of the bloody Amritsar massacre, for "exceeding", in the naive language of the *London Daily Herald*, their "ration of frightfulness." But neither in Korea nor in India is there any serious condemnation by the responsible authorities of the frightfulness itself. And the fact is that new Amritsars could not be avoided by simply dismissing a Dyer or an O'Dwyer as a scapegoat, a stage villain. Such "occurrences"—it is Mr. Montagu's own pretty word—will happen again

and again so long as there is no radical change in the policy. The Japanese rule in Korea and the English rule in India have been and are based upon the sword of the ruler, the bayonets of a foreign army, rather than the consent of the ruled. The so-called reforms have for their subtle purpose the misleading of a large number of critics and thus divert attention from fundamental political and economic issues. At bottom the policy of the autocratic government in the two countries remains practically the same: depreciate a few individual acts of what general Dyer calls "bad judgment", but justify the policy of using force brutally, mercilessly, and without stint. "There can be no half-way house," points out *The Freeman* of New York, "between government by consent and government by coercion. Small doses of force will irritate, while large doses may at least repress. That, indeed, was precisely what happened in the Punjab." The Japanese government in Korea will, therefore, remain fully armed with every means of suppression, oppression, and tyranny. In spite of the angry procession

of protests, in spite of the promised reforms, the Japanese government will continue to be a government by frightfulness by Dyerism. But since the spirit of nationalism and of independence has blazed forth the

world over, how can Korea be held in permanent subjection to Japan? How long will one Asian country persist in betraying another? The answer is on the lap of the gods,

HOW THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY ENSNARED THE PEISHWA

BAJEE RAO neither possessed administrative capacity for civil government, nor pluck and courage for military affairs, by virtue of which the earlier Peishwas had succeeded in extending the Maratha power in all directions of India. He was not even a statesman like Nana Fadnavis. Lacking in all the qualities which ought to be possessed by a man in the important situation of the Peishwa, after the death of Nana, he eagerly listened to the advice of the interested intriguers and conspirators. He did not repose confidence in any one. Always distrustful of every one about him, he proved to be a fitful tool in the hands of the Europeans for the destruction of the independence of the Marathas.

Both the Nizam and Tippoo Sultan used to pay *Chouth* to the Marathas. When the former concluded the treaty of Subsidiary Alliance with the Company, and the latter was slain by troops led by European officers, the Marathas asked for their *Chouths* from the Europeans, as they had to settle all foreign affairs on behalf of the Nizam and of the successor of Tippoo. This question of *Chouth* formed a strong point in all discussions which Nana Fadnavis carried on with the Governor-General. But Nana died and the Europeans refused to settle this matter on behalf of their allies. Under the circumstances, the Peishwa would have been fully justified in holding no communication with the Europeans. But Bajee Rao inherited the weakness of his father Raghoba. He liked to dally and coquet with them. Instead of looking on the Europeans as enemies of his nation, he treated them as the friends and even would have hugged them to his breast, had he been permitted to do so during the life-time of Nana Fadnavis or the ascendancy of Scindhia in Poona affairs.

As has been stated before, Bajee Rao owed his elevation to the Peishwa's musnud to the help accorded to him by Dowlat Rao Scindhia. The latter, therefore, naturally expected that in all important state affairs, Bajee Rao should consult him. A feeling of gratitude should have dictated Bajee Rao to do so. But like Frankenstein of the fable, Dowlat Rao Scindhia had brought into existence a creature who alti-

mately brought about his ruin. It is probable that the Europeans seized every opportunity to poison the mind of Bajee Rao against Scindhia. With his characteristic short-sightedness, he was intriguing with the Europeans to throw off what he supposed to be the galling yoke, and become independent, of Scindhia. In all these intrigues he was encouraged by the Europeans. Dowlat Rao Scindhia at first did not pay any attention to these intrigues.

But he had every reason to be indignant when without his knowledge, the Peishwa granted the permission to the British Government of sending troops into the Maratha territory for the pursuit of Dhoondhia Waugh. The rise of this free-booter, Dhoondhia, need not detain us, for this has no connection with our history. After the fall of Seringapatam, Dhoondhia, who had been the prisoner of Tippoo, made his escape from Seringapatam, and succeeded in gaining around him many adherents of malcontents and freebooters. With these men, he plundered in the dominions of the late Tippoo Sultan. It was necessary that the Company should do something to protect the lives and properties of their new subjects. A large force under Colonel (but now Major-General) the Honorable Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent to pursue Dhoondhia. The marauder escaped into the territories of the Marathas. The British Government made application to the Peishwa, and obtained permission to pursue and destroy Dhoondhia. It was the grant of this permission which justly exasperated Scindhia. Dowlat Rao possessed a sound knowledge of military tactics, which Bajee Rao sadly lacked. Besides, it appears that as a statesman he was far superior to his uncle, Madhoji. The Peishwa committed a suicidal mistake by permitting the British to send troops into the Maratha territory. These troops were under the command of Sir Aurther Wellesley. He entered the Maratha territory, and pursued and slew Dhoondhia Waugh. He did much more. He espied out the strategical positions and weaknesses of the dominions of the Marathas. This knowledge stood him in good stead in all his wars with the Marathas, and his subsequent successful career is mainly

to be attributed to his gaining the knowledge of the country of the Marathas. After his return, he wrote a "Memorandum upon the operations of the Maratha territory." The opening words of the Memorandum were ominous, for these do not show the gratitude of the British for the favor they had received at the hands of the Marathas. This Memorandum begins :—

"As before long we may look to war with the Marathas; it is proper to consider the means of carrying it on. The experience which has been acquired in the late contest with Dhoondhia Waugh, of the seasons, the nature of the country, its roads, its produce, and its means of defence, will be of use in pointing them out. I shall detail my observations upon each of these points for the benefit of those in whose hands may be placed the conduct of the operations of the army in case of such a war, as I have supposed we may expect."

Then he goes on to detail his observations, which it is not necessary to refer to in this place.

As said before, Scindhia was much dissatisfied with the conduct of Bajee Rao. He was afraid lest Bajee Rao should commit other blunders by courting the friendship of the British. Grant Duff writes :—

"Fearing that Bajee Rao intended to fly, he (Dowlat Rao Scindhia) for sometimes kept a guard over his palace. The Peishwa found that his condition was by no means improved by the death of Nana Furnawees, and from the situation in which he was so long placed we cannot be surprised that his natural disposition to intrigue should have become incurably habitual."

The Marathas had, a quarter of a century before, been plunged into the war with the English, by the flight of Raghoba. Therefore Dowlat Rao was fully justified in keeping a guard over the Peishwa's palace. But, unfortunately, Scindhia did not go far enough. He adopted half measures. He should not have scrupled in dethroning and imprisoning, or if need be, executing the Peishwa. This would have perhaps saved the Marathas from losing their independence. But like Frankenstein of the fable he spared the Peishwa who brought all the miseries and foreign rule in the Maharashtra.

Bajee Rao was intriguing with the British. But Scindhia's influence at Poona prevented the Peishwa's intrigue bearing any fruit. The Resident at Poona, Col. Palmer, it seems, was not so clever as Captain Kirkpatrick of Hyderabad. From his stay in Poona, he was unable to gain any advantages for the British. So Colonel the Honorable Arthur Wellesley wrote to Major Munro (afterwards Sir Thomas Munro) on 20th August, 1800 :—

"Scindhia's influence at Poona is too great for us; and I see plainly, that if Colonel Palmer remains there we shall not be able to curb him

without going to war. There was never such an opportunity for it as the present moment; and probably by bringing forward, and establishing in their ancient possessions, the Bhow's family under our protection, we should counter-balance Sindia."

* It is probable that Bajee Rao, when he granted the permission to the British Government of sending troops into the Maratha territory, contemplated an alliance with the English, and also flight from Poona, to become independent of Scindhia. In these views, he was probably encouraged by the British Resident. Captain Grant Duff writes :—

"He (Bajee Rao) was, however, conscious of his own unpopularity as a son of Raghoba. He was anxious to keep well with the British Government, and really had a partiality for the English."

The force under Colonel Wellesley sent into Maratha territory to pursue Dhoondhia, would seem to have been designed for marching on to Poona, in the same manner, as the force from Madras was sent to Hyderabad to overawe and disband Raymond's corps. This is borne out by the Marquis Wellesley's letter to the Right Honorable Lord Clive dated Fort William, August 23rd, 1800, in which he wrote :—

"My latest advices from Colonel Palmer indicate an approaching crisis of a nature which may demand our speedy and active interference in support of the just authority of the Peishwa. It is probable that I may receive an early and urgent application for that purpose from the Peishwa himself. In such an event, it may become necessary for a large proportion of the troops under the command of Colonel Wellesley to proceed (in concert with those of the Nizam, and with a detachment from Bombay) towards Poona. The intermediate motions of Colonel Wellesley must be guided with a view to this probable contingency."

"The necessity of guarding against the revival of Dhoondhia's rebellion, and against the possibility of other commotions on the frontier, render it advisable that Colonel Wellesley should continue to occupy the Maratha territory, and to hold several posts from which he has expelled Dhoondhia's forces until all reasonable apprehensions of further disturbances shall have been removed. In either of two possible events, it would be wise and just to proceed still further :— first, the flight of Bajee Rao from Poona; second, the seizure of His Highness's person by Dowlat Rao Scindhia. In either of these cases Colonel Wellesley's secure establishment, within the Maratha frontier, would facilitate his advance towards Poona.....

"I, therefore, request your Lordship to inform Colonel Wellesley, without delay, that on his receiving authentic and unquestionable intelligence either of the flight or imprisonment of Baji Rao (unless some obstacle should exist from the position of Dhoondhia or some other force) the British army is directed and authorized to take immediate possession, in the name, and on the behalf, of the Peishwa of all the country as far as the bank of the Kistna. Colonel Wellesley will also summon, in the name of the Peishwa, such forts and strong places within the limits described as it shall be judged expedient for the British troops to occupy.....

"If Colonel Wellesley should engage in the opera-

Every one seems to have been dissatisfied with Colonel Palmer because he could not force the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance on the Peishwa. It was, therefore, considered necessary to replace him. The Marquess Wellesley's choice naturally fell on Colonel Kirkpatrick. That officer made the acquaintance of the Governor-General at the Cape. He was the real author of the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance. It was his brother Captain Kirkpatrick who succeeded in carrying it out in a masterly manner in the Nizam's dominions. What the younger brother did so very admirably, the elder was bound to do more excellently. But Colonel Kirkpatrick's ill-health obliged him to leave India for England. The next choice of the Marquess Wellesley fell on Colonel Close. It is probable that Colonel the Honorable Arthur Wellesley had a hand in the appointment of Colonel Close to the office of the Resident at Poona. Colonel Close was the right hand man of Arthur Wellesley in the settlement of the Mysore territory, as he was on that commission appointed by the Governor-General for that purpose, and subsequently he acted in the capacity of Resident at Seringapatam. Arthur Wellesley naturally reposed every confidence in Col. Barry Close to take advantage of the 'opportunity' to 'curb' Scindhia. It was thus that Col. Barry Close succeeded Colonel Palmer as Resident of Poona.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that Colonel Palmer had not tried his best to bring the Peishwa under the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance. He had carried on the intrigue with the Peishwa to such a length, as there was every prospect of success, had he remained a few months longer at Poona. Mr. Mill writes :—

"A few days before the arrival of Colonel Close, the Peishwa had communicated to Colonel Palmer, his predecessor, his consent to subsidize a permanent force of the Company's infantry, to the extent of six battalions with the corresponding artillery, as the Governor-General had proposed; and to assign territory in Hindustan, producing twenty-five lacks of rupees annual revenue: but that the troops shall be retained within the Company's dominions at all times, except when Peishwa should require their actual services. There was still a great distance between the compliance of the Peishwa, and the Governor-General's demands.

tions described and authorized in the foregoing paragraph, he will take care to satisfy the inhabitants of the country that the British Government entertain no other view in them than the restoration of the Peishwa's lawful authority."

But both the Marquess Wellesley and his brother Colonel Wellesley were disappointed. In their opinion it was Colonel Palmer, who was to blame for not bringing about such a state of affairs in Poona, which would have necessitated the march of British troops on the capital of the Peishwa's dominions.

'I am to have my last private audience,' says Colonel Palmer, 'this evening, when I will make a final effort to convince his Highness of the lasting security, power, and prosperity,' (such was the language which the Governor-General and his agents held even to one another to their scheme for reducing to dependence the Princes of Hindustan) 'which he will derive from embracing your Lordship's proposals; though I apprehend, that nothing short of imminent and certain destruction will induce him to make cessions, which militate with his deep-rooted jealousy and prejudices' (so the aversion to a final renunciation of all independent power was coolly denominated); 'of which he thinks', continues the despatch, 'that he had already made extraordinary sacrifices'."

The Governor-General had meditated attacking Scindhia when he went to Madras to fight Tippoo Sultan. But as yet he did not think that the time had arrived to attack Scindhia. So he opened negotiations with him and tried to force on him the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance. On a previous page it has been said that Colonel Collins had been sent as Resident to Scindhia. But in December 1801, he was directed to repair to the Camp of Dowlat Rao Scindhia, for the declared purpose of robbing that prince of his independence.

According to Lord Mornington, a defensive alliance with any one of the Maratha princes would produce one of two effects. Mr. Mill writes :—

"Either it would compel them to give up their military power, in imitation of the state which had submitted to that stipulation; or it would place them 'in a dependent and subordinate condition,' a condition in which 'all their ambitious views, and aggressive designs, would be controlled.' 'It may reasonably,' says the Governor-General, 'be expected, that the success of a negotiation, for that purpose, with Dowlat Rao Scindhia, will materially promote the complete accomplishment of His Excellency's views, by inducing the other Maratha powers to concur in the proposed arrangement with a view to avoid the dependent and subordinate condition to which they must be reduced, by their exclusion from an alliance, of which the operation with respect to them, must be, to control all ambitious views and aggressive designs on their part, without affording to those powers the benefits of the general guarantee!' The doctrine of the Governor-General, therefore, was, that, in this manner, every one of the Maratha States would become dependent upon the English Government; those who accepted the alliance, by the alliance; those who did not accept it, by being deprived of it; the same happy effect, in two opposite cases, by the same ingenious combination of means."

But Scindhia was not going to fall in with the views of the scheming Governor-General;

Colonel Collins was disappointed. Mr. Mill writes :—

"It was the wish of the British Negotiator, who joined the Camp of Sindhia on the 20th February, 1802, to draw from that chieftain a declaration of a desire for British assistance; and afterwards to present the scheme of the Governor-General as the condition on which that advantage might be obtained. Sindhia, however, would not admit that he had any other motive for desiring the presence of a British Resident, than to cement the friendship which already subsisted between him and the British Government; and to possess a more immediate channel of communication: especially, 'as he was guarantee to the treaty between the English Government and the Peishwa,' in this expression, exhibiting even at this early period, his jealousy with respect to the negotiation, which was now carrying on at Poonah, for superseding the existing treaty with the Peishwa, by a treaty upon the Governor-General's favorite system, called 'the system of defensive alliance, and mutual guarantee.'"

Of his failure, the Resident wrote to the Governor-General that

"Sindhia was anxiously desirous to preserve the relations of friendship at that time subsisting between him and the English Government. At the same time, I consider it my indispensable duty to apprise your excellency that I am firmly persuaded he feels no inclination whatever to improve those relations."

Referring to this language of Colonel Collins, Mr. Mill writes :—

"In other words, he (Scindhia) was not yet brought so low, as willingly to descend into that situation in which a participation in the 'system of defensive alliance and mutual guarantee' would of necessity place him."

Colonel Collins strongly recommended to the Governor-General to induce the Peishwa to enter into this system of alliance. He wrote :—

"Were the Peishwa to accept the aid of a subsidiary force from our government, I shall, in this event, entertain strong hopes, that Sindhia, apprehensive lest the authority of the head of the Maratha Empire might be exerted against himself, would solicit as a favour to be admitted to the benefit of the treaty of general defensive alliance."

The motive of Scindhia's not accepting the Governor-General's propositions was rightly stated by him. He wrote :—

"It must likewise be considered, that, however much it may be to the interest of the Peishwa to engage in the defensive alliance, with a view to the restoration of the due exercise of his authority, as head of the Maratha Empire; yet that Sindhia is by no means in a similar predicament. On the contrary, as the Maharaja (Sindhia), by the real superiority of his power, is now enabled to

intimidate Bajee Rao into concessions suitable to his purposes, he is apparently urged, by principles of self-interest not only to decline becoming a party himself in the treaty, but moreover to exert his utmost influence, in order to prevent the Peishwa from entering into engagements which, if carried to the extent originally proposed, would completely render him alike independent of Sindhia, and of every other chieftain of the Maratha State."

So it was decided that the Peishwa should be the victim. Colonel Barry Close was trying his best to effect this. The Peishwa, in common with all the other native rulers of India, knew that the Europeans were prostituting their military strength. It used to be the practice with the princes of India to hire the European soldiers to fight their battles. The Europeans were mercenaries of the worst type and they rose to power because they were mercenaries. The Peishwa wanted to treat them as mercenaries, but the Marquess Wellesley, perhaps judging from his own domestic experience, thought that no other process in bringing under control an Indian prince could be followed than that of placing him at the mercy of mercenaries.

The ruin of the Indian princes would not be very far off, they being obliged to keep, instead of their own army, mercenary British officers and men who had prostituted their military skill and strength. It is idle to expect mercenaries to be faithful soldiers. The Peishwa wanted to keep the European officers and men outside his dominions, because he knew of their intriguing and faithless character. The Marquess Wellesley, it appears, was willing to agree to this. Mr. N. B. Edmestone, Secretary to Government, wrote a secret letter on 23rd June, 1802, to Lt.-Colonel Close, Resident at Poona. In this occur the following significant passages :—

"The measure of subsidizing a British force, even under the limitations which the Peishwa has annexed to that proposal, must immediately place him in some degree in a state of dependence upon the British power,.....*The dependence of a state of any degree upon the power of another naturally tends to increase.* A sense of security derived from the support of a foreign power, produces a relaxation of vigilance and caution. Augmenting the dependence of the Peishwa on the British power under the operation of the proposed engagements, would be accelerated by the effect which those engagements would produce of detaching the state of Poona from the other members of the Maratha Empire."

He rightly argued that

"the conclusion of such engagements with the Peishwa would preclude the practicability of general confederacy among the Maratha States,..... This separate connection with one of the branches of the Maratha Empire would not only contribute to our security, but would tend to produce a crisis of affairs which may

compel the remaining states of the empire to accede to the alliance."

It was to reduce the Marathas to the position of dependence on the British that the Marquess Wellesley withdrew his resignation tendered to the Directors of the East India Company of his office as Governor-General of India, and stayed in that country. He knew that the seed which he had sown of his machinations was soon to bear fruit and so he changed his mind as to his returning to his country. It would have been fortunate for the Marathas, had he never set his foot on Indian soil or not changed his mind regarding his resignation of the Governor-Generalship of India. But on the 24th December, 1802, he wrote to the Honourable Court of Directors :—

"I received with great satisfaction the notification of your appointment of Mr. Barlow to take charge of this government in the event of my death, resignation, or departure from India and I shall accordingly have considered myself to be authorized to embark for England in the approaching month of January, if an important crisis had not arisen in the state of political affairs in India since 13th of March, 1802.

"The recent distractions in the Maratha empire have occasioned a combination of the utmost importance to the stability of the British power. In my judgment, the confusion now prevailing among the Maratha powers, cannot terminate in any event unfavourable to the security of the Honourable Company or of its allies. But I can not behold, without considerable solicitude, a conjuncture of affairs which appear to present the utmost advantageous opportunity that has ever occurred, of improving the British interests in that quarter on solid and durable foundations."

Of course, the Marquess Wellesley does not say anything about the authors of the distractions in the Maratha empire, but if we bear in mind certain facts or circumstances it will not be a great strain on the intellect to understand that the English were pulling the strings which wrought the distractions and confusion among the Marathas. In a half-hearted manner, the Peishwa was seeking the alliance of the British. He fully knew what dependence on them meant. His close association with Nana Fadnavis for a large number of years had taught him exactly what Mr. Elphinstone wrote to Col. Barry Close that "the dependence of state in any degree upon the power of another naturally tends to increase." He had also before his eyes the object lesson of the treatment meted out to the Nizam by his European friends and allies. The Nizam, as the price for his alliance with the latter, was obliged to grant them in 1798, a portion of his dominions. But the treaty of 1798 was annulled and in 1800 a new one was substituted, by which he was again obliged to part with a very large portion of his territories. In both the wars against Tippoo, viz., those of

1792 and 1799, the Nizam had assisted the British with men and money. He was allowed to participate in the conquered territories. But for his alliance with the Europeans, the Nizam was deprived by them of all his acquired territories, and the boundaries of his dominions in 1800 were not even those he had in 1790 A. C. Besides, he was deprived of his independence and was virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Company. Seeing the fate of the Nizam, it is not surprising to understand the half-hearted manner in which the Peishwa was courting the friendship of the British.

In his last official despatch to the Governor-General, Colonel Palmer, the Resident at Poona, had written :—

"I apprehend, that nothing short of imminent and certain destruction will induce him (the Peishwa) to make concessions, which militate with his deep-rooted jealousy and prejudices."

That is to say, the Peishwa was not willing to permit the pythonic embrace of the Europeans unless as a last resource he was compelled to choose between the devil and the deep sea.

It was necessary, therefore, that something should be done to make the Peishwa apprehend his "imminent and certain destruction". To understand how this was done, one has to advert to the fugitive Holkar brothers.

Scindhia had defeated the Holkars, of whom Yeshwant Rao fled to Nagpore and younger Withojee was a fugitive at Kolapore. There was already a British Resident at Nagpore, in the person of Mr. Colebrooke, sent by Lord Mornington to negotiate with the Raja of Berar for the purpose of forming an alliance against Scindhia. It is on record that the embassy of Mr. Colebrooke was a success in as much as the Raja was willing to do anything to oblige the English. At a time when the Governor-General was devising every scheme calculated to reduce the power of Dowlat Rao Scindhia when he was advising his Commander-in-chief "to use every endeavour to excite the Rajputs and other tributaries against Sindhia" and to "take proper steps for supporting and encouraging the exertions of the partizans of the Byes and Lukwaje Dadu, together with all persons in the family or service of Sindhia, who may be disaffected to his Government," it will be folly and stupidity not to believe that the Governor-General's agent at Nagpore was not trying to take advantage of and encourage the defeated enemy of Scindhia who had sought an asylum in the dominions of the Raja of Berar. The avowed object of the mission of Mr. Colebrooke to Nagpore was to excite the Raja of Berar against Scindhia, for wrote Lord Mornington to him that "the local positions of the Raja's territories appears to render him a peculiarly serviceable ally against Dowlut Rao Sindhia."

And when Mr. Colebrooke found Yeshwant Rao Holkar as a fugitive at Nagpore, it is

reasonable to conclude that he employed every means he could think of to help Holkar against Scindhia. Holkar made his escape from Nagpore and raised an army and levied contributions on Scindhia's subjects. One is perfectly justified in believing that the English furnished him with means to effect all these.

Scindhia was at that time in the Deccan. But Yeshwant Rao Holkar's progress and raids into his dominions obliged him to leave the Deccan and proceed to Malwa. The widows of the late Madhoji Scindhia were still in rebellion against Dowlat Rao, for they were encouraged and supported in this by the English. Scindhia tried to come to terms with Yeshwant Rao. The latter seemed willing to agree to this. He agreed even

"to seize the Byes, to whom he had before proffered friendship. He accordingly attacked their troops, forced the ladies into Burhanpore, where he besieged them, but they were so fortunate as to escape towards Maywar,..... Scindhia supposed that, in permitting them to get off, Holkar had acted with double treachery."*

Scindhia's supposition was a fact. Unfortunately, he did not know Yeshwant Rao Holkar was merely a tool in the hands of the Europeans. The Holkar was no statesman. He, therefore, carried on the policy which helped the Europeans. Holkar's 'proffered friendship' to the Byes, and his subsequently letting them escape towards Meywar, were in all probability dictated to him by the Europeans. We should not forget the instructions of the Governor-General to the Commander-in-chief, to "use every endeavour to excite the Rajpoots and other tributaries against Scindhia" and also to "take proper steps for supporting and encouraging the exertions of the partizans of the Byes." The Holkar played into the hands of the Governor-General.

It is not necessary to refer to all the battles fought between Scindhia and Holkar in Malwa. Fortune sometimes favored the one, and sometimes the other. During the absence of Scindhia, from the Deccan, Poona was the scene of distractions and disorders. Withojee Holkar, who had taken shelter in Kolapore, raised the standard of revolt against the Peishwa, but he was captured and cruelly executed. Yeshwant Rao Holkar, when apprised of the cruel execution of his brother, pledged the vow of vengeance against the Peishwa. Accordingly he turned his steps towards Poona. That he received assistance from the English the despatches of Lord Wellesley leave no room to doubt. In his despatch to the secret committee of the Honourable Court of Directors, dated Fort William, Decr. 24, 1802, Lord Wellesley wrote:—

"The increased distractions in the Maratha

state, the rebellion of Yeshwantrao Holkar... against the combined forces of the Peishwa and Scindhia, appeared to constitute a crisis of affairs favourable to the success of our negotiations at Poona."

Again,

"This crisis of affairs appeared to me to afford the most favourable opportunity for the complete establishment of the interests of the British Empire, without the hazard of involving us in a contest with any party..... The continuation of the contest between those chieftains would probably weaken the power, and impair the resources of both, and would afford to the British Government an opportunity of interposing its influence and mediation for the restoration of the Peishwa's just authority, under terms calculated to secure our relations with the Maratha Empire, on the basis of a general defensive alliance and reciprocal guarantee,....."

He instructed the Resident at Poona to adopt every practicable precaution to preclude every risk of hostilities between the British troops and those of Yeshwant Rao Holkar, and to endeavour to secure the accomplishment of our views by means of amicable negotiation." In other words, the British troops were to assist Holkar against the Peishwa.

Reading the above extracts between the lines, no man possessing a grain of common sense can help thinking that the British were assisting Holkar against Scindhia. The very fact that no attempt was made to check Holkar, nay, on the contrary, the Resident was instructed "to preclude every risk of hostilities between the British troops and Yeshwant Rao Holkar," is a strong evidence in support of the view that Holkar received every encouragement, direct and indirect, in his contest with Scindhia and the Peishwa. It should be borne in mind that the Peishwa was an ally of the British. Lord Cornwallis went to war with Tippoo Sultan, because the latter was understood to meditate an attack on the Raja of Travancore, who was an ally of the British. But in this instance, Holkar invaded and occupied the capital of their ally, the Peishwa, and yet the Christians did not even protest against Holkar's conduct.

When Scindhia left Poona for Malwa, he left behind at Poona five battalions of regular infantry and 10,000 horse. His troops were all well disciplined and equipped. Holkar's army consisted of rabbles compared to Scindhia's. It was between such two forces that the battle was fought at Poona on the 25th October, 1802. Of course, the Peishwa's troops fought along with those of Scindhia against Holkar's. There was thus every probability of Holkar meeting with defeat. But fortune smiled on him. He was victorious. The combined forces of Scindhia and Peishwa were utterly routed. What part the English Resident at Poona played in contribu-

ting to the success of Holkar's army in the battle of the 25th October, 1802, will never be known. But as stated above, there are strong grounds for suspecting that the Resident assisted Holkar.*

As Colonel Palmer had written to the Governor-General "that nothing short of imminent and certain destruction will induce him (the Peishwa) to make concessions, it appears probable, nay almost certain, "that imminent and certain destruction" should be made to stare him in the face. And this was easily to be effected by rendering aid to Holkar in his raids into the Peishwa's territory. It would have been unimperialistic policy, had the Governor-General and his agent withheld their assistance to Holkar in this crisis to which they were looking for years and which was to prove so beneficial to their interests in India.

The Peishwa, on hearing of the defeat sustained by his and Scindhia's forces, fled from Poona. Had he fled to Scindhia for protection, matters, perhaps, might have been again mended. But Scindhia had played the part of Frankenstein in creating this monster in the shape of the Peishwa. The English, also, were instilling poison into the mind of the Peishwa against Scindhia. Years previously he had been told by the Governor-General, that in an emergency, he would always be granted an asylum in Bombay.

Curiously enough, the British Resident did not accompany the Peishwa in his flight, but stayed on in Poona.

Captain Grant Duff writes :—

"Holkar sent an invitation to the Resident to

* It is also probable that Scindhia was betrayed by his European Officer, named Captain Fidele Filose. Sir Michael Filose writing in the *Asiatic Review* for April, 1889, thus spoke regarding Captain Fidele Filose's committing suicide :—

"Surj Rao Ghatgay, the Maharaja's (Dowlat Rao's) father-in-law was a man of great influence,..... He now began to accuse Fidele Filose of being in correspondence with Jeswant Rao Holkar, and of seeking opportunity to betray his master Scindhia. These false accusations and the constant hostilities of Surji Rao so preyed on the mind of Fidele Filose that he committed suicide."

It appears to us that it was the guilty conscience of that officer of Scindhia which led him to commit suicide. Had there been no truth in the accusations brought against him, he would have either demanded an enquiry into his conduct or left the service of Scindhia. But since he did not adopt either of these measures, one is inclined to believe in his guilt.

Holkar's unexpected success also over Scindhia's troops add some force to the view that there was a traitor in the latter's camp. Who could have played the traitor's part so well as the European officers? It is therefore not improbable that Surj Rao Ghatgay was not wrong in accusing Captain Fidele Filose of being in correspondence with Jeswant Rao Holkar and of seeking an opportunity to betray his master, Scindhia.

come and see him on the following day, which Colonel Close did not think it prudent to decline.....In his conversation he (Holkar) was polite and frank,.....and expressed himself in the most friendly manner towards the Resident and the British Government. He seemed extremely desirous of obtaining the mediation of the resident in settling with Scindhia and the Peishwa, and solicited Colonel Close, whom he detained about a month in Poona, to arbitrate in the existing differences."

This is another proof in support of the view that Holkar had received aid from the British in the contest with Scindhia. But the object of the British was now served. They had used Holkar as the cat's paw and now they did not care any longer to listen to his solicitations and requests.

The Peishwa fled from Poona to Singurh and from thence to Raigurh. From Raigurh he retired to Mhar, "whence he despatched letters to the Bombay Government, requesting him that ships might be sent to convey him and his followers to that Island.....But on hearing of the approach of the Holkar's troops, who were sent in pursuit of him, the Peishwa repaired to Severndroog, where he resided for sometime,.....(then), he crossed over the Rewadunda, and thence embarking in an English ship provided for his reception, he proceeded to Bassein.....where he landed, 6th December, 1802."*

The Peishwa was now to exchange king log for king stork. He was going to suffer the pythonic embrace of the Europeans. Colonel Palmer's prediction was coming to be realised. The Peishwa's "destruction was imminent and certain," and so the Europeans were to be triumphant over him. For four years and more the Governor-General had tried to ensnare the Peishwa. He had left no stone unturned to accomplish this object. But all his labours seemed at first to have been in vain. After all, he was now going to succeed. At Bassein, the Peishwa agreed to those very terms which he had been made to decline year after year, and month after month, by the great Nana Fadnavis, and Dowlat Rao Scindhia. But now, a weak man as he was, lacking the statesmanly foresight of Nana and the martial instinct of Scindhia, he fell an easy victim to the temptations of the Company's servants. On his neck was yoked the scheme of the Subsidiary Alliance. On the 31st December, 1802, he concluded the famous treaty of Bassein. This treaty sealed the doom of the independence of the Marathas, those whom the genius of Sivaji had evolved as a great nation. Nay, in this treaty was sounded the death-knell of the independence of India. No longer were the peoples of India to dream of regaining their lost independence.

Nana Fadnavise's prophecy came to be fulfilled. He had opposed the raising of the son of the

* Grant Duff.

weak-minded Raghoba to the Peishwa's musnad on the ground of "the danger to be apprehended from the connection between his family and the English." Any other strong-minded Peishwa

would not have been so easily ensnared by them, as was the imbecile Bajee Rao.

(Concluded.)

MARATHA.

THE OPIUM MONOPOLY IN INDIA

I WISH to call the attention of the public of India once more to the immediate seriousness of the Opium Question. Quite recently, I have been reading an article by Mr. Francis Hackett, on Miss N. La Motte's book called "The Opium Monopoly."

I have not been able to obtain as yet a copy of the book itself in India; but it has been quoted very fully, in salient details, by many of the leading American and English papers. The scandal is so grave, the facts are so compellingly self-evident and veracious, the evil is so pressing, that I feel it necessary, before the National Congress meets at Nagpur, again and again to call public attention to these things, in order that they may not be lost sight of, in the press of other business. In this paper, I shall chiefly quote from the article by Mr. F. Hackett, to which I have already referred. He begins by making a head-line of the words of the British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Auckland Geddes, who spoke as follows:—

"One thing I can say positively, and without fear of informed contradiction, —the inspiration of British policy, during the period I have known it, has been, if possible, to bring order out of chaos, to extend the boundaries of freedom, to improve the lot of the oppressed, to increase the material prosperity of the world."

Mr. Francis Hackett, following the authority of the Christ himself in the sermon of Mount, declares that the greatest of all offences is not so much that of open physical violence, but rather the offence against the spirit,—the offence of self-righteousness. What Christ condemned in the Pharisees (while he spoke words

of pardon and sympathy to the publicans and sinners) was the hypocrisy of professing to do justice, while covering over all the while, with a cloak of sanctimonious phrases, secret and hidden sins.

Mr. Hackett brings this same charge of hypocrisy against the official governing classes in Great Britain and India. He says, and I believe he says truly,—

"The pride of official Britain is the dominating factor of the world to-day."

He should have added, after the word 'pride', the word 'self-seeking': for it is the intense desire for increased riches, in order to make up for the economic losses of the Great War, which affects the world to-day, side by side with this racial and political pride of Great Britain. The economic and political motives of aggrandisement have become intimately united; and what we are now face to face with, in its most unscrupulous form, is an 'Economic imperialism,' which cloaks its selfishness under what Sir Auckland Geddes has described as the inspiration,—"to bring order out of chaos, to extend the bounds of freedom to improve the lot of the oppressed, and to increase the material prosperity of the world." A vocabulary has been hastily manufactured, in which the word 'Commonwealth' is to loom large, instead of the word 'Empire'. But, as Christ has pointed out, it is by deeds, that men and nations are judged, and not by hollow professions.

Mr. Hackett has taken the British Monopoly of Opium in the Far East as one of the acid tests of the sincerity of the desire of the official rulers of Great Britain and India to (i) bring order out of chaos, (ii), to extend the boundaries of freedom,

(iii) to improve the lot of the oppressed, (iv) to increase the material prosperity of the world. He shows that each one of these professions made by the British Ambassador is nothing less than a flagrant hypocrisy in the light of the Blue Book Evidence assembled and presented by Miss La Motte. Instead of these things, Miss La Motte proves, that the British officials are busily and actively engaged, at numerous centres over the Far East, in (i) bringing the chaos of the opium traffic into weak and unprotected communities, (ii) extending the bounds of the moral slavery of the drug habit, (iii) oppressing with opium sales Eastern peoples, (iv) decreasing the material prosperity of the world by crippling the world's workers with the opium poison which is being manufactured in India and sold abroad under Government license.

More deadly, however, than these evils themselves, is the pompous cant which accompanies them. "The worst drug," says the American writer, "that the British monopolise, is not the opium itself, but the *drug of 'Christian' righteousness, with which they lull the world.*"

The history of this new book of Miss La Motte, entitled *The Opium Monopoly*, is an interesting one. This American lady was travelling with another lady in the Far East, when they met a young Hindu student on a boat going to Japan. She heard from him, that the revenues of the Opium Traffic had not been, as she had previously supposed, entirely abandoned by the rulers from the West.

At first, she was convinced that the speaker was mistaken, or else that he had enormously exaggerated his facts. She told him, it was absurd to think that powerful Governments, like those of Great Britain and India, would face the disgrace of an exposure of so serious a moral character. These American ladies had evidently not heard of the 'Gin Traffic' on the West-Coast of Africa, nor had they understood how impervious to criticism an official conscience can become. With all the pertinacity of the American character, they determined to find out things for themselves; and their final

conclusion, after visiting the different countries affected by the Traffic, was as follows :—

"In European countries and in America, we found the governments making every effort to repress the sale of habit-forming drugs. *Here, in the East, a contrary attitude prevails. The Government makes every effort to encourage and extend it.*"

If the last words are an overstatement, for the sake of an epigram, nevertheless the facts are sufficiently damning as they stand. They are taken from official reports and Blue Books. To give one or two examples, —in the Straits Settlements, 9 million dollars are derived from opium, out of a revenue of 19 million dollars. That is to say, nearly one-half the revenue is derived from this poison. In Hong Kong, the figures of the revenue are hardly less appalling.

What does this imply? It means that in these two British ports, where the Europeans are fabulously rich, *these same British merchants*, (who have in their own hands all the power of Government,) refuse to tax themselves up to any appreciable extent; they prefer to escape the normal taxation of their own incomes by encouraging the sale and circulation of poison. It means even more than this; for it implies, that these huge Government sales of opium, at these ports, are really for inland, Chinese consumption. The Government Reports themselves acknowledge, that large amounts are being smuggled into China. The Indian Government stands behind the British Governments of these two colonies, as the ultimately guilty party, who knowingly sells the poison. It does this repeatedly, year after year, although declaring before all the world that it has stopped the Opium Traffic with China. Every opium official of the Indian Government knows perfectly well, that the promise given by the Indian Government in respect to China is a mockery and a fraud, so long as Hong Kong, and Singapore, and Batavia, and Soorabaya, and Macao, and Saigon, and Bangkok, can get as much opium as they please and then pass it on into China itself.

The whole of this nefarious traffic could be stopped tomorrow, in a perfectly safe and scientific manner, if only the Government of India would definitely decide, that *no single place or country should receive opium chests, beyond the proportion needed for the strictly medicinal wants of the community.* Macao, for instance, which is a small island, with about 80,000 inhabitants, receives enough opium for the medicinal wants of 150,000,000 people. Such a thing as this is an open scandal.

Mr. Hackett's concluding words need to be taken to heart. They explain the history of many of those fateful modern events, which are taking place in our own day and before our own eyes. He writes as follows:—

"It is not merely *excusable* to be indignant. It is necessary. The British Government has striven for years to create the myth of its own impeccability. It has excelled Reckitt's Blue, and Colman's Mustard, and Crosse and Blackwell's Jam, in advertising to the world the notion of British justice, British straightforwardness, British simplicity, British honesty, British fair-play. Not till these traits are dissociated from the British Government, is there any hope of fluid perception of facts in the world at large. Was Britain blunt and honest and simple and straightforward at the Peace negotiations? Certainly not. Britain was as crooked as a ram's horn. This crookedness, in my belief, is the kind of relevant fact, which the world must come to recognise. The myth, created by the British soothsayers, must be utterly destroyed. When this

most deceptive myth is destroyed, then there is some chance for justice and fair-play, even under the British system. But we cannot tolerate the 'Geddes myth'!—to attack it, is to arouse British pride? Unfortunately yes. But the best Englishmen and Scotsmen do not interpose their pride between this myth and any criticism of it. They know that men like Geddes have always talked injurious nonsense."

These are the words of an American, who is able to see things in perspective. They are sorely needed in India, where the 'Geddes Myth' has done almost irreparable damage in soothing the conscience of the whole people of India to the toleration of injustice. For,—to speak quite frankly, yet with deep sympathy, at the same time, for the wrong that has been done,—one of the very worst effects of British rule in India has been to lull into a half-comfortable slumber the conscience of the educated classes concerning glaring wrongs which have been committed in the name of 'British Justice.' How else could the Opium Traffic have been allowed to go on for over one hundred years? How else could the Indenture System have been allowed to go on for more than eighty years? There has been an 'opium' drug, as it were, administered to the Indian mind of a spiritual kind. The awakening has come to-day with startling and rack-ing pain. May God grant, that the righteousness of the New India may exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees of the past.

C. F. ANDREWS.

Shantiniketan.

THE BLESSING

Whither the grave old man hath gone
Who but a moment since
Moved at my side
My spirit may not know ;

But it is so
That suddenly my soul is glorified
As though a long-beloved prince
Had blessed me, and passed on.

E. E. SPENCER.

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE IN SUKRA'S
POLITICAL THEORY*

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

SECTION I.

Materialistic Interpretation in Asian Philosophy.

KARL MARX'S *Das Kapital* is usually described as the Bible of the Proletariat. But, Croce in his *Historical Materialism and the Economics of Karl Marx*¹ calls him the Machiavelli of the labor movement. The reason is obvious, for if the Florentine diplomat was pre-eminently the first among the theorists of the state to make short cuts with the "pious wishes" of idealists and confine his attention to the analysis of *Realpolitik*, the German socialist, albeit a Hegelian, was the first to penetrate to what "society is in its actual truth." The "brass tags" of social institutions are to be found, says Marx, in their economic background.

This Marxian emphasis on economics, if not as the sole key to human civilisation, at any rate as a powerful agent in social evolution, brings out the truth that the foundations of history are the methods of production. These are the conditions which give rise to class distinctions, to the constitution of rank and of law, and to those beliefs which make up social and moral customs and sentiments, the reflection whereof is found in art, science and religion.

Propositions like these, which may be taken for what they are worth, are the characteristic generalisations of modern and contemporary social philosophy.² Still, it is interesting to observe that like the social contract theory, the organismic theory, and other theories of recent times, the theory of "economic determinism," "historical materialism," or the "economic interpretation of history"

has been traced by evolutionists through medieval fore-runners "back to Aristotle." There is no reason why archaeologists and antiquarians should not find its germs, if they so desire, even in the *Works and Days* of the hoary Hesiod.

In these efforts of historical scholarship to discover the fathers and great-grandfathers of Karl Marx, all that can be demonstrated, however, is not that Marxianism in its typical features was anticipated by any of the "materialists" of the previous ages, but merely that sociology and philosophy of history were not devoid of an economic consciousness. If we apply the same methodology to Oriental lore, we shall find that among such predecessors of the founder of an economic interpretation the number of Asians is not negligible. China³ can offer the economic teachings of Confucius and his disciples down to Wang Yang-Ming, Islam can contribute such names⁴ as Farabi, Mawardi, Nizam-ul-Moulk and Ibn Khaldoun, and India can bring forward its materialistic strands of thought exhibited in the *dharma* and *niti* or *artha* and *vartta* philosophy.⁵

The physical basis of *samuha* or collective life is postulated by Hindu theorists in the very conception of the state as a seven-limbed or *saptanga*⁶ organism. Two of the seven elements in the body politic are *rastra*

3. H. Chen's *Economic Principles of Confucius and his School* (N. Y. 1911).

4. Vide M. G. de Slane's French translation entitled *Prolegomenes Historiques*, which forms Vols. XIX, Pt. 1, XX, Pt. 1, and XXI, Pt. 1, of *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1862, 1865, 1868). Section III of the treatise deals with the topics discussed here. Cf. T. Hussein's *Philosophie Sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun* (Paris, 1917).

5. Vide Law's: "*Varita*—the Ancient Hindu Economics" in the *Indian Antiquary* (1918).

See also Vatsyayana's *Kama-sutra*, ch. I. sec. IV. (*Nagaraka-vritta*), especially the Jayamangala commentary (Bombay, 1900).

6. *Sukra-niti* (translated into English by the present author, Panini Academy of Research, Allahabad, 1914), Book. I, lines 121-24, V. 1, 2, 22-28. Kautilya's *Artha-shastra* (translated by R. Shamasastry, Mysore, 1915), VI, i, VIII, i.

* A chapter from Vol. II. of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, in the press at Allahabad (Panini Office.)

1 Transl. by C. M. Meredith (N. Y. 1914), pp. 14-20, 118.

2. Cf. E. R. A. Seligman's *Economic Interpretation of History* (N. Y.) In H. E. Barnes' "Sociology before Comte" in the *American Journal of Sociology* (Sept. 1917) one may see some of the alleged "anticipations" of characteristically modern doctrines.

(territory and people) and *kosa* (finance). It is the function of political philosophy to investigate these phenomena in their bearing on man's corporate existence. There can be no *niti-sastra* or *danda-niti* which does not address itself to the territorial demographic and financial problems of social groups. The economic foundations of the state have, therefore, received an adequate attention at the hands of all theorists from Kautilya to Sukra.

SECTION II.

The Territory.

It is in terms of *desa*, or country, and not in terms of the tribe or race (i.e., the people) that the state or political association is conceived in *niti* philosophy. This territorial concept of the nation is fundamentally distinct from the idea of the social group to be found in Homeric, Tacitean (Germanic) and Vedic thought, which is primarily ethnical, nor does *niti* theory approach in any sense the so-called cultural but strictly speaking the linguistic basis of modern nationalism which has found its advocates in Europe from Mazzini to Lenin. The limits of the nation in *Sukra-niti* or *Artha-sastra* are not defined by the boundaries of race, tribe, language, or culture.

Sukra's nationality is thus the nationality of the Roman lawyers and church fathers, of Aquinas, Bartolus and Bodin. And, accordingly, we do not notice in it any notion as to the "proper" size of the territory, or, in other words, as to the maximum number of citizens desirable in a state, with which the Hellenic theory of nationality makes us familiar. In speaking of the nation, *niti* writers do not then refer to the people in the plural number. They mention the land, the country, the geographical expression in the singular. In the next place, their political association is a country-state and not a mere village or town. And thirdly, the state of *danda-niti* is multi-racial and polyglot. The philosophers did not come to comprehend the principle—"one language, one state." The theory of *svaraja* or self-determination, as they conceived it, was competent enough to harmonize, in a truly mediæval or

perhaps all-too modern fashion, the heterogeneity of a people's interests with the unity of the statal organization.

(a) *The Hinterland.*

Rastra, as defined in *Sukra-niti*, comprises both "immovable" and "movable" things (IV, iii, 2). The territorial possessions of the nation including the lands, forests and mines, constitute the immovable *rastra*, and the human factor the movable. And, for general purposes the territory is divided into two parts:—

(1) The hinterland, the *mofussil*, the interior, or the country districts, i.e., the rural area, known usually as *janapada*, although in the Kautilyan *sastra* the same term is used as a synonym for Sukra's *rastra*, and

(2) the metropolis or capital, usually called *raja-dhani*, but very often simply *pura*, *nagara*, or *pattana* or even *durga* (fort).

So far as the hinterland is concerned, Sukra, (I, 425-428) would recommend an area which is rich in the wealth of trees, plants and shrubs. The resources of the animal world should also be plentiful. The land is to be rich in cattle, birds and other game. The statesmen should see to it that the country offers splendid agricultural facilities as well. The sources of water and the supplies of grains must, therefore, have to be quite helpful. The network of rivers and waterways is suggested as a matter of course, nor must fodder and fuel, "the grasses, and the woods," be neglected while state-making is projected in a certain locality. The hills with their mineral and forest produce are also to be reckoned among the attractions if a territory is to be considered suitable for a nation contemplating "a local habitation and a name." And lastly, the area must naturally be adapted to commerce by rivers. There is to be communication with the sea. The boats must be plying up and down so that the place may be quite brisk with the movements of the river craft.

Of course, not all areas on the earth's surface are provided with such ideal contributions of physiography, and not all capital cities in the world's history have enjoyed in their *mofussil* tracts the gifts of hills, rivers, seas, and forests in the manner described here. But, it is only to be noted that like Plato, Aquinas, More and others, Sukra has here tried to indicate those geographi-

7. See the author's articles on "Hindu Political Philosophy" in the *Political Science Quarterly* (New York) for December 1918, "Hindu Theory of International Relations" in the *American Political Science Review* for August, 1919, and "The Theory of Property, Law and Social Order in Hindu Political Philosophy" in the *International Journal of Ethics* for April 1920.

cal conditions,¹ which, other circumstances remaining the same, are likely to further best the political welfare of a people, or at any rate, their economic self-sufficiency.

For administrative purposes the *Janapada* is to be divided into *gramas* (villages).² A *grama*, according to Sukra (I, 385—386) is a piece of territory whose area is a *croś* (25,000,000 square cubits in Brahma's calculation) or a little above two miles, and whose yield is 1,000 silver *karsa* (= shilling at the pre-war rate of exchange), i. e., about \$250. The half of a *grama* is known as *palli*, the half of a *palli* as *kumbha*. One-twelfth of the income from the *grama* is to be the salary of the *gramapa*, the village officer (I, 631, IV, ii, 251).

The planting of trees is an important item in Sukra's plan of *grama* formation, and accordingly he devotes some space to the question of forestry and arboriculture (IV, iv, 91-129).

(b) The Capital.

The seat of the central government, the *raja-dhani*, is to be "not very far from the hills," says Sukra. But, the site must be an "even ground and picturesque plain." The shape may be that of the half-moon, a circle, or a square. It must be protected by walls and ditches, and it must be large enough to be divided into *gramas*, i. e., wards or sections. The *sabha* or council buildings are to be located in the centre. The city is to be provided with at least four gates in four directions. Wells, banks and pools are to be constructed in different wards, and roads as well as parks to be laid out in rows. The parallel lines of streets and parks seem to have been quite a popular idea, since in Valmiki's *Ramayana* the City of Ayodhya is constructed on this plan. It is to be dotted over, besides, with taverns, temples, and travellers' inns (I, 429-453).³ Altogether we have in *Sukra-niti* the conception of an extensive capital.

In regard to buildings, Sukra, as we have just noticed, provides for the *sabha*, or council house, in the centre of the city (I, 431, 484—499), and the palace in the midst of the council buildings (I, 435—453). The

court and the *śilpa-sala* or hall of arts, are two separate establishments to be located to the north of the palace (I, 455). To the north likewise or to the east are given the sites for the dwellings of the ministers, councillors, clerks and officers (I, 500—501). Sukra places the military barracks towards the north or towards the east and follows a certain order in the allocation of space (I, 506—512). The people's houses are distributed in all directions according to "wealth and birth" (I, 504—505). In the marketplace stalls are to be arranged according to the classes of commodities (I, 516).⁴

Sukra's details are quite full in regard to some of these edifices, public and private. He recommends definite measurements in certain instances. About the rest-houses for travellers, we are told, that these are to be built strong and provided with tanks. The rooms of the houses are to be uniform and in a row. They may face the north or the east (I, 513—515). The city wall is to be uniformly deep and should have its foundation one-half or one-third of its height. It is to be half as wide as high (I, 474—475). The width of the ditch is to be double its depth (I, 480). The wall, moreover, is to be provided with *nalikastra*, i. e., guns (I, 477) and with a system of well-built windows, and should it happen to be unprotected by a hill, the city is to be strengthened by a second wall, which is lower than the main one in height (I, 478—479). Among the works of useful magnificence noted by Sukra none seem to be more important than the temples, and his treatment of temple architecture and sculpture is one of the most exhaustive in Sanskrit literature, comparable to that on painting in *Chitrakalāsana* in the Tibetan Tanjur collection (IV, iv, 132-412).

The fixtures and important articles of furniture are also particularized. The council house is to be furnished with pumps or water sprays, musical instruments, fans for distributing air, clocks for indicating time, mirrors, and paintings (I, 496-498). Similarly in connection with the palace we are told of mechanical instruments, pumps, spouts or other devices for raising and distributing water (*jala-yantra*), or otherwise decorating the gardens as with ornamental tricks (I, 436).

1. Kautilya's ideas may be seen in the *Arthashastra*, Bk. VI, ch. i.

2. Cf. Kautilya, II, i.

3. Bhoja's town-planning is different. *Vide Yuktikalpa-tarā*, verses 145-154.

4. Cf. *Yukti*, 158-167 for ideas in regard to the distribution of buildings on a city map. See also Kautilya, II, iv.

The reference to pumps, clocks and other instrumental appliances as well as to *nali-kashtra* (guns) should indicate the age of these lines within approximate limits, were we in a position to define exactly the kind of instruments intended by the author.

(c) *The Arteries of Communication.*

Communication between the *pura* and the *janapada* has to be maintained by well-built roads and these should be protected for the comfort and convenience of travellers. Those who molest the travellers have accordingly to be carefully repressed (I, 629-630). The village police, for instance, will have to visit the rural lanes (*bithi*), every half *yama* or hour and a half (I, 585-586) at night. And in order that the roads may be maintained in good condition it is suggested also that the sentinel should examine every egress out of and entry into a village (I, 582-583). The physical condition of the roads must not be neglected. Annual repairs are to be undertaken. Prisoners and bad characters might be inducted to do the work (I, 536-537; IV, i, 216, 230). There is besides to be a road-cess as an item of public revenue (IV, ii, 258).

An important link in the chain between the city and the country districts is the series of inns or *serais*. One such rest-house for the convenience of traders and travellers should be built between every two *gramas* (I, 538-539), and these are to be under the administration of the village authorities. In the interest of public order the guests at the rest-house will have to submit to all sorts of queries (I, 541-549). If they carry arms these will have to be delivered to the master of the establishment for the night, but will be returned to the owner at daybreak. The rest-houses may be regarded really as police booths, and the proprietor more an officer of the Government than a private hotel-keeper. In any event, the roads being thus punctuated with centres of police vigilance may be expected to be safe for the honest citizen.

Roads are to be of different kinds, varying in width.⁵ The *grama* may have a *padya* (footpath) which is three cubits wide and a *bithi* which is five cubits wide (I, 523), but such narrow lanes are not to be constructed in the city (I, 527).

The narrowest street in the city is to be

ten cubits wide. It is known as *marga*. Such *margas* may be constructed in the *grama* also (I, 523-30). All these roads (*padya*, *bithi* and *marga*) should emanate from the centre of the *grama* or the *pura*, as the case may be, towards the north, south, east and west (I, 525).

The widest roads are known as *raja-marga* (King's highways). These are of three orders, 15 cubits, 20 cubits or 30 cubits in width (I, 520), but may be built anywhere, i. e., both in town and country. In the capital the *raja-marga* is to emanate from the palace in all directions (I, 519). It is suggested that in a forest of six *yojanās* (i. e., about forty-eight miles) the thirty cubit *raja-marga* is a necessity, but the width of the road may be reduced according as the forest is less extensive (I, 528-529).

Sukra has certain ideas in regard to road-engineering (I, 531-535). The roads are to be made like the back of a tortoise, i. e., high in the middle and provided with sewers on either side for the drainage of water. Bridges also are to be constructed wherever necessary. The houses in town or country should have their front side on the road, the back-yard being relegated to the disposal of nuisance, garbage and so forth. The durability of roads is suggested by the fact that *raja-marga* are intended for the conveyance of marketable commodities (I, 522) and that gravel is to be used while repairing them (I, 536).

The history of road-making in India should offer some suggestions in regard to the probable date by which these notions of material life may have become possible.

SECTION 3.

Wealth and Property.

The social significance of the distinction between riches and poverty is well known to Sukra. In a wealthy man even defects are appraised as merits, says he, while even the merits of a poor man are treated as defects (III, 370-371). Do we not often see really meritorious people having to dance attendance on men of wealth as mere menials (III,

6. For some of the parallels and contrasts bearing on the territorial (and demographic) aspects of the state *vide* Plato's *Laws* IV, V, Aristotle's *Politics*, I, VII, Aquinas (in Littlejohn's *Political Theory of the Schoolmen*, pp. 92-98), Ibn Khaldoun, IV. V. Bodin, V, i. More, II.

5. Cf. Kautilyan roads in Bk. II, ch. iv.

369)? Nay, through poverty talent is compelled to prostitute itself and people have to become slaves of others (III, 375). Further, the man without wealth is likely to be deserted by wife and children (III, 363) and, of course, poverty leads to lunacy, suicide and what not (III, 372-374).

The relation between the rich and the poor have in all ages produced two evil consequences in social order as thus exhibited in *Sukra-niti*. First, there ensues an exploitation of the poor, however talented, by the rich however worthless, and in the second place, the world witnesses a wholesale demoralization and dehumanization of the poorer classes. But, although Sukra is painfully conscious of this eternal problem of the human race, he is not prompted to write a *More's Utopia* in order to declare that "until property be taken away there can be no equitable or just distribution of things nor can the world be happily governed," a message of absolute communism which, probably attempted by Louis Blanc in 1848, is today being realized in part in the proletarian democracy of Bolshevik Russia under the inspiration of the contemporary theory of "class-struggle." Sukra might have utilized the economic indifferentism of the monkish philosophies adumbrated by certain sections of Buddhist thought, as Plato laid under contribution the notions of the Cynics, if he had wished to advocate the abolition of private property, but, no, he becomes a champion of property with vengeance. It will not be possible for a Pohlmann of the Orient to write a *Geschichte des Antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus* in order to exhibit the communistic or socialistic trends of *niti*, *artha* or *danda* philosophy. Anti-propertyism may be detected in some of the metaphysical strands of Indian thought, but it is the furthest removed from the economic conception of the political and social philosophers whose *sastras* have come to light until now.

(a) *The Earnings of an Economic Animal.*

The first postulate of Sukra's social philosophy rather is that "man is the slave of wealth, not wealth of anybody, and accordingly one should always carefully labor for wealth, because it is with wealth that duties can be performed, worldly enjoyments assured, and salvation earned." (V, 77-79). And, this *sadhana*, i. e., *Streben*

or striving for wealth is not to be intermittent or by fits and starts. The motive of this pursuit is supplied by man's prospectiveness, i. e., eye towards the future. "I am to live for one hundred years and must enjoy life with the ease that wealth can command,"—such is the optimistic attitude that *Sukra-niti* recommends for the "sons of Adam" (III, 356-359). The all-important question then is: How is wealth to be acquired? The means of livelihood are manifold, as Sukra's various lists would indicate. But, in one instance he suggests eight "good ways and means." These may be enumerated as (1) the learned professions, e. g., teaching, etc., (2) government service, (3) the military profession, (4) farming, (5) banking, usury, etc., (6) commerce, retail trade, store-keeping, etc., (7) arts and crafts, and (8) the beggar's profession (III, 364-367). It has to be observed, however, that begging is not honorable except in the life of ascetics, hermits and forest-dwelling monks (III, 554).

Sukra does not leave these occupations entirely to the judgment of the reader, for he furnishes his own estimate in regard to their social importance and income. Government service is, according to him, a good occupation (III, 555). He is not unaware that service of kings is very intricate and cannot be satisfactorily discharged except by the discreet people. Government service is indeed compared to the religious ceremony of *asidhara* in which a sword is placed between the husband and the wife. It is thereby suggested to be dangerous and difficult (III, 559-560). The occupation of the priest is considered to be quite lucrative, probably on a par with public service (III, 556). Agriculture, which is said to have "rivers for mothers," is, of course, a good occupation (III, 552). Nay, anticipating the theory of the eighteenth century "physiocrats", Sukra is prepared to assert that "land is the source of all wealth," and that "it is for land that kings can lay down even their lives" (I, 357-358). Again, "wealth and life are preserved by men for enjoyment. But what avails a man to have these if he has not protected the land?" (I, 359-360).

And, therefore, although *Sukra-niti* recommends commerce as a good means of livelihood and would confer judicial and

legislative sovereignty on commercial "group-persons" like *srenis* and *ganas* we are not surprised to find in it the statement that "commerce is useless" (III, 557). Are we to understand simply that it is less remunerative than the occupation of the priest or government service? Or, shall we take it to imply that commerce is not "productive" in the genuine physiocratic sense according to which agriculture is the only productive pursuit of mankind? In any event, the modern mind need not feel rudely shocked by such a notion coming from the Hindu world, only if it cares to orient itself to the theories of "unproductive" labor in the history of European economics from Aristotle to John Stuart Mill.

The moral of Sukra's *chrematistike*, then, is that one should "acquire wealth by grains" as one ought to pursue learning by moments (III, 352-353). In other words, a penny saved is a penny won. The acquisition is to be a steady and daily function, albeit only in paltry sums. And, since the distinction between *meum* and *teum* is essential in Sukra's scheme of social polity, loan transactions, banking, laws of debt, etc., occupy an important place in *Sukra-niti* (III, 380-386, 400-401, 406-407, II, 623-624, V, 192-193). And a worldly-wise advice is given to the effect that the shrewd man should not desire wealth; e.g., by way of loan, of the person whose friendship he wishes to cultivate (III, 402).

(b) *Right to Utilities.*

Juridically speaking, therefore, a command over wealth or the utilities and values, i.e., a right to property is the prime concern of man as a member of the organised society. The development of proprietary consciousness on which Sukra's social organisation is based, leads him automatically to analyze man's relation to wealth in corresponding legal terms. According to him, "an income denotes the bringing of gold, cattle, grains, etc., under one's possession in periods of years, months or days" (II, 645-646). Expenditure, or consumption, is naturally the reverse side of income. With it is consummated the "transfer of property" or the "giving away of possession" to others (III, 647). And, this legal, or for that matter, logical division is relevant as much in the domestic economy of an individual as in the house-keeping of states.

Command over utilities may imply three different things, says Sukra (II, 650-651). First, the utilities may not be the full property of the party that happens to command them for the time being. These may have been placed with it by others as *aupanidhya*, i.e., pawn or security and will have to be returned to the proprietors some day. Or, these may have come into one's possession as *yachita* wealth, i.e., through begging, for instance, some ornaments for the usufruct of which no interest has to be paid. Or, again, the utilities are but *auttamarnika* wealth, i.e., the values raised by loan in consideration of some interest (II, 652-655). In the case of all these three classes of *aya* or income, the proprietary rights are *nischitanya-svamika*, i.e., known definitely to be belonging to others.

The second relation in which a party may stand in regard to the command over values arises when one happens to pick up gems and jewels in streets and public places. In these instances the wealth is *ajnata-svamika*, i.e., its actual proprietors are unknown.

The third form of possession is that of complete and unobstructed proprietary right. Such command over values, known as *sva-svatva* or one's own property, may accrue in two different ways according to *Sukraniti* (II, 658). The one mode is described as *sahajika*, i.e., natural or normal, and the other as *adhika*, i.e., additional or wealth by increment (?). It is the nature of the former to "grow regularly by days, months or years" (II, 659-661). It embraces practically all forms of wealth excepting a few enumerated as belonging to the other division, and these latter are known to be profits of sale, interest, fees or wealth realised by services rendered, rewards, salary or remuneration, booty realized by conquest, and so forth. This group of six items (II, 662-664) should be called quasi-economic receipts or semi-private revenues in the language of public finance. It is apparent that the distinction between Sukra's *sahajika* and *adhika* can not be treated as identical with that between the "natural" and the "unnatural" modes of acquisition in Aristotelian economics.

Whatever be the mode of acquisition, or the manner in which command over "one's own property" happens to be exercised, i.e., whether "normal" or "incremental", the form of values over which the *sva-svatva* right can be exercised by a party is conceived

again as twofold. That is, each of the *sahajika* and *adhika* categories can manifest itself in two forms. In Sukra's dichotomy the one form of *sva-svatva* is *parthiva*, i. e., terrestrial or territorial, and the other *a-parthiva* or non-terrestrial. The two contradictories embrace within them the whole sphere of utilities or values (II, 666—667).

The territorial incomes are classified by Sukra according to the sources of yield. These may be natural waters, artificial waters, villages and cities (II, 666—670) and the non-territorials are the duties, fines, royalties on mines, presents and contributions (II, 671—672).

Evidently, Sukra is here analyzing the items of income in regard to a state and not in regard to a private individual. It is, therefore, appropriate to point out that if *adhika* is to be taken to denote an "increase or profits" from business, etc., of the *saptamga* organism considered in its economic aspects as a property-owning, industry-managing, capital-employing institution, or otherwise, the *sahajika* income should be treated as equivalent to the revenues realized by the state in its "normal" functions, i. e., as a political *samuha* or corporation [Vide Section 10 (e) and (f)].

While discussing this enumeration of utilities and the command of proprietary jurisdiction that can be enjoyed over them, one must not lose sight of two considerations in regard to the most important form of wealth, viz., land. The first is that nowhere in *Sukra-niti* do we come across the suggestion or the slightest hint that land or "real property", as it is termed, is held in common by the people. We may infer, therefore, that "village community" as a system of land tenure does not exist in Sukra's economic consciousness. He is presumably an advocate of individualistic proprietorship. It may be observed *en passant* that, curiously enough, Sukra has no place for the "village community" as an organ of administration in his political philosophy either.

The second consideration to which our attention is easily drawn in the regulations relating to real estate is that it is not necessarily all *ager publicus*, i. e., state land or "public" property. *Sukra-niti* deals with land as much as the possession of private persons as of the crown. The ownership of all lands does not belong to the state. The

acquisition of *sva-svatva* in the *parthiva* forms of values is nothing unusual to the people in Sukra's politics.

This item needs a careful investigation. It must be admitted that according to Sukra "not an *angula* (say, an inch) of land is to be given away in such a manner as to part with rights to it" (I, 421). Gifts of land are allowable to persons only for their maintenance, but as long as they live, and these are recommended for the construction of temples, parks, and the dwelling houses of peasants (I, 422—424). It might appear from these suggestions that in *Sukra-niti* land is "national," i. e., cannot be owned by any private individual or association, but we have only to examine some of the laws which Sukra would have the state promulgate in order to feel that he treats "immovable property" on the same footing as other forms of property. Thus, in regard to sales and purchases, we understand (I, 603—608) that real estate has to observe the same conditions as cows, elephants and other animals, as well as metals and jewels. Land is a commodity saleable in the open market as freely or with as much restrictions as any other wealth. It cannot consequently be a monopoly of the Government. The transactions which consummate the sales and purchases of lands are to be recorded in appropriate documents, says Sukra, with details as to measurements, values and witnesses (II, 617—618). These papers are known as *kraya-patra*. And, it is because proprietorship in the form of landed estates is a recognized item in an individual's inventory of *sva-svatva* or private values that *Sukra-niti* admits immovables in the class of pawns or securities that may lawfully be pledged by a party for values received and detailed in the document known as *sadi-patra* (II, 619—620).

SECTION 4

Arts and Crafts.

In the *Monthly Review of the Bureau of Labor* (November, 1915) the industries of the United States are classified into 273 groups under seven grand divisions. These may be taken to be a fairly exhaustive list of the occupations which diversify the economic life of one of the most industrially advanced peoples during the second decade of the twentieth century. The arts and crafts of the

"pre-industrial" epochs of civilization, i.e., of the ages previous to the application of steam-power in manufacture were, of course, different from those of the present day, both in organization and technical processes, and were also by far less varied and numerous. In *Sukra-niti* we are presented with two different lists of such industries, and these may be regarded to have been typical of "medieval" culture in Eur-Asia.

Sukra devotes his Chapter II to the discussion of the *personnel* of a state. We notice that he is interested not only in the crown-prince and the councillors (23, 140-214), as well as minor officers and servants of all grades (236-389), but also in those artists, artisans and craftsmen without whom the state would be deprived of its "physical basis." For, economic self-sufficiency is not to be overlooked by a philosopher who is describing the parts of a complete and efficient *saptamga* organization. The occupations which according to *Sukra-niti* deserve patronage or encouragement from the political authorities number slightly above fifty. Evidently, the schedule does not exhaust the industries that need such looking after.

The different orders of industrials or working men are enumerated by Sukra without any attempt at grouping, and we need not try to classify them here. The list includes musicians and minstrels, dancers, ventriloquists, harlequins, jesters, painters and such other votaries of the fine arts (390-392). Civil engineers of different denominations, e.g., builders of forts, experts in town-planning, park constructions, horticulturists, road-maker, and so forth (393-394), and "mechanical" engineers, e.g., artillery men, manufacturers of big cannons, lighter machines, gunpowder, cannon balls, arrows, swords, bows, quivers, tools and implements, etc., (395-396) are surely to be found in Sukra's count. Nor could he omit goldsmiths, jewellers, chariot-builders, lapidaries, blacksmiths, those who enamel metals, potters, coppersmiths, and carpenters (397-399). Even barbers, laundrymen and those who carry night soil are not ignored (400). As the list proceeds we read of, message-bearers, tailors, ensign-carriers, war-drummers, sailors, miners, fowlers, repairers of implements (401-405), weavers, leather-dealers, upholsterers, haberdashers, those who winnow grains, those who fit out tents, those who manufacture fragrant resins and those who are skilled

in the dressing of betel leaves as chewing stuff (407-411). The professional musician also deserves "protection" as well as the prostitute (406). It is not clear, however, how the shopkeeper happens to figure in the enumeration as a unit unless the "commercial" element is implied. Altogether we have here a picture of the material interests, the development of which is, according to Sukra, one of the minimum functions of the state.

The economic activities of the people in a state may, according to another schedule in *Sukra-niti*, be enumerated as sixty-four. This number is that of the *Kalas* (or arts and crafts) which Sukra describes along with the *vidyas* or theoretical "sciences" in Ch. IV, sec. iii. It must be understood that not all of these sixty-four arts and crafts are "industrial" in character. Nor are the *vidyas* (the theoretical branches of learning) thoroughly non-economic in social estimate. In a schedule of the ways and means of livelihood, i.e., of the economic functions of the people in the Sukra state, one is, therefore, at liberty to include all the *vidyas* and all the *kalas*.

Twenty-three of the *kalas* are alleged to be derived from the *Vedas*. Seven of these may be regarded as "aesthetic" arts in a wide sense. These are dancing, playing on musical instruments, decorating and clothing the human body, playing antics, upholstering, weaving wreaths, and entertaining people in diverse ways (IV, iii, 133-140). As auxiliaries to the science of medicine we have ten arts, e.g., distillation of wines from flowers, etc., surgical operations, cooking, pharmaceutical gardening, melting and powdering of stones and metals, manufacturing products from sugar-canes, pharmacy, analysis and synthesis of metallic substances, manufacture of alloys and preparation of salts (141-150). Evidently, all these chemical and pharmaceutical operations are not only economic in a general way but are also primarily industrial in character. Five arts, all of military significance, are grouped under the science of archery. These include methods of taking stands, duelling, shooting, formation of battle-arrays, and arrangement of animal corps (152-165). The *Tantras* give one art,—that on the various seats and postures in which one should meditate on the Divinity (165). These six *kalas*, although certainly arts, are, however, by no means "industries" or handicrafts. •

The remaining *kalas* are promiscuously scheduled by Sukra, but such of these with the exception of a few which may be characterized as rather "social," is a purely economic category, addressing itself, as it does, to the creation of values for material well-being of the political organization. These *kalas* numbering about thirty-five constitute, like the ten medical arts, crafts or industries in the strictest sense of the term. While enumerating them it were appropriate to remark on the care with which Sukra sometimes differentiates the "processes" into which a particular manufacturing art is sub-divided. His sense of realism is perhaps nowhere more manifest than in the attention he devotes to the multiplication of crafts generated, as it is bound to be, through the division of labour.

Thus we are told that the function of driving horses and elephants is separate from that of teaching them. Accordingly, we have here two different arts of occupations, implying two different classes of people (166). Likewise does Sukra recognise four separate arts connected with earthen, wooden, stone and metal vessels in regard to cleaning, polishing, dyeing and rinsing (167-168). The leather industry is mentioned in two processes: (1) the flaying of the skin, and (2) the softening of the hides or tanning (180-181). The textile industry is represented by two arts: (1) the manufacture of threads and ropes and (2) weaving (174-175). Milking and churning are two arts (182).

Architecture comprises the construction of tanks, canals, palaces and squares (169), and, of course, the drawing of pictures also is a *kala* (168). Among the mechanical and chemical industries we have the construction of clocks and musical instruments (170), dyeing (171), construction of boats

and chariots (173), manufacture of artificial gold and gems (178), enamelling of metals (179), extraction of oil from seeds and flesh (187), manufacture of glass vessels (191), and of pumps, tools and implements (193), construction of saddles for the animal corps and cattle (194), starawplaiting and basket weaving or canework (190), and sewing of covers, shirts and coats (183). Gems and precious metals give rise to several *kalas*. One series relates to their testing (176-177) and another series to the making of ornaments and jewellery (179).

The pumping and withdrawing of water constitute an art (192) as well as the art of putting down the actions of water, air and fire (172).

Plough-driving and tree-climbing are two arts of farm life (188). Along the cleaning line are mentioned the washing of domestic utensils and laundrywork (185-186). The preparation of betel leaves for chewing purposes is another art in housekeeping (198). Shaving also is important enough to be mentioned as an item (186).

Among the social arts Sukra mentions nursing of children (195), entertainment of people in diverse ways (189), whipping of offenders (196), and writing the alphabets of different languages. Another *kala* which can in no way be described as economic is swimming (184).

It will be noticed that with the exception of ploughing, climbing, milking and churning, the four arts of agriculture and dairyfarm, all the economic crafts of *Sukra-niti* are industrial. Sukra does not conceive an "essentially agricultural" or rural state. His is the *saptamga* organism of diversified industries or handicrafts.

(To be continued.)

ON AN INDIAN IMAGE

Among the lotus, in the sleeping mud
Of long-abandoned waters, what may be
That vision crowning every virgin bud,—
The meaning of that sudden mystery?

Victor of life, with dreamy, downcast eyes,
In everlasting reverie of love;
Even life's saviour, leading motherwise
The wayward to their fostering above.

There is no movement, no remaining, nor
One shadow of desire. All things that are
Draw thitherward as to a darkened door
Whose opening revealeth, star on star,
All they aspired unto, all Fate's control
Treasured unto the harvest of the Soul.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

SHAKESPEAR'S ALLUSIONS TO INDIA

BY RAJAIAH D. PAUL., M. A.

IT is but natural that we, in India, should be interested in whatever in English Literature is connected with India, in some way or other. Indian characters, scenes laid in India, reference to India and things Indian, naturally, arrest our attention. Besides, such a study as this of Shakespear's Indian references possesses also another kind of interest. It is an indication of the knowledge that the Elizabethans as a whole had of India and the East; for, in the Elizabethan period the drama was essentially of the common people, the species typified by the proverbial man-in-the-street; and therefore it was a dramatic necessity that Shakespear should restrict his knowledge to that of the people of his day in his references to India; for, otherwise, the point of his reference would be quite lost.

Hence, there is a justification for such a study as the present. From Shakespear's references to India, we can reasonably deduce how much the Elizabethans knew about our country. No doubt from a very early time, the existence of such a country as India in the far East was vaguely known to Englishmen. The tradition of the Church had it that St. Thomas was the Apostle of India. Chaucer's merchant swears by "Saint Thomas of India" that:

"We wedded men live in sorwe and care."

Even to the earlier Elizabethans, India was only a vaguely distant, but fabulously wealthy country. However, later, the voyages of adventurers and the formation of the East India Company led to more detailed information about India being disseminated. But the descriptions of these adventurers, like all travellers' tales, and the reports of the East India Company, being, in their nature, somewhat of advertisements, were sometimes

exaggerated and occasionally even deliberately misleading. However, the literature from which Elizabethan authors could derive their knowledge of our country was fast becoming extensive.

Shakespear has described one such merchant-voyage. No one need be reminded of the context.

Titania :—Set your heart at rest ;
The fairy land buys not the child of me.
His mother was a votaress of my order ;
And, in the spiced Indian air, by night,
Full often hath she gossip'd by my side,
And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
Marking the embarked traders on the flood ;
When we have laughed to see the sails conceive
And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind ;
Which she, with pretty and with swimming
gait

Following,—her womb then rich
with my young squire,—
Would imitate, and sail upon the land,
To fetch me trifles, and return again,
As from a voyage, rich with merchandise.

—*Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 12 & ff.

Here is a Shakespearian list of countries visited by Elizabethan merchantmen :

What ! not one hit ?
From Tripolis, from Mexico and England,
From Lisbon, Bombay and India ?
—*Merchant of Venice*, III, ii, 268.

—only substitute Italy for England, for, as you know, the reference is to a merchant of Venice.

The most important of these countries was, however, India, all that was meant by the word, viz., the East and West Indies—important as affording the richest trade. Falstaff says, referring to Mistress Ford and Page :

"They shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both."

—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, I., iii, 79.

The most common idea among the Elizabethans about India and the East generally was its richness. "The rich East," "the gorgeous East", are the sort of phrases used in descriptions.

I would not be the villain that thou thinkest
For the whole space that's in the tyrant's

grasp,
And the rich East to boot.

—Macbeth, IV, iii, 35.

Shortly upon that shore there heaped was
Exceeding riches and all precious things
The spoils of all the world, that it did pass
The wealth of the East.

—Faerie Queene, Bk. III, iv, 23.

Similarly Milton in the well-known
lines :

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,

—Paradise Lost, II, 1-4.

the phrase "gorgeous East" being evidently
a borrowing from Shakespear's

Who sees the heavenly Resaline
That, like a rude and savage man of Inde
At the first opening of the gorgeous East.....

—Love's Labours Lost, IV, iii, 221.

The chief cause of this "richness" of
India was the abundance of precious
stones. Long before any definite know-
ledge of India was got, rumours had
reached England about the quality and
abundance of India's gems. So, Sir Thomas
Wyatt speaks of "Indian stones a thou-
sandfold more precious than can thyself
devise." And precious stones were one of
the commodities of the Elizabethan trade
with India, and the "bountifulness" of the
mines of India is an oft-recurring idea—an
ever-ready metaphor for liberality and
magnificence. So, Mortimer says of his
father-in-law,

In faith, he is a worthy gentleman,
.....valiant as a lion,
And wondrous affable, and as bountiful
As mines of India.

—Henry IV, III, i, 164.

and so also in Henry VIII, I, i, 18,

Today the French
All clinkant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English : and to-morrow they
Made Britain India ; every man that stood
Show'd like a mine.

The "gorgeous East" was no less
famous for pearls. Indeed, India was the
"bed" of pearls, Shakespear says, in
Troilus and Cressida, I, i,—

"Her bed is India ; there she lies like a pearl,"

and Troilus would go and win her, as mer-
chants go and bring pearls from India.

"Between our Iliam and where she resides
Let it be called the wild and wandering fload ;
Ourself the merchant, and this sailing Pandar
Our doubtful hope, our convoy and our bark.

Another precious commodity for which
India was famous was spices. India for the
Elizabethans was identical with the East
Indies whose other name was Spice
Islands. And one of the avowed objects of
the East India Company was to rival, and
if possible to capture, the flourishing trade
of the Dutch in spices. And the common
idea was that spices were so abundant in
that fortunate country, India, that the
very air was laden with the odour. It was
in this "Spiced Indian air," we saw that
Titania and the mother of her pageboy
used to gossip.

Connected with this idea of richness, is
that of magnificence usually associated
with Indian kings. In the romantic ima-
gination of Elizabethan writers, Indian
kings sat on thrones of gold and ivory,
were attended by lovely little pageboys,
and literally rolled in wealth. These little
pageboys roused the envy of even fairy
kings,

Oberon is passing fell and wroth
Because that she (Titania) as her

attendant hath

A lively boy stolen from an Indian King.

—M. N. D., II, i, 20.

And one of the common customs, "a
part of the Eastern ceremony at the coro-
nation of their kings" was to powder them
with gold dust and seed pearl, and to
strew pearls and jewels at the monarch's
feet. We have a reference to it in "Para-
dise Lost."

Or, where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.

Shakespear evidently knew of this cus-
tom. He makes a reference to it in
"Antony and Cleopatra." Cleopatra says
to the messenger :

I have a mind to strike thee ere thou speak'st
Yet, if thou say Antony lives,.....
I'll set thee in a shower of gold, and hail
Rich pearls upon thee.

—A. & C., II, v, 42.

Nowhere were false ideas about India

more common than in relation to its religion. Travellers brought strange stories about the superstitions of the people. Ralph Fitch, one of the very first Englishmen to visit our country, has much to say about the Brahmans and their images, "some like beasts, some like men, and some like the Devil"; about the fakirs "to whom India was much given." One such he saw "sitting upon a horse in the market place," "who made as though he slept." The people "took him for a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber." Such and similar were the accounts these visitors gave of Indian religions.

Shakespear, however, seems to have had—or at least, has seen fit to use,—only one idea about India's religion, namely, the common idea of fire and sun worship, of which rumours had reached the West much earlier than the Elizabethan period.

Biron asks, in his lover's enthusiasm :

Who sees the heavenly Rosaline,
That, like a rude and savage man of Inde,
At the first opening of the gorgeous east,
Bows not his vassal head, and, stricken blind,
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast.
—Love's Labour Lost, IV, iii, 228.

Similarly, Helen confessing her love for Bertram says,

Thus, Indian-like,
Religious in mine error, I adore
The Sun, that looks upon his worshipper,
But knows of him no more.
—All's Well, I, iii, 212.

In Henry VIII, I, we have a reference to heathen gods, being clothed with profuse ornaments.

To-day the French
All olinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods....

Finally, the physical features of India do not seem to have been at all familiar to the Elizabethans: for, whenever Elizabethan writers choose to refer to these, they commit a mistake. For example, Spenser describing Archimago says that he had a

Face all tand with scorching sunny ray
As he had traveild many a sommer's day,
Through boyling sands of Arabic and Ynde.
—The Faerie Queene, Bk., I, vi, 35.

"Boyling sands" suggests something

like the Sahara. We do not have in India any desert of which such an epithet can be used.

Similarly, Titania snubbing her "Lord" Oberon, says,

Why art thou here
Come from the furthest steppe of India?
—M. N. D., II, i, 68.

"Steppe" is clearly a blunder. If on Shakespear's part, it must be due to his bad geography; and may indicate a general belief of the Elizabethans about India, when taken in conjunction with the above quoted lines from Spenser. But the error is most probably due to that most irresponsible person, the Elizabethan printer. The second quarto of the play and all the folios have "steep", which makes a better sense and is therefore most probably the correct text. For, surely, to Shakespear, as to Milton, India was the land of mountains and rivers more than of plains and deserts.

The Elizabethans were not, however, ignorant of further details about our land. For, in Spenser we have a reference to the Ganges and the Indus. Among the famous rivers that attended the feast "in honour of the spousalls which were then betwixt the Medway and the Thames agreed," were

"Great Ganges and immortall Euphrates,
Deepe Indus, and Meander intricate."

Malabar, as being an important trading centre for pepper, seems also to have been well known. Our national headdress, the turban, is very irreverently described by Spenser. The "foole Disdaine" (in the 6th book of the "Faerie Queene"), wore

"On his head a roll of linen plight
Like to the Mores of Malabar."

Shakespear has also a similar, not very complimentary, reference. Bassanio compared the golden casket to

the beauteous scarf,
Veiling an Indian beauty.

—Merchant of Venice, II, ii, 99.

An Indian beauty is, therefore, a really ugly woman, who is hidden by a beautiful silk veil—she being called a beauty here, because she would be considered as such among her own people. However, the context here warrants an assumption that the reference is to the West Indies.

A number of tropical plants are referred to in Shakespear, as well as in contemporary poetry ; but few are peculiar to India, and can therefore be taken as indication of a detailed knowledge of our country. However, there is one reference in Shakespear which must be noticed as possessing another kind of interest also. In *Twelfth Night* Sir Toby Belch once greets Maria with a

How now my nettle of India
(according to the first folio). The plant is the *Urtica Marina*, possessed of itching properties, a reference vulgar enough for Sir Toby. The second folio, however, makes Sir Toby say "my mettle of India," i. e., my metal of India, that is, gold, which is quite as good and as likely to come from Sir Toby. In this latter interpretation, the interesting point for us will be that gold had by then come to be known as peculiar to India,—though the fact that it is from Sir Toby should make us take it only at a discount.

So also, many tropical animals are mentioned in Shakespear, and in contemporary poetry, but none as peculiar to India.

Lions, tigers, and bears, are very common in the *Faerie Queene*. There is a public house called "The Tiger" in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* ; and a ship of the same name in the *Twelfth Night*. These wild animals are peculiar only to India and the interior of Africa ; and as even Elizabethan adventurers had not yet penetrated Africa, we can say that what are described are Indian animals. Surely the elephant described in the following "Vision of the World's Vanitie" is an Indian animal, belonging to some Indian Raja.

Soon after that I saw an Elephant,
Adorn'd with bells and bosses gorgeously,
That on his backe did beare (as batteillant)
A gilden towre, which shone exceedingly,
That he himselfe through foolish vanitie,
Both for his rich attire and goodly forme,
Was puffed up with passing surquedrie,
And shortly gan all other beasts to scorne,
Till that a little Ant, a silly worme,
Into his nostrils creeping, so him pained,
That, casting downe his towres, he did deforme
Both borrowed pride and native beautis

Let therefore nought that great is, therein
Sith so small thing his happiness may varie.

PRINCIPLES OF BOOK-SELECTION IN A LIBRARY INSTITUTE

BY SATIS C. GUHA, M. A., (CHICAGO), LIBRARIAN, RAJ DARBHANGA.

DEFINITE IDEAL.—An institution is started with a definite ideal. This is more true in the case of a library than in that of an ordinary school or college started for instructing pupils for examination under the prescribed University regulations.* A library should not stand

for merely a supply of "something to read," but should be built up according to a definite plan to approach a certain ideal.

SYSTEMATIC SELECTION AND CORRELATION OF BOOKS.—Mrs. S. C. Fairchild in an article entitled "Outlines and References for

* Within the jurisdiction of existing universities, however, there may be educational institutions that serve special idealistic purposes, and do not wholly confine their interest to the quantity and quality of passes in the university examinations. The Fergusson College of Poona, the M. A.-O. College of Aligarh (now suspended), the Khalsa College of Amritsar, the Central Hindu College and School of Benares, the Brajamohan Institution of Barisal, the Hindu Academy of Daulatpur are examples of this kind. But as they have to serve their universities in

the first instance—in the sense that their primary function is to teach students with the direct object of getting through prescribed courses for Degree Examinations and are consequently to subordinate their idealistic purposes to that end, none of the above institutions can be acknowledged to be superior in ideal to the independent educational institutions, such as the National Council of Education (Bengal), the Santiniketan of Sri Rabindranath Tagore, and the Kala Bhavan of Baroda.

Library Institutes," appearing in the May, 1914, issue of the *New York Libraries*, has very aptly said: "A building might be filled with books without there being a library. A collection of books is no more a library than a collection of lumber in a building, or a collection of furniture constitutes a furnished home, or a collection of pipes makes an organ. A library however small, involves systematic selection and correlation of books. It must be built upon a plan and all materials that are to go into its making must be chosen to fit that plan, just as all the units that go to make up a house must be chosen to fit its plan. In a very small library, as in a very small house, the plan is very simple, but it is none the less essential."

THREE PURPOSES.—A book should be so collected that it might do some positive good or actual service to some persons in *inspiration, information or recreation*; and if possible, in more than one of the three.

PUBLIC INCLINATION NOT THE ONLY FACTOR.—The purchase or otherwise obtaining of a book should not be wholly influenced by a mere "demand" or inclination of the public mind; and as a useful institution of society a library should guard itself against gradual deviation from its ideal, which it may be subject to, especially when collecting books of recreation. Many a worthless fiction of distinctive bad taste may creep into a library in the name of recreation, or through the influence of individual admirers.

INDIAN STUDENT, AS A RULE, OF SERIOUS TURN OF MIND.—"The Indian schoolboy," as observes Mr. L. T. Watkins of the Indian Educational Service, "is on the whole of a more serious turn of mind than the boy of corresponding age in England."* As in the case of Indian schoolboy, so also in that of Indians generally; and as such, an Indian library need not put much money into fiction on the model of English public or circulating libraries.

FINE ARTS AS A RECREATIVE STUDY.—Works of fine arts may very well be of re-

creative study in addition to novels of really good quality; and this is perhaps a time when the attention of our people—not excluding the ladies of our homes—should be a little diverted from fiction to fine arts where a proper scope will also be found for higher and higher imagination, the source of poetry and joy. It may also be remembered that it often so happens in the case of an individual reader according to his tastes and instincts that, a subject of the branch of learning which he has made his own if presented in a different form may serve to be of recreative study.

CHANGE OF SUBJECT A RECREATION.—Persons of high intellect and much studious habit have always said that when the brain wants recreation, a temporary change from one subject to another in which the interest of the student is one degree less, will prove to be of pleasurable recreation.

RECREATION NOT AN END IN ITSELF.—The recreative study is not the aim of a student. Just as in the school the period of recreation in addition to health considerations is calculated to arouse the interest of a serious nature in the next hours of study, the whole amount of recreative reading of fictitious stories or other light literature in the case of a student should make him earnest about the next subject of study in books of real information and inspiration. The person who has only read hundreds of fictitious stories and can neither give you any information of the world we live in, or is not inspired by a noble work or thought nor in a position to present to the world a new fiction of his or her own, is really an unread fellow in spite of the knowledge of so many volumes.

FUNCTION OF LIBRARY.—"The function of the library," says Mrs. Fairchild in the course of her *New York Libraries* article, "is the development and enrichment of human life in the entire community by bringing to all the people the books that belong to them." Mr. J. C. Dana, in his *Library Primer*, speaks in short: "The function of the library is (1) to help people to become wise, (2) to encourage them to be good, (3) to help them to be happy."

* Vide *Libraries in Indian High Schools*, by L. T. Watkins, M. A., I. E. S., Bureau of Education Pamphlets 8 (1920), p. 10.

OTHER DETERMINING FORCES:—The library benefits not only those who actually use it but also the vast majority of people who come in contact with them daily in private or public life. In determining, therefore, the character of the books to be procured, provision must be made, if possible, for all the people of community, not merely for those who are enrolled as borrowers; and the interest of the library-readers or "day ticket" people must not be sacrificed for the convenience of home readers.

LOCAL INTERESTS:—The relative importance of a subject is to be considered from the point of local interests, and of the caste, or class-occupations, and the religious order of the community, in the midst of which the library is situated. It is, however, also desirable that the selection should represent to some extent every race, profession, trade, political doctrines and religious interest and belief.

GENERAL LITERATURE FIRST, TECHNICAL NEXT:—Get books on general literature of a subject in the first place before your funds permit of purchasing higher technical works and the regular equipment for the specialist of a subject.

Select the best books on a subject, the best by an author. And it is not wise to put money in getting all of a series, or complete works of an author unless their merit or your need requires it. Study your community and critically compare its needs with its demands. Welcome the recommendations the individuals will make, but always use your own judgment in following them.

THE LIBRARIAN:—The librarian needs to study his community just as a cloth merchant does as to the varied tastes and requirements of the people for whom he buys clothing. A knowledge of the castes and classes; of communal, national and religious interests; of the character and degrees of intelligence is rather of more

primary importance on the part of the librarian than even the technical qualifications of classification and cataloguing, which latter can be entrusted to a specialist in the line, or even to a "hired man." A knowledge of technical library methods will not make a good librarian unless attended with a comprehensive view of society, for the service of which he is employed.

SPECIAL CHARACTER OF INDIAN LIBRARIES:—All Indian Libraries must be particular about collection of books of special interest to the Indian peoples, and put much money into the history, travels, literatures of the vast Indian continent, its countries and provinces, and the states of the ruling princes. The relative position of India as a nation on the face of the world, from the view-point of outsiders or foreigners must also be brought to the notice of the reading public: while works of Indian cultural civilization, its achievements in various fields, its history and songs and ballads should at any cost form part of a true Indian library. In this connexion it may be of interest to quote here the motto of one of our national monthlies (the *Dawn Magazine* of Calcutta, now defunct) in the form of question and answer:

QUESTION:—How can Indian students increase their Love of Country?

ANSWER:—They could do so by—

1. Increasing their knowledge of India and of Indian civilization;
2. Working together for something useful to their district, town or village;
3. Supporting indigenous industries and enterprises even at a sacrifice;
4. Supporting Indian Educational and allied movements which aim primarily at fostering the unselfish instincts and developing the constructing faculties of the Indian mind.

CONSOLATION

In thy deep sorrow
Stirreth a high ritual
Of consolation:
No word of song or prayer,

Yet urely scomprehended
Of the soul, through some
Still purer revelation.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

A NEW STUDENT WORLD VIEW

BY HARRY S. WARNER, EDUCATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE INTERCOLLEGIATE PROHIBITION ASSOCIATION, U. S. A.

THE present moment in the anti-alcohol movement, that since the great war has been spreading more rapidly than ever from nation to nation, is of supreme significance to students of all nations.

For if the movement goes on, as it is going on, for ten years, the men and women now in the universities and colleges will be brought face to face with it immediately on graduation; they will have to take a definite stand, so far as the movement affects their own country. The duty of aiding or defeating—of leading to success or opposing—will at once fall upon them. As educated men and women they will be expected—nay, compelled to share in leading public opinion in the final great struggle. Are they preparing to act intelligently?

For the anti-alcohol movement has become, indeed, a world movement. The great war and modern science have made it such. It was a temperance movement before the war; it seems now to be a determined effort to banish alcohol, with its social curse of 5,000 years' standing, from human society. It was a movement for sobriety before the war—it is now largely an economic movement, gripping nearly all peoples.

Two or three smaller nations have led in banishing alcohol; nearly the whole of North America, Canada and the United States, have either adopted complete prohibition or will have it completed within a year or two. Nearly 125,000,000 of the most progressive people on earth have decided that drink must get out of their national life. To them, henceforth, it belongs to the past—not the Twentieth Century. Several other countries have taken drastic action against drink with a high percentage of alcohol. The people of these democratic nations have decided that

alcohol is a *drag on civilization*—that it slows down progress, and that they will not longer permit it to exist.

In a spirit of patriotism they have laid aside permanently old drinking customs and habits, that their nation may be strong to do its best in times of peace as in times of war. And since great economists now show that the nation that is free from drink will be better off in business and commerce, that it will produce 10 per cent more efficiently, and save in human life, where even a moderate-drinking nation wastes, it is evident that those which continue to drink will soon get far behind. The economic demand has been added to the moral and personal and religious demands for the removal of alcohol from human society.

In such a world movement for prohibition the students of the universities and colleges cannot—do not want to—stand idle. They cannot be mere observers. They must lead, or be "slackers"; because of their education and privileges that can not take a middle position—they must be either for or against. In a very few years they will have to face the very centre of the conflict. The students now in the university will be out in public life in ten years, taking their place in the leadership of their nation and the world—and their attitude will have far-reaching influence.

The present-day liquor problem, therefore, should be very carefully studied now, especially its new social and economic aspects.

The time seems to have arrived for a bigger, broader student anti-alcohol movement that will unite the students and teachers in the universities of all countries, and that will bind together in a common task the student organisations in all countries and stimulate the organisation

of such movements where none now exist. A new task is before us. More nations should be included ; more starting points must be taken into account ; the methods and programs of student anti-alcohol activities may well be broadened and made more inclusive. Above all, the social and economic sides of the movement should be emphasized, and students definitely encouraged to prepare for intelligent service and leadership after graduation in their own national and the coming world revolt against alcohol domination.

In such an enlarged and broadened world student movement the students of the United States will be happy to join—the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association,

the Chinese Students' Prohibition League (in American universities), and the newly organised Italian Students' Prohibition League, among those studying in the schools of the United States. Thousands of American students are this year pledging themselves to give heavily in financial support to such a world student movement, and the Chinese and Italians and others in American colleges are all going back to their native countries in two or three years to enter public life, to teach, write, edit, share in business positions of importance and in religious activities. They will be a powerful force for settlement of this age-old world conflict on a world scale.

FORCED LABOUR IN THE SIMLA HILLS

MR. S. E. Stokes has been living in the Simla Hills for many years past.

There, he has married an Indian Lady, and his home is an Indian home. His six children are being brought up entirely as Indian children ; such is their father's, as well as mother's, wish. They do not know a word of English, and their playmates are their fellow Indian children. Mr. Stokes's own life, before and after his marriage, has been devoted to the villagers, who inhabit these Hill districts, and whose struggle with poverty is sometimes very severe indeed. Their joys are his joys, and their sorrows are his sorrows. I have known him for nearly fifteen years, as an intimate personal friend, and I am connected in a spiritual relationship with his Indian family, as godfather of one of his children. It is his evidence that I shall rely on in this article, after a personal visit to his home at Kotgarh.

On ordinary occasions, I should not have introduced details of this kind into my narrative ; but, in the present instance, it appears to me to be the simplest way of explaining the authority on which the following statements concerning 'forced

labour' are based. I can hardly imagine stronger evidence than that of Mr. Stokes. For, on the one side, he is a cultured man, accustomed all his life to sift information, and also fully understanding the scientific method of exact statement ; on the other side, he is a *Pahari*, who has lived for many years the life of a zamindar in the Hills, and as such has kept in closest sympathy and touch with the Hill people.

When a long-standing and essentially vicious custom needs to be remedied, under a bureaucratic government, publicity is essential. Mr. Stokes, when every other remedy had been tried, published, at last, in despair, the true facts concerning the 'forced labour' used during the Viceroy's own pleasure trip, in the Simla Hills. He gave great offence by doing so, but his main object of making public the truth has been attained.

Mr. Stokes showed in much detail (which he had gathered from the villagers themselves) how injuriously this Viceregal excursion had affected the villagers' own agricultural work ; what tyranny was used by the petty officials ; what rapacity was shown ; and how little actual pay-

ment reached the *begar* labourers. He pointed out, how the pleasure trip came at the most critical of all seasons of the year for the hill-farmers, and how, in certain instances, it meant almost ruin to them as far as their crops were concerned.

The Viceroy was exonerated by Mr. Stokes from blame in the matter, on account of his ignorance. But the Government officials, who arranged the trip, were severely condemned in the Report, both for their wasteful employment of villagers, far beyond the Viceroys' needs, and also for the methods of 'forced labour' which were adopted.

On the publication of Mr. S. E. Stokes's article, there was an immense stir in Simla. The British Government, which had only recently throughout the world made such profession of virtue, for upholding the freedom and liberty of oppressed peoples, was here caught red-handed, employing the methods of slavery. The very things, which the leading newspapers in London had been publishing with horror, as being carried on in British territory in East Africa, were hereby shown to have been practised, in a lesser degree, by the Viceroy of India. No wonder the whole of Simla was disturbed!

During my own visit, in company with Mr. S. E. Stokes, into these Hill districts, a further detail of the viceroy's tour was narrated to us by the villagers. In order to keep within bounds certain bears, which had been located for the Viceroy's shooting party in the neighbourhood of Mattiana, nearly two hundred villagers (so we were expressly told) had been kept out on the Hills, in a cordon, for two days and two nights, so that the bears might not escape. All this time the field-work of the district was most seriously crippled.

The information was further given us, that only ten rupees reached the pockets of the villagers for the whole number of watchers. Probably much more had stayed in the pockets of local officials on the way. I would ask the Simla officers, who arranged this pleasure trip, to make full enquiries into this account, which was given to us as strictly true by the villagers concerned.

The age-long scandal of this forced labour

in India is due to the fact, that it has never come before the public in so glaring a manner before. Only when Mr. Stokes challenged the Viceroy, has the matter become serious for Government. For no civilised Government, that has the slightest care for its own reputation, can be caught using 'forced labour', for its own profits and its own pleasure, with impunity! In England outside war time, such a scandal would lead to the downfall of a Ministry in power. Even here in India, the present bureaucracy could not face, for long, the obloquy.

The decision has now been arrived at by the Punjab Government authorities, that the 'forced labour' which was formerly employed in the Postal Department, shall be immediately abandoned. This necessitated in the past, in the winter months, the most serious hardship of all. Instances have been known, where villagers having been forced to carry the mails on the upper roads, have actually *perished* in the snow, through a snow-slide or some other cause.

Pleasure trippers from Simla, in future, will have to make their own private arrangements, if they wish to journey into the interior. I heard, on my recent journey, continual complaints about these,—how overwhelming was the petty tyranny, which such 'forced labour' implied, on the part of the village officials; how, morning and evening, the villagers were never wholly free, so as to be able to get on with their agricultural work, because of the cry for 'coolies' on the part of the Simla tourists.

I have myself seen villagers scampering up the Hill-side, when some party has come in from Simla,—the 'Mem Sahib' ordering, in a lordly fashion, "Hamko das coolie deo!" "Hamko bārah coolie deo!" Agriculturalists have often been made to carry all sorts of useless luggage and equipment, while the fields have suffered neglect. It is true, of course, that at certain times the villagers are glad to make money by carrying travellers' loads. But the Simla pleasure season corresponds with the most busy agricultural season, and during these summer months the work in the fields is most pressing.

The Forest Department and the Public Works Department will have, very shortly, to provide their own contract labour, and to give up 'forced labour' altogether. Perhaps it is not too sanguine to expect, the death knell of *begār* has already been sounded in the Hills.

But again and again, as I have tried to study this question, information has come to hand, that, away from the towns, in out-of-the-way country districts, certain forms of forced labour still remain. I have been told also, that the worst places of all are the Indian States. Residents in these States have informed me, that the news of the approaching visit of a Viceroy, or of some high official personage, is looked upon by the agriculturalists as a curse instead of a blessing, on account of the large amount of 'forced labour' which it entails.

In the Great Awakening, which is now opening men's eyes to the truth and making men see evil customs, in India, as evil, this 'forced labour', wherever it is to be found, should be swept clean away. The cry must be raised throughout the length and breadth of the land,—“Forced labour is Slavery! Away with it! Let India be truly free!”

In the programme of the League of Nations, one of the objects is stated thus:—“To bring to an end 'forced labour' in all mandated territory,” India is not mandated territory at all. She is supposed to be an original member of the League of Nations itself. What a mockery, if, under British rule in the twentieth century, her soil should still have to bear this last relic of slavery.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

STUDENTS' STRIKE AND SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

IN the busy little town where I live, I was working at my desk in my office, when a sudden dull roar reached my ears. It presently grew more and more distinct, and glancing out of my window I found, far away in the street, below, several hundreds of boys, Hindus and Muhammadans, marching past in double file, with loud shouts of *Bande Mataram*. It was a moving sight to see so many college students throwing out this bold challenge against the existing order of things in the teeth of their guardians and without taking a thought as to what would happen to them on the morrow. For the guardians of the boys were not with them in this movement, and the boys had chosen their path with deliberation. Though absolutely detached from politics, local or national, it had reached my ears through diverse channels that for some days previous the college and the schools of the town were all agog with a sense of an approaching crisis, of mighty things coming to give a sudden and hitherto unsuspected turn to

their destinies; there were frequent public meetings, presided over by the boys themselves, where both sides of the question were debated, and in which the guardians of the boys were also allowed to take part both as spectators and speakers. In these meetings, the mentality of the boys exhibited itself by such symptoms as these: the guardians were asked to show, by some tangible act of self-sacrifice, that they deserved to play the role of advisers in preference to Mahatma Gandhi, whose life was one long sacrifice of self; and the future Minister in charge of the portfolio of education was called a 'slave'. There were counter-meetings by the guardians. Groups of agitated students, Hindus and Muhammadans, were met with in the street corners anxiously discussing the pros and cons of the situation. There were some among the students who had advised caution and delay, in view of the ensuing Congress at Nagpur, where non-cooperation would receive the final verdict of the country; but others there were whose impetuosity

would brook no delay and to-day's demonstration showed that they had won the day. As the day wore on, a distressed guardian, an educated professional gentleman, came to consult me about his son who had joined the strike. He gave me a pathetic account as to how he had tried to dissuade his son but to no purpose. He had even threatened to turn him out, but the boy was fully prepared for it and said that he could not go against the voice of his conscience. The gentleman had learnt from his wife that the day before the boy had taken no meat saying that soon the time might come when he would not have a single meal a day. And now that the boy was gone, the mother was disconsolate. The same gentleman told me that those who had attended the boys' meetings had found that they could argue, reason and debate sensibly and in good style, and that it was not quite an easy matter to meet all their arguments. Later on in the evening I had a *vis-a-vis* conversation with one of the advanced students I knew well, a quiet youth and one of the best scholars of his class. I was somewhat surprised to find that he too was in full sympathy with the movement, though he had not as yet joined the strike. In the course of the discussion he said that it was the guardians of the boys, or their delegates assembled in Congress, who had voted for non-cooperation on the part of the students, and it was therefore the duty of the guardians themselves to carry out the mandate of the Congress. Since they had not the courage to do so, the boys had thought it their duty to take the bit in their own mouths. He added that the boys were sincere, they were generous, they had high ideals and noble enthusiasms, and what was more, they were eager for self-sacrifice, whereas their guardians were timid, calculating, and too much worldly wisdom had frozen the genial current of their soul, and no good could come of their advice, which their wards knew well enough was dictated by a narrow sense of self-interest apart from the larger interests of the country. The boys were not therefore prepared to accept as binding on themselves, the categorical imperatives of conduct laid down by their

elders, without examination and scrutiny. No, the boys would prefer to follow Mahatma Gandhi wherever he chose to lead them. Their otherwise guardians might think his advice impractical, but so did the world think of Jesus Christ and Buddha in their times, but ultimately it was they who had won the hearts of millions upon millions. Asked of their plan of action, he said that for the time being the colleges had to be closed for want of the means to run them, but national schools would be opened where college students would teach, and in the intervals of teaching they would preach in the countryside, gaining recruits and financial support for the cause; technical schools would be opened too, and later on other vocational schools would be started. He pointed out that already some attempts had been made here in all these directions. I was struck by the determined attitude of the boys and by the potency of the spell exercised by the magic name of Gandhi over their impressionable minds, also by the ability, quite remarkable in one so young, with which the case for the boys were laid before me by my interlocutor.

In reply, I explained to him all the risks that the boys were running by taking this leap in the dark; that the resolution in favour of non-cooperation passed at the special session of the Congress needed ratification; that it was also not passed by an absolute majority of votes; that it was a moot question of philosophy how far conscience was the inspired voice of God, having regard to the fact that it varied greatly with education and environment; that few men were equal to the task of walking in the footsteps of Mr. Gandhi in the elevated altitudes where he habitually dwelt; that a man of great spiritual force like him might yet be wrong in his political theories and many leaders equally patriotic were against him on the subject of the boycott of schools and colleges; that the editor of this magazine, whom they all respected, was not in favour of the movement; that before the mass is educated to the extent of being able to read the newspaper the propaganda in favour of non-cooperation can hardly succeed; that cutting the nose to spite the face might

not be quite the good thing they imagined; that the sinews of war for starting national schools on an adequate scale were absurdly inadequate; that even under the existing order of things, they might be started to supplement instead of supplanting the established institutions; that granting the power of passive resistance to paralyse the administration if it be widely adopted in an organised form, the basis of unity upon which to build such an extensive organisation was wanting, and a mere patched-up unity which hides the immense social divergences within is bound to vanish as soon as the cause, e.g., the Khilafat which brought it about, ceased to excite the passions of the multitude; that we must build up our national life from the foundations and this cannot be done in a day; that though youth may be generous, it is lacking in wisdom which comes of age and experience; that the boys had no reason to assume that they enjoyed a monopoly of patriotism and their elders in dissuading them from joining the boycott had not the best interests of their motherland at heart; that education was to be one of the transferred subjects largely under the control of the minister; that though students should be free to debate political questions, they should leave actual participation in practical politics to fullgrown citizens; that such participation is not the only nor the supreme aim of their studies; that the responsibility of withdrawing boys from schools and colleges naturally belonged to their guardians who were the proper persons to take the initiative in the matter if they thought fit; that our young hopefuls, instead of giving up their studies which was not a very difficult thing to do, in order to follow Mr. Gandhi in the stormy path of politics, should in the first instance try to imitate the more solid virtues which have earned him the unstinted regard of his countrymen,—his sincerity and truthfulness, his transparent honesty and freedom from covetousness or self-seeking, his deep humanitarianism and passion for social service and the like; that they should first

show their manhood in the less sensational walks of everyday life by refusing to take any bridegroom price even at the risk of offending their guardians, or to tolerate injustice in private or social life in any shape or form, and by cultivating, in short, all those qualities which would go to make them self-respecting and respected by others; and that if they succeeded in building up their character in this way no power on earth could resist their demand for self-government; &c., &c.

I do not know if I succeeded in convincing my youthful listener; but I felt, it all depended on the sincerity of my utterance, and the degree of his faith in the genuineness of my patriotism. But this I know, now that I have had a frank and free exchange of ideas with this typical champion of the juvenile agitators, that our political leaders, and the parents and guardians of the generation now growing into manhood will have to meet the demands of an exacting standard of sincerity and worth and patriotism and self-sacrifice in order to command the respect and control the activities of our youngmen; and wherever these qualities are lacking, an appeal to their own position and influence and age and experience will not be of any avail. And whatever may be the ultimate fate of schoolboy non-cooperation, with which I am not in sympathy, one standing entirely outside the political arena like myself cannot fail to observe that if Indian politics is being thus exalted, vitalised, invested with earnestness and a fine spiritual quality by the high demands made upon it by the young generation, this revaluation of its values is in the largest measure due to the outstanding and selfless personality of Mr. Gandhi whom the boys literally adore as their great exemplar. Alien bureaucrats may make light of his soul-force; but it is working all the same in purging our national ideals of all sham and sordidness, and preparing ourselves on an adequate scale for those difficult sacrifices by which a nation is tested and considered fit to achieve success.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE:
THE PROBLEMS OF NATIONALISM

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF ANDRÉ VARAGNAC.

THOSE who may be European socialists and revolutionaries, and would disown the present form of society, try at times to detach themselves and judge it objectively from without, because their revolutionary beliefs themselves place them outside. But how far does the mind succeed in making such an abstraction and in attaining such a perspective?

Unconsciously its own culture, its own language while thinking, its thousand spontaneous gestures, which are like intellectual responses,—all these connect it more or less with its present surroundings. It is true, that the exile from home of many revolutionaries,—just as to-day the exile of the combatants in the Great War,—has harshly cut them off and placed them beyond the pale. But, even then,—how far?

Such a question as this never presents itself so conspicuously to the mind, as when reading an author, like Rabindranath Tagore, who has devoted himself to the same problem of passing judgment on modern society, but does not himself belong to our own country, and therefore addresses us from another intellectual hemisphere,—a hemisphere which our modern society, with its imperialism, would like to annihilate, because it does not figure in its own plans of exploitation of mines, or of intensive Kultur. Such an observer has alone, within his reach, the power to fathom at a glance the inner springs of modern Europe. His instinct of humanity, as he has lived in his own human surroundings, would reveal to him, better than it has done to us, the root causes which lately roused Europe to violence, to bloodshed, to murder, till it now lies prone upon the earth under the open sky.

This is the reason, why Rabindranath Tagore has been able to adjudge the West.

Those, who may be revolutionaries in Europe, recognise in him the great Hindu poet. We can all remember the vigorous blows, that he has often dealt in the cause of patriotism. We understand his lofty conceptions of humanity. The unfortunate absence of good translations of his works into French prevents us from recognising him as what he is,—a social thinker of the first order, a philosopher, a speculator in those political problems, which are agitating his own country and the modern world. In this review, we shall consider merely one of his writings. This work has been published (in a fine spirit of Anglo-Saxon impartiality) by Macmillans, one

of the leading London publishers. The book fights against that very principle which we ourselves are fighting against,—the principle which European civilisation has spread abroad throughout the world, and the Great Peace has multiplied into a number of small European States,—like a mould which turns out so many cakes,—“Nationalism.”

What kind of Nationalism? Indian Nationalism? European Nationalism? No! It is the principle of Nationalism itself, that Rabindranath Tagore challenges. He analyses it, with a depth of intimacy and feeling, which only years of moral suffering and fruitless humiliation can produce. He is the first to denounce, among the patriots of his own country, the very same tendencies in India which he observes in European Society. He sees how the nations organise themselves, with greater and greater mechanical efficiency, in order to bring about material success. It is in this mechanical organisation, that he sees the origin of all Nationalism. For Nationalism is, to the peoples, what Capitalism is to individual labourers.

Coming to details, Rabindranath Tagore describes the slavery, which underlies Imperialism. He has felt in his own flesh, and in the flesh of his own countrymen, the blind mechanical crushing force of the Ruling Nation. It is like the ruthless, chain-like, caterpillar-wheels of a Tank, passing over the bodies of the wounded. A mere personal Despot is nothing of a tyrant in comparison with the anonymous, ubiquitous and responseless tyranny of the administrative mechanism of a great European power in the East.

Before the advent of the English, India had known many ruling powers. But the conquests of past military revolutions passed over her surface, without affecting the autonomous life of the villagers. Now, however, the Western iron grip has clutched deep down into the very vitals of Indian Society. Everywhere there is at hand the mis-trustful official, ready to execute, like a machine, the arbitrary and often inhuman decisions of invisible Heads of Departments. The ‘Motherland’ of India herself gets that minimum trickling stream of education which is needed to irrigate the Administration. Industrial exploiting in a country (where once grew, and still lives, an ancient culture) has resulted in frightful chaos.

- But the collective life of the multitude cannot

end in chaos. One by one, the unforeseen consequences of political materialism came up to the surface. We cannot reside among a people, in order to exploit their labour and their wealth, and at the same time conceal from them our true purpose and our intimate self. From the day when the English ruler settles down in a bungalow, he brings with him new ideas of intellectual liberty, of scientific curiosity, of forceful energy, which constitute the moral atmosphere of his own country. In vain does he try to hide them, or to limit the number of colleges and schools, or to suppress and censor newspapers, or to prescribe for Indians books which he carries about in his own portemanteau. The ideals of his European race are there, in his own despite. They are there in the sound of his voice, in the attractions of his ways, in the vital gestures and responses, which he himself is the last to notice.

Rabindranath Tagore thanks the West for having brought to his own country the notion of the equality of all men before the law, and the notion of liberty. These enrich the spirit of Asia with principles, that are indispensable for the moral and continuous evolution of society. But India has also imbibed some other Western ideas, whose aspects of violence she knows only too well. India has become Nationalist like Japan. She dreams about taking part in the industrial competition and in the race for armaments. Now, henceforth, she will answer Force by Force. Thus is ushered in the Reign of Terror.

To this call of the modern age,—which fascinates the masses, and the Young Indian nationalists,—Rabindranath Tagore replies as follows:—

"No, never! Our own vital problem is not that of Nationalism. Our own vital problem is within our own borders: it is that of Caste."

—What is the good of political freedom, if India has within herself her own 'pariahs'?

"The narrowness of outlook," he writes, "which allows the cruel yoke of inferiority of caste to be imposed on a considerable part of humanity, will manifest itself in our political life by creating therein the tyranny of injustice."

India has not yet attained that stage of ethnological unity, wherein the energy of the whole nation may be given forth abroad, so that the nation can enter into the life of other nations, engaging in its own contacts and collisions with other masses of mankind, homogeneous and distinct.

Such was the fate of Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. India, alone, by itself, is a veritable continent. In India a variety of races kept strictly aloof, live side by side without jostling one another. This is what caste has accomplished.

Let us not hastily look down with contempt

upon the caste system. Has it been fully recognised by historians, that caste has given the only peaceful solution of a problem which many civilised nations have answered by a decree of death? In all the cases where the European races have conquered a country, the method of conquest has never varied. The conquered race has had its human dignity effaced, even where it has not been actually annihilated. We have only to remember the massacres, which have stained the history of the ancient nations, on the shores of the Mediterranean. It is not necessary to refer to more recent examples.

But the Aryans in India when they took half the continent from the Dravidian's, however, they also repudiated contact with the conquered. Or rather, their principal care was to safeguard from pollution the absolute integrity of their own moral life. They felt within themselves the up-surge of Vedic thought. They ordained a new society in full accord with this primary need.

Viewed in this light, nothing could appear more human, more liberal, than the solution of the problem by Caste. It had, however, one vicious factor. It was hostile to the most intimate of all processes of life, which is exchange. The wild manners of our own European races,—murder and rape,—what a paradox!—have done better service, in the long run, to human progress. A few centuries after the European conquest, a new Nation began its career. Instead of this, India has postponed indefinitely the solution of the question of her unity.

It is towards this solution of her own inner difficulty that Rabindranath Tagore would lead India forward once more. He points to the overthrow of the Caste System! This does not mean a clean slate altogether. One can only destroy the caste system by the creation of a new harmony, a new mutual confidence. This is the problem, antecedent to any political ambition for India from outside.

But if India thus strives within, with her own internal difficulties, will she be left behind all other nations? No, on the contrary, Rabindranath Tagore tells us, that she will be the first to answer today the great question, which will come up tomorrow for all humanity to solve. She will shew the true solution to the rest of struggling mankind.

Step by step, mechanical advance has multiplied communications between nations. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries held the belief that all men had the same soul and the same mental outlook. The great truth, which will dawn upon us during the Twentieth Century, will be the revelation, in actual life, of an astonishing diversity in mankind. But, at the same time, there will arise the problem of the union of all the heterogeneous races

of the world, without which progress will cease and retrogression begin.

If India, freeing herself from the caste system, were able to produce, out of the passion of her own soul, the law of harmony in human diversity, she might ward off from us the terrible experience, which surely awaits us, Europeans, if we do not solve this question of the harmony of diverse men and nations aright in our own sphere.

England, once upon a time, discovered the 'Parliament.' Russia to-day has discovered the 'Soviet.' Why should we not have confidence that India will bring her own discovery to humanity, when she awakens out of her millennium of sleep?

Let us turn back then to India herself. Only, as we have seen, by the solution of her own inner difficulties, can she escape from the degradation of merely *imitating* the results of a civilisation in which she had no creative part. Herein lies the dominant preoccupation of Rabindranath Tagore. He reminds the East, that, if the West has Science, the East has her own Mission, which she must also fulfil.

This comparison between the East and the West leads the writer to a very remarkable denunciation of the mechanically scientific view of life. He has developed this theme at length in his own philosophical works. In *Nationalism* he merely broaches this great subject.

Let us remark here, that Rabindranath Tagore condemns the present order of Society, (which he calls, scientifically mechanical) because of its egoism, its lovelessness, its lack of social enthusiasm. He believes this negative character is caused by the abstract and

impersonal modes of scientific thought, and by the influence of the mechanical idea itself upon our mentality. The mechanical instrument is a thing with a narrow practical concrete objective. As we fashion ourselves more and more after its image, does it not tend to efface man, as man, and in this way to take away the humanity from man? Such appears to be the conception of our author, when he describes modern society as 'mechanical.'

Will Rabindranath Tagore permit us to point out to him, with all due respect, that these very characteristics, which he condemns, are the evils produced by the present capitalist conditions of society itself. The working people of the West often fight shy of mechanical perfection because the machine is really the cause of their subjection in the matter of wages. The masses, as slaves, work without love. The machine is ever over them: it encloses them round on every side. But we can image before our minds an emancipated industrial nation, laying hold of the machine with fervour and mingling with its movements the rhythm of human exertion. The enthusiasm of our European races for the joys of motoring, of aviation,—the eager passion of individual men and women for each little mechanical invention,—these are surely presages of a future, which will allow us to picture to our minds a Resurrection and an Advent,—the Advent of the Mechanical Age.

No! The West has not trodden a false path! But it seems that Rabindranath Tagore would have the East turn away from their track. This appears to us to be the great message, which he has thrust forth into the turmoil and confusion of our times. But let us not give up all originality on our side. Humanity must realise its infinite diversity. Life only finds itself. One, in its intensity and abundance.

COMMUNICATIONS

A Home for the Hindusthan Association of America.

Being in business for over 20 years in India, England and the United States and a close observer of conditions prevailing in these countries, it occurs to me that the people of India have at last come to recognise that the United States offers better educational facilities and opportunities for practical training than other countries and I have no doubt in my mind that as soon as passport regulations in India are relaxed, students by the thousands will flock to the United States of America.

To help and advise such students the Hindusthan Association of America was started in the year 1912 as a non-political body, the objects being to

promote the educational activities of Hindusthanee students and to interpret India to America and America to India, but for lack of funds the association has had to restrict its activities to a limited scale.

As soon as our students set their feet on the soil of this country their difficulties begin. First of all there is the examination by the Immigration Authorities which is particularly strict in the case of Indians, many of whom are taken to the Ellis Island Immigration Station where they are detained often for many days. Secondly the difficulty in obtaining suitable lodgings at a moderate price. Thirdly the lack of expert advice in deciding on the University and the course of study and fourthly the lack of facilities to meet and associate with their fellow-students.

To be of practical assistance to these students the

Hindusthan Association must have a permanent home, a wholetime paid secretary and a club for members. Temporary accommodation might be furnished here to incoming students, and not the least important feature would be regular weekly lectures where the East can meet the West in friendly intercourse and exchange of ideas.

Such activities will require large funds, and the Association, as yet, is poor. The problem can only be solved if the Association owns a building where the permanent office and the secretary, club and lecture hall can be located. Its spare rooms could be rented for temporary residential purpose to the students, enough income can be secured thereby for the upkeep of the house and part of the salary of the permanent secretary. The balance would have to be raised by dues and contributions from members.

It is necessary to raise at least \$30,000.00 to secure a suitable building. The money required should be raised in India. The Indian taxpayers are paying a large amount every year for the upkeep of the Government's educational advisers in England, who do not advise but place all kinds of restrictions and obstructions in the way of our students there. Is it therefore too much to expect \$30,000.00 (Rs. 90,000) by voluntary contributions from the Indian public for a similar but worthier purpose?

Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh and Lala Peary Lall of Delhi who were on a visit to this city a few weeks ago promised to contribute \$750.00 (Rs. 2250) towards the house fund of the Association as soon as the necessity was explained to them. There are thousands of other public-spirited men and women like them in India who can contribute similar sums if the necessity can properly be presented to them.

Our people in India need to be enlightened upon this subject, by means of interviews and articles in the newspapers and magazines as well as lectures explaining the aims and objects of the Hindusthan Association of America and the necessity of funds for increasing the activities of the Association.

The Indian National Congress should also consider the desirability of an organised effort to send our boys and girls by thousands to study in foreign countries, particularly in America. It is high time that the

Congress should devote some of their energies, as they are doing in other constructive work, to education.

New York City,
September 27th, 1920.

BROJENDRO N. DOSS.

Dwijendranath Tagore on non-Cooperation.

[The following letter has been sent to Mahatma Gandhi by the elder brother of the Poet, the revered sage of Shantiniketan] :—

Revered Mahatmaji,

One serious circumstance that impedes the advancement of your cause in this part of the country is the belief, shared by a section of the educated community, that your efforts, being avowedly destructive, cannot be deemed worthy of promotion. My own faith in your work as a great haven of good, actual and potential, remains unshaken as before; for I consider it unsound to argue that 'a negative agitation', as it has come to be called, *ipso facto* forfeits all claim to rational support. When an individual becomes enslaved, body and soul, to a pernicious habit like 'drink', the way to wean him is ever double-edged, or to use the opponents' phraseology, at once 'negative and positive.' If the physician wishes to succeed in his cure, he must primarily employ all his energy in enabling the patient to resist the temptation and overcome the evil, ere he prescribes to him some substitute in place of the poison. The new recipe must needs fail to produce an effect, if, concomitantly, the patient persists in his old habit: from which, the lesson may be deduced that the initial 'negative' stage of destruction is as essential for cure as the later 'positive' stage of recuperation. Even so our country should first shake itself free from the shackles of emasculating institutions, in advance of any constructive programme of work that may be undertaken for its regeneration. I appeal to my countrymen not to be oblivious of this important truth, and earnestly trust that it may be driven home in their minds by yourself, with due emphasis and frequency.

Wishing you every success,

Santiniketan.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

ÆSTHETIC AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS IN INDIAN CITY DEVELOPMENT

By DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D.

II.

IN each *muhalla* or *baham* ward or village unit of the renewed city inhabited at first by men of the same caste or occupation but gradually liberalised with the admixture of new castes and races, there will be a tank and by the tank with its shade trees and

flower garden there will be the temple or the communal shrine. In the tropics the morning ablution in the tank refreshes and purifies the soul, and the householder and the ascetic alike, cooled in body and moved by the reflections, morning and evening, spring and autumn, in the broad placid expanses of

water, of the blue skies, the dense rich foliage of sacred trees, and the unending lines of bathers, men and women, young and old, come to understand the deep mystery of the pulsating life of changing Nature as well as man in his generations. There is woven for him the magic web of cosmic and human emotions in their interplay, which seeks expression in imaginative symbols and mythical forms corresponding to the changing nature visions and the ever-recurrent types of man's life and destiny the Mother of Ever-renewing Life, individual and associated, and the rhythmic dance of Death destructive and yet recreative Vishnu or Siva, either personified or in his attributes Nature-spirits at the four gates of the temple, and the five cosmic elements, earth, water, fire, air and ether or Parvati or Durga, the Mother of Nature, Krishna as the Eternal Child, or the Eternal Youth, with his human consort, popular divinities like gods and goddesses, and other denizens of the forest, lake or river, or again, deified kings, heroes and saints, Pandyan kings and Chola emperors, the humble Apparswami with his folded hands, or the youthful Sundaramurti, Nature in all her moods, and love in all its sports and all other protean forms and symbols of the various types of human and social relationship. Such images and symbols appear and reappear, the abstract in the concrete and the concrete in the abstract : and so also temples and shrines, which in their multiform and vast courts and quadrangles serve as a sort of pantheon realising the vision of India of the one in the many and the many in the one. The introduction to the understanding of these is provided by the illustrations of the epics, the Puranas and other folklore decorating the lofty aisles and spacious corridors, pillars and ceilings and initiating the beholder's intelligence by degrees. All the strange and beautiful forms and images with their eloquence of ornamental detail gradually lead the understanding from lower to higher planes from the lesser Devas including those of non-Aryan derivation to the Three Aspects of Nature, the abstract concepts of Life or Death and Eternity, and to all the imaginative symbols of Purusha and Prakriti in their bewildering variety and ultimately to the central idea that the temple seeks for symbolic utterance—the horizontal expansion allowing thinking space to the brain and the mystic pointing upward satisfying the aspira-

tion of the soul. The holiness of the temple converges into the reliquary proper, the shrine of shrines and the temple's coronet which the mind reaches in tremulous expectation to find rest and fulfilment ; for it is not seldom that passing through all the wonderful and multiform visions and experiences of the one hundred thousand gods and goddesses, forms and images, the mind is at last face to face in the sanctus sanctorum with the mystic symbol of the Universal Formlessness who is in the background of every form and external expression.

The temple architecture of Southern India preserves more completely than that of other parts of India the fundamental ideas of Indian village and city planning. The different features of village life are reproduced in essentials in temple planning. The "*Gopurams*" of the temple represent the cattle forts of the village, the spacious corridors that lead up to the holy shrine are the spacious roads (*raja margas*) of the city leading up to the royal palace at the four cross-ways, and those which form the *pradakshina* path represent the *mangala vithi*. There is also the *mandapam* of the shrine where devotees congregate even as citizens congregate in the Council House. Sukra says that the city will have the *sabha* or Council House in the centre and will be provided with wells, tanks, and pools, and with four gates in four directions, good roads and parks in rows, and well-constructed temples and *sarais* for travellers. All these are true of the internal arrangements of a temple which is thus the city in miniature. Not merely roads and drains, wells and tanks, rest-rooms and discourse halls are there in the temple carefully ordered as in the city but also markets with their shops and stalls. Even the public orchards are not wanting, but instead of the trunks of trees, we find a thousand or more stone columns, carved or bare, which overpower the understanding of the devotee by their sheer number even as one lost in a forest comes to know something of the deep mystery of Nature perplexing in her infinite variety. The bathing tank which forms such an essential in Indian social life is also in the temple, but on a small scale, and its water is especially sacred.

All this at its best in South Indian temple cities. It is not merely in the temple cities, but in the Indian town planning in general

tanks are sacred waters and temples have been built around them, and so also in the future with the ever-renewing expression of the Indian spirit, and this will be not idolatry but true reverence. And the *gairik* flag will be hoisted on the trident of the temple, its raised platform will be repaired and the flower garden planted or renewed. The village or city well will be cleansed and cemented, perfected with "the old chunam finish, so much nearer the bacteriological standard of cleanliness than can be even the best of bricks." In the public squares the sacred trees associated with the lives of Siva and Krishna, beloved of Gods and revered by men, will all be planted. The fruit bearing *Bael*, the beautiful *Kadam*, the useful *Neem*, the shady *Bat*, the hoary overspreading Banyan with its colony of offshoots, or the flowering *Champak*, *Bakul*, *Krishna-Chura* will all be there set in beauty and order. Even now the central tree and the platform are quite a common feature of all old cities and villages. The characteristic flora of the region is associated with the temple, the mango tree in the famous temples at Canjeevaram and Māyavaram, the *Kala* in Pāpānāsam, and even the medicinal plants and fruit trees which lend curative properties to the waters of sacred tanks. With such material beginnings, there will come to our unclean cities, beauty, health and noble living, old communal ideas will be renewed and rehabilitated, but now enriched with the demands of a larger civic life and consciousness, for in the common square will be assembled in morning and evening not merely men of the same caste, occupation or walk of life, but a whole community taking a legitimate civic pride in the beauty of its square and temple, its library and free reading room added to them. Classic Hindu and allegoric statuary and large-sized fountains will also be fitting adjuncts. Such squares and temples will be the active and formative centres of public opinion that will regulate communal life. From these will radiate ideas of sanitation, of clean and healthy living now eclipsed in the smoke and dirt of filthy cities; ideals of popular education and citizenship from the libraries and committee rooms, meeting places and scenes of social gatherings, and when the women of the working folk will come to the temple and the tank in the evening and return with purer water, with uninfected vessel and feet, they

will set about their sweeping, indoors and outside as well more actively, clean the compound and the lane and perhaps lay out in any vacant compound a small garden of such trees as the guava or the papya or vegetables, and by and by in every home along with the garden, there will be built a *tulsimanch* for evening worship, watered every morning and afternoon. From the communal and sacred centres of the city the squares and the tanks each with their platform and temple and shade trees will radiate the impulse that will uplift every home and make it an epitome of the former.

But in all the cities on the banks of the mighty rivers the beauty of the squares and of the trees, temples and flights of stairs will be enhanced, for the rivers are sacred. The rivers have made those cities through which they have been flowing sacred places of pilgrimage, and to them have come in auspicious or inauspicious seasons throngs of pilgrims to have their sins washed away by an ablution. The steps with the old chunam finish will be renewed and repaired, and new flights of marble stairs will be built, and with them shady Ashwath and Bat trees on the banks will be renewed or planted. And the whole river side will not be allowed for boats and steamers for trading purposes. For the square and its temple on the riverside will be sacred and inviolable spots which will be protected. As the bathers come and go, as the pilgrims sit on the courtyard of the temple and the students count the ingoing and outgoing boats from their cloister in the Library, the river which goes on for ever will represent in their eyes the symbol of a common pulsating life of humanity, which is one through generations of time and historic eternity and is moving towards a common destiny, the ocean of Universal Humanity freely and spontaneously, the images enshrined in the cosmic consciousness of our race will appear and be renewed in their appearances—classic and allegorical statues be built—the symbols of Eternity, Ranganath or Ananta Padmanabham as at Srirangam or Trivendrum, reclining in his cosmic slumber on the seven-hooded serpent who bears the burden of the earth from the beginning of the time, of the Eternal Mother, mother Ganga giving peace, contentment and freedom, and becalming the passions and fears of a troubled humanity in her affectionate embrace, pure, soft and cold, of the Divine child, the

emblem of Future Humanity, lying on a Bat-leaf that floats on the waters of eternity; and with them will come the images of Learning (Saraswati), Wealth and Prosperity (Lakshmi), and why not also of Ignorance and Filth the trinity of the three D's—Drink, Destitution and Disease, of Chamundi who fights with these and all truth's battles, and Ganesa who rewards with success and fulfilment; or again Viswakarma the deity of arts, crafts and occupations, and Haladhar, the holder of the plough, these and many more, and in the frescoes of the public hall or library that will also be there, there will be depicted the symbols of the stages of organic and social evolution from the fish and the wild-boar to man, and in man from the beginnings of civilisation in the reign of justice and righteousness of Sri Rām Chandra through the military ambition and iconoclasm of Parasurāma to the love and redemptive sacrifice of the Buddha, culminating in the supreme vision of the Superman who will work out the ideal that is shattered by the historic process in life. Such and many other images and representations of symbols and allegories will have their place and importance in the public squares, temples and buildings of city development, for India is as rich in her religion of Nature in response to the procession of the seasons, as in her Religion of Humanity in conformity to the diverse forms of personal and social relationships arising out of the needs and ideals of domestic, social and civic life. It is under the impulse of a religion that is not merely personal but also social and civic that a real civic consciousness and personality can be developed in our cities, no longer standing apart from the general tenour of our life, religion and morality, but worthy of the best traditions of ancient Mathurā, Ujjayini, Pātaliputra, Champā or Saptagrām, Madura or Srirangam to name only a few worthy cities of the ancient emperors from which emanated great impulses of religion, literature and civic ideals that had spread even beyond the confines of India. The historic consciousness will also add new national memorials, statues or representations connected with the incidents of the life of a great man or a great national event; of Rāmchandra's re-entry to Ajodhyā, the Abhisheka ceremony at Indraprastha, of Asoka in Pataliputa sending out missionaries for his world-conquest, the colonising enterprise from the Gujarat coast, the landing

of Vijaya in Ceylon, Baber and his vow of temperance, Akbar and his promotion of learning, the abolition of infanticide and suttee rite, and all the rest will also be there to evoke civic pride and ardour, and why not along with the permanent theatres, periodical *melas* and processions to commemorate these be instituted to rouse the citizens to their new duties and responsibilities?

In historical representations, the East has tried always to build not statues or images but has sought the resuscitation and revival of past experiences of the race or the nation in the human intercourse and relationships of the present by making events of history cyclical and sempiternal as it were with returning nature and her seasons. This is the reason why events in the past have been linked up with the seasons recurrent in cycles and cyclical in their recurrence immortalised in Nature's calendar, renewed in *melas*, festivals and pageants, religious and civic, with their appeal to the imagination through dramatisation, and symbolisation and thus helping the people to live over again the thrilling and ecstatic moments and the heroic episodes of a nation's life.

In the institution of memorials in the true spirit of the East, our chief recourse will be not merely to the cold and lifeless representations such as statues and images, which always tend to become abstract and impersonal, but also to the periodical *melas* and festivals with their mimic representation and symbolical significance, emblematic not merely of the cosmic eternity, in the conceptions of which our race has been so rich and prolific, but also of the historic eternity which has excited less feeling and emotion in our race consciousness, and which now waits for its expression by its new and fresh appeals to our imagination and sentiments.

In the different squares of the city, under the shade trees in front of the temple, the citizens will periodically be assembled, with the procession of the seasons, to witness the picturesque representations of the dramatic or effective situations in our nation's history or the biography of its great men; and even as the impulse in sanitation and clean and noble living spreads to homes from these communal centres, so also as the procession starts from the squares and passes through the important streets of the city, impulses of religion, beauty and civic ideals spread to every home.

And in Madura it was once the custom of carrying the procession once a month through one particular street so that the homes in all important streets might each have its turn in the year. The religious and car processions are not confined only to temple-cities. Even in the villages of Southern India, the cars are seen every year in procession and the artistic skill of village craftsmen is tested in decorating the car as well as the vehicles with elaborate ornamentation. And in some villages in every year the God of the temple is carried not merely through the main streets of the village, but also from village to village carrying with it a growing band of chanting *Vaidikas* singing *Bhajanwalas* and a crowd of heterogeneous peoples of the whole region without any distinctions of caste, fans, watersheds and refreshments being arranged throughout the way. Men of all castes including Brahmins would not be ashamed to make dedicatory offerings on such occasions to the ancient village or sylvan deity which have Panchama priests and which is the common object of devotion to all—both the castemen and the casteless. Besides ornamental rods and torches such sacred and beautiful symbols as the swan, the *makara*, the *chakra*, the Vaishnava insignia, the conch, the sun and the moon are carried in the procession while the varied vehicles of different gods and goddesses, the parrot for the mother, the snake and the bull for Siva, the lotus for the Sakti, the peacock for Subramanya and scenes like that of Kailas with Ravana rocking it from the under-world are also executed with perfect skill. Cars are beneficent in another way. To the Car procession we owe not merely the fine lay out of the main quadrangle of the streets of a temple city, but also a high standard for the other streets of the city as well, even as the floating boat and water festival assure the respect and periodical purifying of the city tanks.

Again what civic and regional significance has the institution of city pilgrimage, the circumambulation of the cities, sacred cities for instance, Benares, Srirangam, Navadvipa, Madura or Lhassa. Next in merit to the world pilgrimage *prithwi pradakshina*, comes the city pilgrimage, *nagara pradakshina*. Thus Benares the holiest of cities of 1500 temples and more contains within its limits all the most sacred places of Hindu pilgrimage, such as Allahabad, or Kedarnath in the Himalayas

or Rameswaram in the extreme south. But the most interesting pilgrimage is that of the panch-kosi road, which every Hindu inhabitant of Benares is enjoined to undertake once a year. This road describes a rough semi-circle round Benares, the centre being the Manikarnika well, the first place of pilgrimage and the radius a distance of five Kos or almost 10 miles. All sins committed within the limits of the city will be expiated if the pilgrim undertakes the journey along the sacred road which limits the area of Benares on the land side, going on bare feet, receiving no gifts from anybody and taking only the barest necessities with him. In the pilgrimage he will circumambulate all that is holy in the holiest of cities, all that is charming in green cornfields, venerable avenues and spacious tanks of villages. The three Srirangams on the Cauvery as well as Benares on the Ganges owe their holiness to the circumstance that the river in each case takes a great sweep round so that its current while it passes the temple cities flows in a northerly direction or towards Kailas where Vishnu or Siva dwells; Benares is indeed holiest because here the beautiful river front is like the crescent moon of Siva's forehead, and the whole area bounded by Baruna on the north and Asi on the south faces the rising sun. And so also in Ahmedabad, once in every three years during the intercalary month, Adhiks or Purushottamas, Hindu women on some holidays walk barefooted round the city, bathing and worshipping at 17 places, most of them on the left bank of the Sabarmati. In making this round, a pilgrim starts early in the morning, for Dada Harir's well and going by the north, west, south and east, comes home through the same gate left by. On coming into the city, he visits same temples before going home. To do all this takes a full day from 10 to 12 hours. Significant also is the pilgrimage in the most beautiful and romantic land of Brajbhumi which includes the cities of Brindavan and Mathura. In imitation of the movements of the sun and moon and the planets there has arisen in different cultures the custom of circumambulation round some sacred object as a centre and this has been associated with magic virtues and potencies. But the culture history has never stopped at the origins of institutions in magic, but has gone on to an elaboration of rituals and symbols fraught with imaginative appeal

and, psychological significance out of the raw matter of tribal magic and tribal cults. In India the process of symbolization is universal and has been carried to a higher plane by being lifted up to spiritual and transcendental heights. Here this institution of city circumambulation has received further accretion from the Car processions associated with the Buddhist, Jaina and Vaishnava cults which returning by a circuit to the starting point in the course of a stated period shew the character of a periodic cycle as in the planetary movements of the heaven. The institution has tended to lapse into a mechanical and soulless formalism. But for the constructive ideals and ends of the new civics of today, it is desirable to revive a

beautiful institution which appeals to the topographical sense and awakens the historic imagination by kindling the sacred associations of localised romance and cherished folklore in the minds of the citizens and city pilgrims. And as we have seen the sites and configuration of these sacred cities have been so planned in conformity to the innate aesthetic instinct of the Indian people that an education in nature-sensibility is at the same time secured to the pilgrims by giving him a scenic succession of panoramic views and long stretched vistas of glen and valley, of majestic river-reaches and smiling greens overarched by the blue vault of an Indian sky.

INDIAN PROPAGANDA WORK IN AMERICA

RECOLLECTIOS OF CONVERSATIONS WITH MR. TILAK

BY ELIZABETH FREEMAN.

WHEN I went to England (from America) in 1919, it was my privilege to carry verbal messages from Mr. Lajpat Rai and Dr. Hardiker, to the late Mr. Tilak, who was then in London. In particular, Dr. Hardiker charged me with this message as I was going aboard the boat: "Be sure to tell Mr. Tilak that I have dedicated my life, my all, to the service of India; and in such ways as he may deem wisest and best. I am willing to do anything at any time. He needs only to give the order, and the thing will be done without any hesitation."

Upon reaching London I wrote to Mr. Tilak, and at once received an invitation to call at his residence.

When I delivered the message he was deeply impressed and remarked that he hoped both Lala and Hardiker would remain in America and continue their important activities there. As I went into detail about these he listened keenly and punctuated my remarks with vital questions. He was particularly delighted to learn of the good work Dr. Hardiker was

then (in January, 1919) doing in Washington, D. C., with the members of the United States Congress, and expressed a hope that Mr. Lajpat Rai would be able to follow it up with his large experience and ripe knowledge.

The news of Hardiker's and Lala's lecture trip through certain parts of America, and of the extensive work which Dr. J. T. Sunderland has long been doing in various parts of the United States and Canada, by speaking and writing in condemnation of British methods in India and in advocacy of justice and freedom for the Indian people, filled Mr. Tilak with delight. "Oh how I wish," he said, "that such work as has been carried on by these men could be done all over the world! We Hindus must learn the art of foreign propaganda, and do it as thoroughly as the bureaucracy are doing it. When you write to Lala and Hardiker tell them I want the work carried as far as possible."

When he asked for details of the methods which had been found most successful in America in attracting people to the cause

of India, I have particulars as fully as possible of what had been done in the past, and also pointed out certain important ways in which the work could be enlarged in the future if only there were more workers and especially if there were more adequate financial support.

"I understand," said Mr. Tilak, "that in America you always want something new." "Yes we do," I replied, "but India is so large and rich a subject, and there is so much calculated to interest intelligent minds in the story of her long past, in her high civilization, in the great place that she has filled in the world; and in her present just struggle for freedom, that it is not difficult to attract and hold the attention of American audiences when the subject of India is properly presented. Of course a dull or ignorant speaker on India cannot interest us. But when the subject of India, and especially her right to be free, is presented by a man possessing knowledge and ability like Mr. Lajpat Rai, for example, the subject never fails to win the interest and sympathy of audiences in all parts of America."

I was greatly embarrassed when Mr. Tilak, speaking of "the good work for India" done in America, thanked me for my small contribution to it. "My dear young lady," he said, "India's cause would be better understood if more women like you would take an interest in it. Will you not consider an invitation to come to India and educate our women?" I was overjoyed and thanked him, but pointed out that the difficulty of language was a serious one, and that the need outside of India was so great that it was necessary for all of us to work just where we were located, and make at least our immediate friends understand the truth about the aims and objects of the Indian people.

On two occasions, in speeches which I heard from him, he referred to the need of foreign propaganda, and spoke with warm approval of the good work being done in both America and England.

As I have already intimated, he often expressed a hope that Lajpat Rai would remain in America, because of his great

success there. Also he spoke of the difficulty of finding another man to fill his place in case he should return to India. "Perhaps this young man, Hardiker, will grow to it," he said, "if he is willing to give his life to the work. He has just the spirit that we need in the movement."

There is no doubt that Mr. Tilak firmly believed that India's needs must be brought to the attention of the whole world; and he promised that upon his return to India, if life was spared to him, he would raise money not only to continue the work already begun in America, but to carry on the work in new lines

ADDENDUM BY DR. SUNDERLAND.

May I be permitted to say that I am glad Miss Freeman has written the above recollections of her conversations with Mr. Tilak when he was in England. It encourages us to know how deeply he was interested in Indian propaganda in America. The high appreciation which he expressed of the work done here by Mr. Lajpat Rai, by Dr. Hardiker and by Miss Freeman herself, was certainly just and merited. If he were speaking today, with knowledge of present conditions and of the work that has been carried on here since January, 1919, I am sure he would mention with appreciation and gratitude other persons also, especially Mr. D. S. V. Rao, a member of the Council of the India Home Rule League of America and General Business Manager of our monthly magazine, *Young India*, and Miss Miller, also a member of the Council of the League and Assistant Editor of *Young India*. Without the efficient self-sacrificing labor of these two devoted workers in the Indian cause, it would have been impossible during the past two years to publish the magazine, to maintain our Indian Headquarters Office in New York, at 1400 Broadway (an absolute necessity if the cause of India in this country is to be efficiently served), or to carry on the many important activities of the League.

Mr. Tilak was quite right in feeling not only that the activities in behalf of India, which have been carried on in the past,

should be maintained, but that new and larger activities ought to be undertaken.

Certainly the field here is great. If an intelligent and strong national public sentiment can be created in this country in favour of India's freedom, it will have a powerful influence in England, for the British people are more anxious to stand well with American than with any other nation; they are more influenced by general public opinion here than by public opinion in any other country. This they show in many ways.

Still further, if widespread and strong sympathy can be created in America for India in her struggle for self-rule, I am sure it will do much to encourage and hearten the Indian people. This is not an unimportant matter. Nations as well as individual men that have a hard battle to fight are greatly strengthened by knowing that they have the sympathy, the approval and the moral support of others whom they respect. India can win America's sympathy and moral support if she will. But it cannot be done without intelligent, strong and persistent effort.

It may well be pointed out in this connection that New York is not only the most important center for Indian propaganda in America, but it is the most important center, with the possible exception of London, for Indian propaganda throughout the world. As a fact, the India Office here, through its correspondence, through *Young*

India, and through its other literature sent out, is in touch not only with all parts of North America, but with many of the countries of Central and South America, with East and South Africa, with the Fiji Islands, etc.: *Young India* has readers in all, and it endeavors to report conditions in all and to help the cause of the Indian residents in all.

Miss Freeman was right in pointing out to Mr. Tilak that our great need, if the work here is to be enlarged, or even maintained at its present strength, is funds. We are raising what we can in this country, but it is not enough. After Mr. Tilak's return to India from England he sent us generous financial help. This would have been continued if he had lived. Will it be continued now that he is gone?

Let me say in closing, that the India Home Rule League here desires to keep in closest possible touch with the Indian National Congress. It will be glad if the Congress feels like making it in some sense its recognized representative in America. This matter has been already laid before some of the officials of the Congress. It is to be hoped that at the next meeting of the body at Nagpur the subject may be considered and some decision reached.

J. T. SUNDERLAND,
President of the India Home Rule
League of America and
Editor of *Young India*.

GLEANINGS

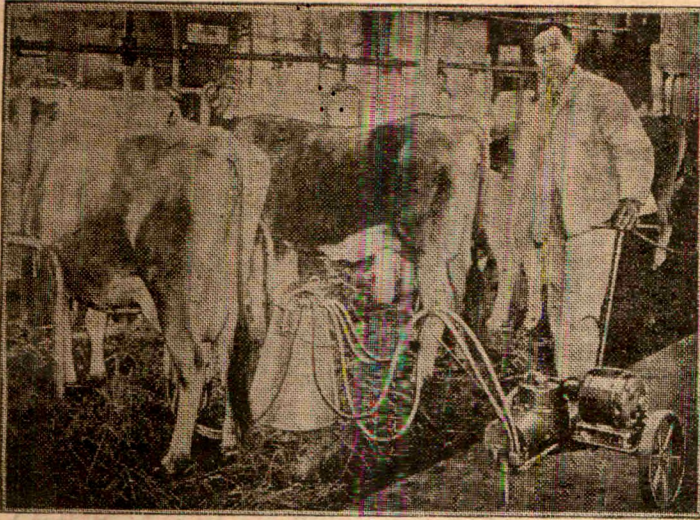
Milking Cows by Electricity.

The cow will not kick over the milk-pail if she is milked electrically with the device shown next page. Nor will she switch her tail in one's face. This automatic milker allows one man to milk as many cows as three men could by hand. It is also perfectly sanitary. The teat of the cow is squeezed by compressed air, and the milk is then sucked into the can through a rubber hose. This little milker never gets tired,

is always ready for work, and consumes very little current. The cows stand perfectly still while it is at work.

One man alone can milk fifteen cows in three-quarters of an hour with the aid of this new electric milker. And besides he is able to get more milk from the cows than he did when he milked by hand.

No pipe-lines, belts, gages, or tanks need be installed in order to use the milker. •

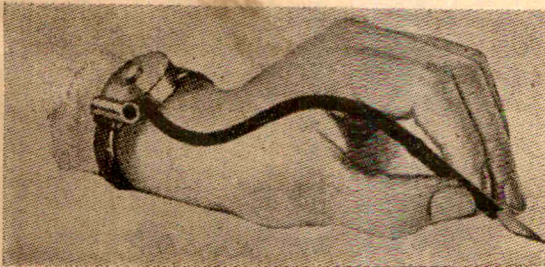


Milking Cows by Electricity.

Its value to the farmer of today, unable to find sufficient help, cannot be overrated. Of course most of the large wholesale dairymen are using some form of mechanical milker.

A Wrist-Pen !

About the size of a wrist-watch, the ink container having this new pen attached by a tube is strapped to the wrist. When not in use the pen is "capped." The flexible tube is wound around the reservoir and the pen is fitted into a small holder at the side of the ink-reservoir. To write a letter, you merely lift out the pen, remove the cap, and begin writing. There is no hunting everywhere for a pen that is urgently wanted, but that is, for the moment, misplaced. This is a handy and convenient article for the business man or woman.

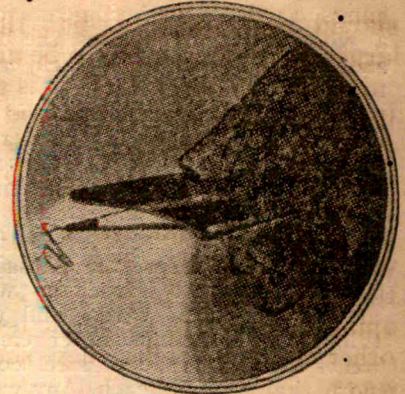


A Wrist-Pen.

Pencils with Their Own Night-light.

Writing in the dark is evidently often practised, for two self-luminous pencils have recently been invented.

One comes from England. It has a battery,



Pencil with its Own Night-light.

a light bulb, and a glass case that fits over the pencil to protect the bulb.

The American invention, patented by Philip S. McLean, is simpler. It provides for a shield lined with self-luminous material. The shield, adjusted by a spring, may be attached to any pencil.

A Street Sprinkler of Siam.

In Siam they don't have water-wagons of any kind at all. When the streets grow hot, a member of the street-cleaning department



A Street Sprinkler of Siam.

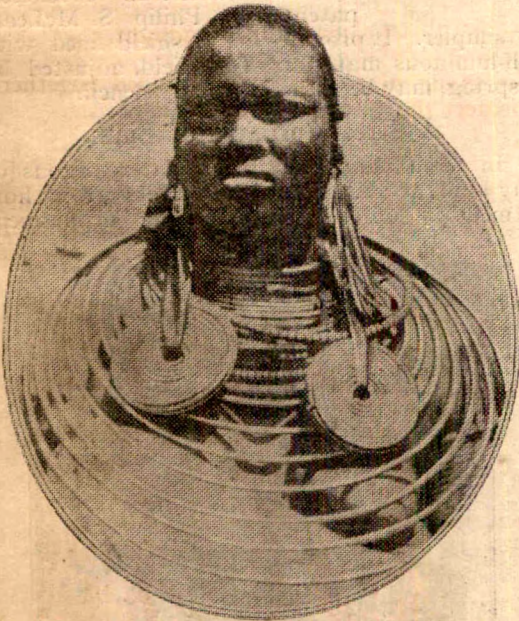
hangs a pair of watering-cans on the ends of a wooden bar and places the bar across his shoulders. A handle on each can enables him to direct the flow of water.

The water-carrier himself is always cool. He walks through the water he has just sprinkled, and can sprinkle himself occasionally if he should grow too warm at his task.

The Brass-tube Queen.

When the chief of the Masai tribe in East Africa takes unto himself a wife, he places around her neck yards and yards of brass tubing, which she must never remove. She also wears earrings made of steel coils that weigh more than a pound each. Any woman who can carry all that metal around with her deserves to be a queen.

As a matter of fact, she is the only woman in the tribe who has any independence; the others are bought and sold for a few cows or spearheads.

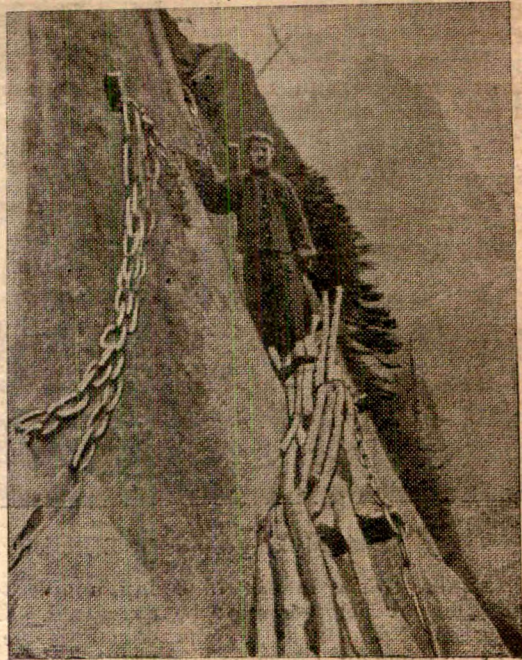


The Brass-tube Queen.

Risky Pilgrimage.

Pilgrims of the Taoist order wishing to pray to "acquire merit" or "attain their heart's desire," visit one of the shrines on top of Hua-shan mountain. To do so they endanger their lives, for the ascent is very steep and the supports insecure.

The Chinese pilgrim stands on wobbly logs that are laid across posts driven into the face of the mountain. He balances himself by holding on to a chain. Below him is a sheer drop of fifteen hundred feet. If he reaches the shrine in safety his wishes are supposed



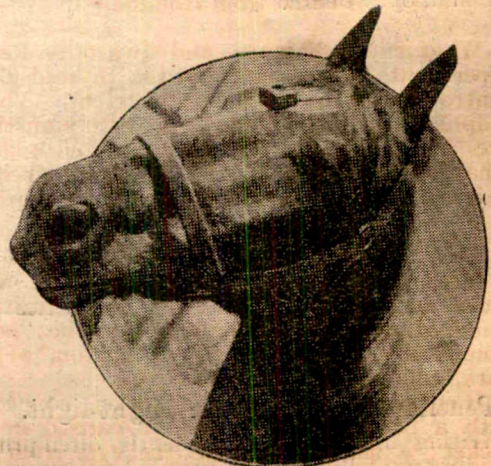
Risky Pilgrimage.

to be granted. Thousands of pilgrims climb this mountain every year.

Screw-Nuts Tame Horses.

A farmer in Oakland, Oregon, had several horses that defied all barriers and wandered into his or his neighbors' wheat crops.

One day, he found a large rusty nut, about two inches square. He loped a string through the nut and tied it to one of the horse's fore-



Screw-Nuts Tame Horses.

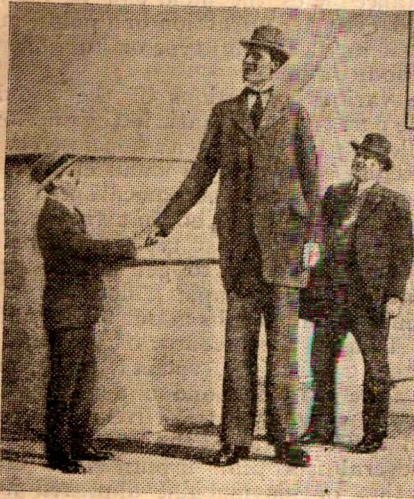
locks. The horse ducked its head when released ; the nut gave him a whack above the eyes. He trotted staidly ; the nut remained still.

Now all the horses have large nuts tied to their forelocks, and they behave as well-mannered horses should.

A Giant from Holland.

In America there is a man of most gigantic size. But he did his growing in Holland, his native country.

This man measures eight feet, five inches. He wears a size nine and a half hat, a thirteen shoe, and a fourteen glove ! It takes 6 yards of cloth to make him a suit. Johann Van Albert is his name, and you may expect to see it on billboards before very long, since he is going to join a circus.



A Giant from Holland.

What causes giants and dwarfs ? Recent experiments have shown that the thyroid gland controls growth to a large extent. Young tadpoles have been made to grow to monstrous size by operations on their thyroid glands. Whatever the cause of Mr. Van Albert's height, he is certainly much looked up to in the world.

Reading with Headlight.

Often you may wish to make notes with pencil and paper, or to read, when suitable illumination is not at hand. Then the "head-lamp," invented by Charles S. Burton, of Oak Park, Illinois, becomes serviceable.

It consists of a bulb and socket connected with a battery which can be carried in the pocket ; a shade to protect the eyes from the rays of light ; and a reflector to throw the rays downward upon the book or paper held in a position for reading. The reflector and

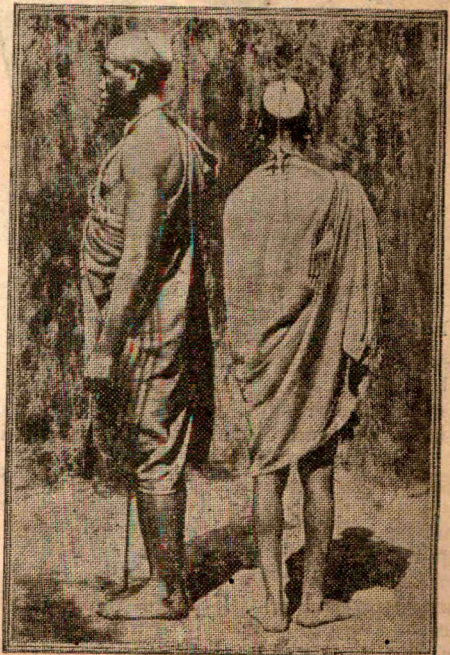


Reading with Headlight.

eye-shade are designed to be folded together to protect the lamp when not in use.

Queues Made of String.

The Wakamba brave of East Africa wears a pigtail. Just like the Chinaman ? No ; the Chinaman's queue is of real hair, whereas the black



Queues Made of String.

man's is made of string. His hair is short and fuzzy, and he ties the string to it. To cover up the connection, he wears a funnel.

Why does he go to all that trouble in order to have a string hang down his back? Just because it's the custom. Perhaps if the Wakamba native saw a picture of you wearing a stiff white collar, he would wonder why you were trying to choke yourself.

Incidentally the Wakamba women wear steel stockings and armlets, and are sold for a few cows.

Bringing the Type-Casting Plant Within the Reach of the Small Printer.

A Type-Casting Machine that consists of only one mold accurately adjustable to any type body from 5 to 48 points, not only to the standard point sizes but, if required, to any



Mr. Shankar Abaji Bishey.

Photograph special to the *Modern Review*.

odd size, even to a fraction of a point, and that brings a type-casting plant within the reach of even the small job printer, so that he may have new and clean type faces at all times

and at a minimum of cost, is the invention of S. A. Bishey of Bombay, India. In most type-casting machines used heretofore by printers, the mold consisted of two halves of rather intricate design, and one such complete mold was required for a letter type and a space type, and the cost of the set was in the neighborhood of from \$100 for each body size of type. And when it is recalled that there are over twenty type bodies up to 48 point and under the old system as many sets of molds were required, it is evident that the small printer could hardly afford to install a type-casting plant.

The mold of Mr. Bishey's machine is adjustable to cast a type of any body from 5 to 48 points by simply employing an interchangeable and inexpensive gage piece instead of a very costly set of molds or body pieces of a definite size. By the combination of two of such gages or distance pieces the mold can be accurately adjusted even to a fraction of a point, in order to match any existing type or to obtain type of any body desired.

The various operations of the mold and machine parts are automatic in their action and controlled by only four cams enclosed in stand. The machine is driven by a small electric motor and is supplied with a mechanical speed controller enclosed in the stand, so that the speed may be easily varied to cast types of different body sizes at suitable speeds to get the best results. The machine stand occupies a floor space of 24 by 22 inches, and weighs about 900 pounds.

Mr. Bishey, the inventor of this and other type-casting machines, succeeded in winning a competitive prize in London for inventing an automatic weighing and delivering machine for ground coffee, rice, and the like, in competition with several European inventors. A complete description of this machine appeared in these columns at the time.

While the Hindu race has achieved brilliant success in science, literature and arts, it has given very little to the world in the way of inventions; in fact, the prevalent impression among the Occidental peoples has been that the Indian brain was imitative and assimilative and sadly lacked inventive faculties. Whatever may have been the opinion of the world, the work of Mr. Bishey should do much to dispel this illusion.

From The Scientific American.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Students' Conferences

Apropos of your note on the 'Behari Students' Conference', appearing in the November number of your 'Review', wherein you suggest

that the Behari Students' Conference is the only institution of its kind in India, I think it my duty to invite your attention to the fact that the Bombay Presidency Students' Federation, a sister-institution to the one referred to by you,

has been working in this Presidency since the year 1917.

J. M. RANE.

The Behar Students' Conference is not the only Conference of its kind in India. Here in Assam they hold an Assam Students' Conference every year.

SAILEN MAJUMDER.

It is really surprising that you are not aware of the existence of the Madras Students' Convention, which has held four sittings, and may hold a special sessions to consider the situation created by the Congress Resolution re Boycott of Schools and Colleges.

Further the Andhras hold every year an Andhra Students' Conference. It is even contemplated to hold an All India Students' Conference at Nagpur, along with the Congress in December.

T. V. Vasudevan.

Editor's Note. We have also been informed that Students' Conferences have been held in Sind and the United Provinces.

"A Plea for Religious Liberty"— Why and To Whom?

It is indeed an admirable exhortation which Rev. W. E. Garman makes in an article, "A Plea for Religious Liberty," in the *Modern Review* for November, 1920. But it has two vital defects. Firstly, it confounds the issues involved in the discussion of the question and secondly it presumes, on incorrect data, that the Hindus are wanting in religious liberty and the sermon is, therefore, wrongly, wholly directed to them.

While half-heartedly conceding the claim for Hinduism that it is the most tolerant religion in the world so far as persecution and proselytizing are concerned, Mr. Garman states that the Hindus are non-tolerant and wanting in religious liberty towards conversions from Hinduism to Christianity amongst the higher castes. Says he, "A Brahmin Convert by the very fact of his conversion becomes an outcaste from his own home and social circle." (Italics mine). Again, "those who are converts and those from whose family and social circle converts have come know something of the price to be paid by one who dared to become an open follower of Jesus Christ." Does conversion, I ask, mean "becoming an open follower of Jesus Christ" and *no more*? Mr. Garman lays down the universally acceptable maxim,—"the liberty of the soul to find its way to God and to enjoy fellowship with Him along whatsoever religious pathway is marked out for it by reason and conscience—this is the greatest liberty of all." In how many cases does conversion mean exercise of this liberty; and even assuming it, does it mean the exercise of this liberty and *no more*? It is strange that Mr. Garman should quote in its defence, a maxim

which Christianity least accepts and fling it in the face of Hinduism of which it forms the very basis. The truth is, conversion to Christianity while it may or may not mean 'the soul finding its way to God, to enjoy fellowship with Him along whatsoever religious pathway is marked out for it by reason and conscience,' means the imposition, almost invariably, of certain restrictions and social or socio-religious obligations of its own which compel the convert to secede from and become almost a stranger to his own home and social circle. A convert to Christianity becomes an outcaste not because of any religious intolerance in Hinduism but because he renounces the social and socio-religious obligations and restrictions of his home and social circle and adopts those which are foreign. He goes out of his social circle and therefore becomes an outcaste. It is a question of social secession on the part of the convert and social ostracism on the part of the Hindu Society of one who has violated the obligations and rules of Hindu Sociology. In the case of the convert the change of religion is generally accompanied by social secession, but it cannot on that account be stated that social ostracism is the result of the former. For, social ostracism results when the latter alone exists and is absent when the former alone exists, as I shall presently show. Mr. Garman's example, of a Brahmin convert of considerable importance in a large city in the South of India whose mother when she goes to visit him does not take food with him, is certainly not relevant. There are many cases of Indians who lived and studied in foreign countries and have returned as Barristers-at-law, I. C. S., and I. M. S., officers etc., who have violated and abandoned the Hindu social and socio-religious restrictions in regard to dress, customs, manners and diet *but not their religion* and whose mothers and fathers, while loving them no less tenderly, do not take food with them. Similar is the case with those who, to gratify their own whims and caprices have, without leaving this country broken the social restrictions *without changing their religion*. On the other hand there are not wanting instances of conversion to Christianity wherein no foreign social restrictions are imposed, no wholesale secession from the social customs of the convert's home and circle are rigorously demanded. These instances though rare in the Protestant creeds are not uncommon within the pale of the Catholic Church. In some of the villages in these parts there are hundreds of Roman Catholic Christians from the higher sub-sects of the Non-Brahmins, *who have changed only their religion* but not the social customs, obligations and restrictions of the Hindu Society. Their priests do not expect them to socially wrench themselves away from their home and circle as do the Protestant missionaries in general.

The Hindu castemen and converts live together as one family in perfect amity. There is no restriction in regard to interdining; and intermarriages are also common amongst them. Even orthodox Brahmins make no difference in their social intercourse as between the converts and those remaining in Hinduism.

Further, Mr. Garman wholly misunderstands Hindu Sociology and caste if he considers—as he seems to, by his constant harping upon it—that interdining is an essential criterion of social intercourse. As Sir John Woodroffe states, "Hindus do not attach so much importance to this form of social intercourse as do Europeans and particularly the English. It is quite possible to be on friendly terms with a man and to hold him in high esteem without eating with him: and in fact subject to the two prohibitions stated (interdining and intermarriage) the castes mix with one another which is sometimes not the case with the European classes."

"Small communities of Christians dwelling in the midst of large caste populations often have to suffer in regard to the use of wells and roads.....etc." I am afraid, Mr. Garman is again confounding ideas. He obviously refers to the converts from the Panchamas—the untouchables. The converts suffer disabilities in common with their unconverted Panchama brethren. It is not the converts alone who thus suffer, nor does conversion make their condition a whit worse. All the same, we Indians have to solve this problem of the Panchamas or the 'untouchables' at the earliest possible date, make them by our efforts 'touchable' and admit them into our fold if we are to have an 'honourable' place in the comity of free nations of the world.

A word as to the political aspect of the question referred to by the reverend gentleman as to whether Christianity has come to stay or go is a matter of indifference to the Hindu. Many things have come and gone before his very eyes and he has withstood by far more powerful shocks. "The Christian community will play a part quite out of proportion to its numerical strength in the development of the national and political life of this country," says Mr. Garman. Well, it is welcome to play as large a part as it can. It will be but doing its duty to the motherland. The Indian Christians have, as you remark dear Editor, too long and too much neglected their duty to their motherland keeping themselves aloof almost as unconcerned as their foreign missionary gurus. "Actions speak louder than words," sir, as Mr. Garman himself says. Men of the stamp of Mr. Baptista and Mr. George Joseph and foreigners like Mr. C. F. Andrews are Christians. Are they not acclaimed as leaders and respected and even revered throughout the length and breadth of this land? In political life and national service there are neither Hindus, nor Muhammadans,

nor Christians. All are but Indians. There is no place here for separatist or sectarian or religious organization as such.

Why should the educated Christians "fear" that with the advent of a full Home Rule Government, the Christian community may find itself suffering disability in many directions from which they are now protected by the 'benign British Government'? Look back from the present day to the dim vistas of the pre-historic past and show one instance when the Hindus exercised their powers to oppress and persecute foreign nationalities and religions? India, on the other hand, has ever been the refuge of oppressed nationalities and persecuted religions. She welcomed with open arms, gave not only a safe retreat but a happy home to the early Christians who were ruthlessly persecuted by their own 'brethren in faith' and to the Parsees driven out of their country, by intolerable oppression. Why should the Indian Christians 'fear'? Does not impartial history contradict in a stentorian voice all such baseless fears which are but the phantasmagoria conjured up by interested jugglers? Is it not then, an insult to the Hindu religion and Indian civilization, unintentioned though it be, to ask for 'religious liberty' as a definite plank in the Home Rule or nationalist platform as though Hinduism were a 'Triumphant Beast' and Indian religious history a series of religious wars, demoniac persecutions and inhuman bloodsheds, all of course in the name of the infinite mercy of God? Could anything but the reminiscences of the history of Christian Europe have occasioned the frame of mind to make such a preposterous demand of India? I wonder if educated Indian Christians could really entertain any such fears if they could but think for themselves. Methinks, it is the Christian missionaries who pose as their saviours, gurus and benefactors that really fear that under full Home Rule Government Christians, Muhammadans and Hindus may all meet as brothers—sons of the motherland, and that their own influence might be lost. Even now there are indications in the South Indian churches of Indian Christians realising their real position and asserting their own rights as against the foreign ecclesiastical domination.

An Indian lad or girl who now enters a missionary educational institution is compelled to read the Bible and nod its unripe head to the evangelical discourses of the missionary waxing eloquent on the mysteries of the ununderstandable dogmas and conundrums of 'original sin', 'Atonement', 'resurrection', 'Eternal Hell', and the 'Christian Trinity,' usually not unaccompanied by abuse of Hindu religion and gods, or quit the institution. This is perhaps the acme of religious liberty of Christianity of the present day. 'Religious liberty' in Self-Governing India may not permit it even at the risk of

giving offence to our Christian Missionary friends.

Rightly or wrongly most converts from the lower classes count upon the influence of their missionaries and priests for securing to them better conditions of life, than those of their unconverted brethren and perhaps they do not count in vain. But Self-Governing India cannot afford to guarantee special treatment and privileges to any religion or religious sects.

Self-Governing India will not, if I understand the trend of events aright, have any religion as

State religion. Every man will be at perfect liberty to live in his own religion and preach it to others by all fair and honourable means and have as many converts to his faith as he can make by appealing to "the Soul's inalienable and eternal right, the right to find its way to God by whatsoever pathway conscience and reason may mark out." Religious liberty in Self-Governing India will not, at least, be less than in any other country in the world.

A HINDU.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

VILLAGE EDUCATION IN INDIA : *The Report of a Commission of Enquiry.* Humphrey Millford, Oxford University Press, 1920. Pp. 210. Price Re. 1-8.

The commission consisted of the following members: A. G. Fraser, Principal, Trinity College, Kandy; Miss M. M. Allan, Principal, Hemes-ton Training College, Cambridge; J. H. Maclean, M.A.; Kanakaryan T. Paul; D. J. Fleming, Ph. D., Secretary. The report is written entirely from the missionary point of view and for missionaries, but it is exhaustive in treatment, and all possible topics of enquiry have been touched upon, as the following chapter-headings will show: Introduction; Factors in Missionary Education; the Problem of Literacy; the Village School; the Maintenance of Literacy; The Vocational Middle School; the Education of Girls; The School as a Community Centre; The Teacher and His Training; Supervision and After-care; Physical Welfare; The Need for Christian Literature; Economic Improvement; Administration; Co-operation with Government; The Financial Demands of the Situation.

There is a valuable index, and throughout there is evidence of that thoroughness and care which we are used to associate with missionary enterprise. The extreme poverty of masses, the need for children's assistance in the agricultural and domestic work of their parents, are recognised and means suggested for overcoming these and other difficulties. Though primarily intended for missionaries, the book deserves to be studied by all interested in the education of the masses. Useful bibliographies are given wherever necessary, and the whole matter is treated with a fulness which deserves commendation. The subject does not lend itself to sensational treatment, but it is honest work in these bye ways of national life that is most required in these days of national reconstruction. The spirit in which the task has been undertaken and accomplished deserves imitation of all pat-

riotic Indians. This sort of pioneer work is essential in order to know exactly what is required to be done, and how to lay out our programme to do it. The report has done much to clear the ground in this direction.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS: *The Romanes Lecture, 1920.* By W. R. Inge, C.V.O., D.D., Hon. Fellow, Hertford College, Oxford. Clarendon Press. 2 shillings net.

This lecture of 34 pages is more interesting than a romance, although it is, on the whole, gloomy reading, for the lecturer is of opinion that 'neither science nor history gives us any warrant for believing that humanity has advanced' and that 'the alleged law of progress has no scientific basis whatever,' since all the labours of the ages are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system. Our wonderful scientific discoveries do not constitute real progress in human nature itself. It is only those who think that a nation which travels sixty miles an hour must be five times as civilised as one who travels twelve, can believe in what the author calls the 'superstition of progress.' On the question of moral improvement, Dr. Inge thinks it very doubtful "whether when we are exposed to the same temptations we are more humane or more sympathetic or juster or less brutal than the ancients." "Civilisation is a disease which is almost invariably fatal, unless its course is checked in time. The Hindus and Chinese, after advancing to a certain point, were content to mark time; and they survive. But the Greeks and Romans are gone, and aristocracies everywhere 'die out...' If so-called civilised nations show any protracted vitality, it is because they are only civilised at the top. Ancient civilisations were destroyed by imported barbarians; we breed our own." The author is more disposed to agree with the ancient theory of a series of cycles, in which the history repeats itself. This was the theory held by the Greeks as well as by the Hindus. The author does not believe in a

single purpose governing the universe. "But there may be an infinite number of finite purposes, some much greater and others much smaller than the span of an individual life; and within each of these some divine thought may be working itself out, bringing some life or series of lives, some race or nation or species, to that perfection which is natural to it. It may be that there is an immanent teleology which is shaping the life of the human race towards some completed development which has not yet been reached." In this belief the lecturer finds the meaning of the instinct of hope which is firmly implanted in the human mind. The author's conclusion is: "We must cut down our hopes for our nation, for Europe, and for humanity at large, to a very modest and humble aspiration. We have no millenium to look forward to; but neither need we fear any protracted or widespread retrogression. There will be new types of achievement which will enrich the experience of the race; and from time to time, in the long vista which science seems to promise us, there will be new flowering-times of genius and virtue, not less glorious than the age of Sophocles or the age of Shakespeare. They will not merely repeat the triumphs of the past, but will add new varieties to the achievements of the human mind. Whether the human type itself is capable of further physical, intellectual or moral improvement, we do not know. It is safe to predict that we shall go on hoping, though our recent hopes have ended in disappointment. Our lower ambitions partly succeed and partly fail, and never wholly satisfy us; of our more worthy visions for our race we may perhaps cherish the faith that no pure hope can ever wither, except that a purer may grow out of its roots."

POL.

I. THE PORTRAIT OF A SCHOLAR AND OTHER ESSAYS, *By R. W. Chapman, (The Oxford University Press, 5 s. Net).*

"Poetry is the companion of the Camps," said Sir Philip Sidney and here is a striking example of a fine volume of critical literature, if not of poetry, written during the English occupation of Macedonia in the recent war, by a scholar who served there as an officer in the Army. We may say at the outset that the volume is rich not only in the qualities of literary inspiration, but also in those of sound and accurate scholarship, in spite of the circumstances in which it was written, away from books and libraries, in an atmosphere of military excitement and, presumably, without opportunities of cool and collected retrospect. Mr. Chapman's essays will interest the layman as well as the student and furnish delightful and instructive reading from cover to cover. The late Mr. Ingram Bywater, the well-known Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford and the editor and translator of Aristotle, is the subject of the beautiful vignette which is responsible for the title, and the essay is entitled to the highest commendation. It would gladden the heart of every student to read about the professor's love of books which was evident even in the gentle

manner in which he took out a book from his shelves; "There is a right way and a wrong way of taking a book from the shelf. To put a finger on the top, and so extract the volume by brutal leverage, is a vulgar error which has broken many books. This was never his way: he would gently push back each of the adjacent books, and so pull out the desired volume with a persuasive finger and thumb. Then before opening the pages, he applied his silk handkerchief to the gilded top, lest dust should find its way between the leaves. These were the visible signs of a spiritual homage. His gift of veneration was as rich as his critical faculty was keen; if a book was of the elect, it was handled with a certain awe." This would satisfy the soul of even the good old Bishop, Richard de Bury who has a pious exhortation for the love of books in his *Philobiblion*. The volume deserves to be read even merely for this *Portrait of a Scholar* with its inspiring message of the love of books. Mr. Chapman is no pedant and the grace and charm of his writing lend an attraction even to his essays on such subjects as *Rhyme*, *Thoughts on Spelling Reform* and the *Decay of Syntax* dated curiously enough from places like Kalinova and Itea heard of last in connection with the English military operations in Salonika. Mr. Chapman is a great lover of books himself and we are not sure if there is not a touch of autobiographical reminiscence in the reference to the man who will not do anything before examining the new catalogues of books arriving on Saturday nights. It will do good to every student of literature to be touched by sentiments like those embodied in the following passage from his essay on *Old Books and Modern Reprints*, which again, is only one of several passages of the same kind scattered over the volume with a prodigal and yet skilful hand: "The man who has no feeling for old books because they are old lacks something of literature. Everything that is old and yet still lives has a title to reverence, for it has been spared by Time the winnower, whose forbearance is a patent of nobility. But an old book has more than the dignity of age; it has a piece of immortality as well. Since a book is not a disembodied spirit, but soul compact with clay, the gayest and most prosperous of new editions may suggest to a sensitive imagination an incongruity as of varnished decay, a hint of grave cloths beneath the trappings. But the grave of an old book is vernal and autumnal. It is as old as the date on its title-page and as young as the hour it was born. It has distilled from the homage of generations the incense it could draw, and has kept all the freshness of a budding flower."

II. EDUCATION IN OUR RURAL SCHOOLS, *by V. Varahanarasimham. (V. R. C. Press, Vizagapatam).*

A very suggestive contribution to the study of the problem of rural education in India, urging special attention to agricultural training in village school.

III. THREE AT LEAST, *by P. Rajeswara Row, M. B. (Theistic Endeavour Society, Madras).*

It is called a 'Tragedy of love's fulfilment', but it is obvious that a pamphlet of sixteen pages cannot furnish adequate scope for the development of tragic feeling and the necessary conflict of emotion. It is difficult to make out the depth and intensity of tragedy in this slender composition.

P. Seshadri.

INDIAN RAILWAY SERIES, *Compiled by Mr. Faradun K. Dadachanji, Solicitor, 65 Esplanade Road, Bombay.*

In the above series, the compiler proposes to publish in pamphlet form selected opinions of eminent personages and popular journals on the unqualified success of the state management of railways in actual practice in all countries where it has been tried.

We have now before us pamphlet No. 1, which embodies two papers of 1916-17 by Sir Guilford Molesworth, K. C. I. E., on Railway Policy in India, together with opinions of eminent men and decisions of great countries in favour of state ownership and management of railways. Sir Guilford's contribution is one of the most valuable papers on the subject, while the opinions of other eminent personages throw a clear light upon the matter, which the Indian Railway Board has failed to properly place before the Indian public.

In his introduction the compiler, after giving the advantages of state management in foreign countries and in India, and the evils which company management in India is guilty of, records the emphatic opinion generally held by Indians that the salvation of the country lies in the complete state management of the railways, and that no preference should be given either to a European or an Indian Board of management over the state management as suggested by the Government of India.

"Company management of Indian Railways," adds the compiler, "is strongly backed up in Parliament, the Council of the Secretary of State for India, the Executive Council of the Governor General of India, and the (European members of the) Imperial Legislative Council. The European and Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce also support company management, because it places Indian industrialists at a great disadvantage as compared with European and Anglo-Indian industrialists. The Railway Board is the best friend of company management possibly because its members have the prospect of well-paid posts on the Home Directorate of the railway companies after retirement from Government service. Also such members of the Board as have already retired from Government service and are taken up by the companies on their Home Directorates, have been fighting hard against state management of (Indian) railways."

The fight against company management in India is under these circumstances most difficult and well-nigh hopeless. The compiler is of opinion that nothing but a raging, tearing propaganda all over the country for years will succeed in freeing India from the deadly grip of company management. To expose the evils of company management, he proposes to publish these pamphlets in English and the principal vernaculars of India and scatter them freely all over the country.

The extent of this campaign against the injurious system of company management will depend on the financial help that the compiler may receive from the public. He accordingly appeals for prompt help for the sake of humanity, justice and the motherland, as the intellectual, social, political, economic and industrial advancement of India depends upon a proper evolution of this great question.

The people of India have been crying long for the reform of the railway administration and working. The matter has been discussed year after year in the

Legislative Councils. The Secretary of State for India has at last announced that a Committee of Enquiry into the system of working Indian railways will be sent out during the coming winter. The appearance of this series at the present time is therefore most opportune. The compiler must have spent much of his valuable time in collecting the information from numerous sources. We admire Mr. Dadachanji's enthusiasm and patriotic spirit. The subject of the railway reforms in India is of the greatest importance but unfortunately it has not received that attention from the Indian leaders which its importance demands. We trust the public will whole-heartedly and promptly respond to the appeal for funds, so that most, if not all, of the pamphlets be published at least in English before the Committee of Enquiry closes its sittings.

CHANDRIKA PRASADA.

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION (*Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920*), by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S. Pp. 152, price Rs. 2. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta.

Mr. Sarkar's original researches into the history of Mughal India makes him perhaps the most authoritative exponent of the administrative system of the period, and certainly in these Readership lectures he has given ample proof of a masterly grasp of the subject. European writers have dealt with the Revenue and Military systems of the Mughals but they have not taken the trouble to study the Mughal system of administration, probably because "tax-collecting and army-levying Oriental empires" appeared to them to offer little scope for a profitable study. But we are indebted to the Mughals for much of our modern administrative machinery and this would seem to make their system of government a not unworthy subject for study.

There are six lectures in the book. In the first lecture, Mr. Sarkar discusses the character and aims of Mughal government. The next three lectures deal with the organisation of central and provincial governments and the position and powers of the principal officials, the heads of the various departments of the state. The machinery for the collection of land revenue—the principal source of income to the Indian state, then as now,—forms the subject-matter of the fifth lecture. And the last lecture discusses the achievements of Mughal rule in India and the causes of its failure.

The military organisation of the state formed the basis of the Mughal administrative system. All officials, civil as well as military, from the Emperor downwards held military rank. This military organisation was partly the result of government of a foreign people and partly of imitation by the Mughals of the Perso-Arabic administrative system. "The principles of their government," says Mr. Sarkar, "their church policy, their rules of taxation, their departmental arrangements, and the very titles of their officials, were imported ready-made from outside India. But a compromise was effected with the older native system already in possession of the field and familiar to the people governed. The details of the imported system were modified to suit local needs." The aim of this government was restricted to the maintenance of peace and the protection, as far as the circumstances of the time would allow, of the subjects' life and property. The public utility services of modern civilised govern-

ments were conspicuous by their absence. This was certainly a defect, but a defect for which the Mughal government of the day had little to be ashamed of. Few contemporary governments had a wider conception of their duties to their subjects. So Mr. Sarkar's characterisation of this aim as "extremely limited, materialistic, almost sordid" though no doubt true when judged by modern standards is hardly fair as a criticism of the Mughal government.

The actual machinery of government was similar in central and provincial governments. The highest imperial officer, under the Emperor, was the Dewan or Wazir, who held in his hands all the reins of government and occupied much the same position in the Mughal state as the Imperial Chancellor did under the Kaisers in Germany. As in the case of the latter, the other ministers were not in any sense the colleagues of the Dewan but his inferiors, "and deserved rather to be called secretaries than ministers, because nearly all their work was liable to revision by the Wazir, and royal orders were often transmitted to them through him." Naturally in such a system there could be no council of ministers to deliberate regularly on matters of state and advise the Emperor who was the final authority in all matters. The Emperor was the supreme head of both the State and the Church, the commander-in-chief of the army and the fountain of justice. There was no check to his power imposed either by ministers, who were appointed and dismissed at his pleasure, or by the people. We are not told whether in the appointment of the principal officers of provincial governments, such as Subahdar, Dewan, etc., the Emperor consulted or took the advice of imperial ministers, but after their appointment they had to see the Wazir, who supplied them with what may be called "instruments of instructions" about their respective charges—very interesting documents which Mr. Sarkar gives in full. Besides being responsible to the Emperor for administration in general, the Wazir was the working head of the Treasury Department—not a titular First Lord of the Treasury like the British Prime Minister, but a real Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The other Departments of the Imperial Government were the Imperial Household under the Khan-i-Saman or High Steward whose functions included the control of innumerable state factories and stores; the Military Pay and Accounts Office under the Imperial Bakshi; the Law Department under the Chief Qazi; Religious Endowments and Charity under the Chief Sadr; and the Department of Censorship of Public Morals under the Muhtasib. There were two other minor departments, viz., those of the Artillery under the Mir Atish or Daroga-i-Topkhana and Intelligence and Posts under the Daroga of Dak Chowki.

The Mughal State, like most oriental States, had no legislative functions, as the only laws recognised as authoritative were the revealed laws of the Quran. But in the process of the interpretation of Quranic laws a body of judge-made laws had grown up and the opinions of learned jurists were also often decisive of law on a doubtful point. Besides, there was the Common or Customary Law which regulated many local matters. There were the laws which village arbitration Courts in the main observed.

The weakest point of the Mughal Government was the administration of justice. There was no regular gradation of law Courts. The only properly constituted Courts of justice were those presided over by

the Qazis in large towns. Justice was consequently inaccessible to the mass of the people who lived in villages; and, even in towns, such justice as was available was generally corrupt. Corruption was also widely prevalent in the revenue-collecting department though here it must be said to the credit of the Mughal emperors that they tried to put down all peculation with a high hand. "Several instances are recorded," says Mr. Sarkar, "in the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib in which harsh and exacting revenue collectors and even provincial viceroys were dismissed on the complaints of their subjects reaching the Emperor's ears."

Mughal rule gave India administrative union and homogeneity; it re-established India's contact with the outer world; it encouraged reforming movements in Hindu religion; and it gave India a historical literature, a noble architecture, and a famous school of painting. But in spite of these achievements it failed. And the causes of failure, as investigated by the author, may be summed up as (i) long residence in Indian climate and reckless cross breeding, which led to the deterioration of Moslem character and physique; (ii) inordinate luxury among the upper classes and non-recognition of the right of private property; (iii) degradation of women; (iv) conservatism inherent in the Moslem religion and lack of the spirit of self-criticism among the rulers; (v) military basis of the state; (vi) want of a spirit of nationality; (vii) centrifugal tendencies in government; and lastly (viii) deterioration in the personal character of the rulers.

Students of the Moslem Period of Indian History will find the book indispensable.

2. *THE NEW ECONOMIC MENACE TO INDIA*, by S. J. Bipin Chandra Pal. Pp. 250; price Rs. 2-0-0. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

There are few writers in Bengal who can handle a politico-economic theme more cleverly than S. J. Bipin Chandra Pal. The book under review is an illustration of this fact. The British Imperialist School that came into such prominence in England with the rise of Joseph Chamberlain early in this century has found many able and powerful advocates of its views. The dominant economic ideal of this school has been the exploitation of the natural resources of the dependent and tropical portions of the British Empire in the interests of the capitalist classes of the mother-country and the self-governing colonies. The war, says Mr. Pal, has strengthened this ideal which now threatens to reduce India, together with other dependent parts of the Empire, to economic slavery. Economic domination by British capitalist classes will also mean slow political progress for India, since these classes are the greatest enemies of any disturbance of the Political *status quo* which threatens their peaceful exploitation. This is the menace against which he desires to warn his countrymen. "After-war Economic Reconstruction, of which we heard a good deal during the progress of the war, and specially in the earlier years of it, obviously means better and more effective methods of this Imperialist exploitation. This is the real meaning and intention of the abandonment of free trade and the adoption of what is called Imperial preference, an admittedly aggressive policy of protection, by the British Cabinet."

The views of this School found full expression in an article published by the "Times" in its special Empire-Day Supplement on May 24, 1909, and in a series of articles published in the same paper during the war which have since been reprinted and published in book-form, with the title of "Elements of Reconstruction." The central plea of these neo-Imperialist economists is that the days of small individualistic businesses are gone and national industries, to thrive and hold their own in world-competitions, must be combined and amalgamated into big concerns commanding large capital and organisation. Germany has shown that big businesses, progressive methods, and scientific research go hand in hand. "Syndicating businesses and organising scientific education," say the authors of *Elements of Reconstruction*, "are two aspects of the same job." But such businesses cannot be run in the interests of the capitalist classes alone—the British working-man has become too self-conscious to permit that any longer,—the whole nation must participate in their large profits. To facilitate the realisation of this object, the state must be taken into increasing partnership in the big businesses that result from such amalgamations, by developing the crude beginnings of the "controlled establishments" of the war period. The need for extensive exploitation of the Empire's resources on these lines is great. Among other benefits that will result from such exploitation, it will enable the British Exchequer to relieve to a large extent the financial pressure of the war.

Mr. Pal thinks that India is too weak to resist unaided this threatened exploitation of her vegetable, mineral and animal resources and of her cheap labour by the dominant interests of the Indian Government and the racial and social sympathies of her administrators have always facilitated such exploitation. The remedy which he proposes against this danger is a political remedy—it does not consist in India mobilising her force to develop her own natural resources or working up her raw materials by the aid of her indigenous agencies, but in an alliance with the British Labour Party, the greatest enemy of British capitalism and therefore, also, of British Imperialism, for the two go together. But such political solution (?) of a problem which is mainly economic in character cannot in any way further the cause of Indian economic progress. At best it is a negative gain, whose success depends upon the future policy of the Labour Party when, if ever, it comes into power. Mr. Pal has lost faith in the 'liberalism' of the British Liberal Party on matters Indian. He does not see that reliance on the Labour Party may prove equally futile. Are the interests of British labour never at variance with those of India, and can sweet reasonableness and selfless disinterestedness be always expected to prevail in its dealings with this country when it has made itself responsible for them? We doubt.

The publishers deserve to be congratulated on the attractive get-up of the book and the excellence of the letter-press.

ECONOMICUS.

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON—By K. Natesa Aiyar (Editor, *Vartakamitran*), Published by G. S. Maniya & Co. Tanjore.

Those who wish to obtain information about the

miserable condition of the South Indian Cooly in Ceylon will find this booklet instructive and useful. In view of the new Labour Ordinance proposed, all those who are interested in public affairs in South India should read it. We wish the booklet had been issued also in Tamil. The first trumpet is sounded at 4-30 a.m. for coolies to get ready, and the distances between the cooly-houses and the parade ground and the work-sports are such as to make it possible for the workmen to reach their houses after the day's work only at 7 p.m. Between, it is all work, without break or interval and the workmen's mid-day meal if any is to be taken while working. The tea wages are less than the rubber, and even the latter are considerably less than the amount needed for bare sustenance, for which figures are worked out in the booklet. What happens when the normal deficit is added to by enforced absence on account of sickness or incapacity by reason of old age, can be inferred from the fact brought out in this book that hundreds of cooly-beggars can be seen any day in the streets of Kandy, Badulla and other towns. The frontispiece is a photograph of South Indian Cooly beggars of Ceylon. Two are girls of eighteen and twenty-two years of age turned out on account of sickness, another is an old woman sent out on account of old age, and two others are orphan children of coolies not old enough to work and therefore turned out of the estate to beg. If after some time the sick manage to live by begging and accidentally recover, we are told the estate emissaries come with a warrant and take them back to work or if recalcitrant to prison.

The housing conditions are no better than can be expected from the above. Cells 10 ft. by 10 ft. with a gable height from 10 ft. to 12 ft. have to serve as kitchen, living, store and sleeping room for a family of four or five. If there are no children, two couples live in one cell of this size with a bamboo partition between. A horizontal partition of the air space provides a loft for keeping things, and thus is the 800 c. ft. full of smoke made to serve for four or more human beings the whole night. That they live at all is due we suppose to the fact that they have to spend the whole day in the estate.

The new Ordinance retains the Penal clause. Thus imprisonment will continue to be the concomitant of the everyday life of the cooly. The Ordinance extends the labour law to all industries including coolies working in Railway construction, Road-work, Building-work, Brick-making, Tramway men, etc. Formerly only the plantations were covered by the labour law. Much is made of the provision to wipe off debts. But Mr. Natesa Aiyar points out how it is the Kanjany, not the Estate-owner that is made to bear the weight of this provision. Wages are promised to be increased, but the enhanced amounts will not be paid but credited against old debts for five years. Unless the imprisonment clause is removed and wages are considerably improved, there can be no real betterment. As things are, the workmen's spirit is crushed and human beings are made into animals. We commend the booklet to landlords in South India. It is the inadequate agricultural wages in South India that drives labourers to Ceylon and other foreign plantations. The movement of population is not by itself such as to force this emigration. The increase of the rupee value of crops has not proportionately increased payment to agricultural coolies. Even grain payment does not provide for increased cost of other necessities of life

in food and clothing. The sad tale of oppression and misery contained in this booklet is an indirect indictment against owners and farmers of the fertile lands of South India. Yet there is little chance of suitable Indian legislation in the near future to better the condition of the classes from which the Ceylon Cooly is recruited; for the new legislatures will be formed predominantly on land-lord or land-lord-commandeered votes.

C. RAJAGOPALACHAR.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

THE KADAMBARI *Of Banabhatta edited by P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M.; Angre's Wadi, Bombay, No. 4, Price Rs. 4-0-0.*

It contains the first half of the Pūrvabhāga of the Kadambarī, i. e., from the beginning up to the seeing of the beautiful lake चन्द्रोद by Chandrapida. Besides, there are notes in English by the editor, and three appendices. The first of these appendices gives some extracts from two commentaries hitherto unknown to average readers, viz., the *Amoda* of Astamūrti, which is in verse, and the *Kadambarī-padarthadarpana* of an unknown author. The second appendix supplies the brief summary of the entire story of the Kadambarī, while the third is a general index to the proper names, mythological references, important words, etc., in the main work.

The text has been edited consulting almost all its editions deserving mention. Variant readings which are important have also been discussed in the

notes. The notes are learned, simple, and free from tedious and unnecessary discussions of grammatical points, yet they are not lacking in supplying the peculiarities of grammar where necessary. Parallel passages from Harshacharita have been freely quoted also. . .

The introduction covering fifty pages in small letter deals with various matters regarding the poet and his work. It is up to date and leaves nothing to be desired. Only one thing, however, we want to point out on which we could not agree with Mr. Kane. He holds that Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāna, the author of Pārvatīparinaya, is identical with Bāna-bhaṭṭa, the author of Kadambarī. But it cannot be accepted as has been very clearly shown by Pandit Krishnamacharya in the introduction to his edition of Pārvatīparinaya and Priyadarsikā of the Vāni-Vilas Press. Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri is also of the same opinion as is evident in his introduction to Nalābhyudaya (Trivandrum S. Series), another work of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāna, the author of Pārvatīparinaya.

On p. 63, l. 30, the word रक्तपट्टे; cannot be an adjective of शान्धमुनिशासन धौरेये; for the Buddhists do not wear red robes, as Mr. Kane says; the robes they use are yellow.

The book meets all the requirements of general readers and specially of the Modern University Students.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Coloured Timber.

Commerce and Industries makes the following extract from the *Calcutta Commercial Gazette* :

"Nothing is beyond achievement by science. It will interest our readers to know how some American experiments have recently demonstrated the fact that it is quite a simple matter to produce wood of almost any colour while the tree is actually alive, so that when the tree is felled the wood is green, orange, blue, red or whatever shade may have been desired right through to the core. It is a very simple plan, and consists during spring time in making a bore right through the tree trunk from one side to the other slanting downwards and filling up the bore with a strong aniline dye. The dye mixture is caught up by the rising sap of the tree and very soon the newset layers of wood (those just below the bark) are stained. A couple of weeks' treatment gives the desired result. The timber is permanently coloured,

and can be varnished or polished right away without any other treatment. Curiously, the doses of dye mixture have no marked effect on the growth of the tree as a whole. Will the Indian Forest Department (or the enterprising Indian capitalists) take up the matter? Surely the experiment if successful will give results of far-reaching consequences."

In our boyhood we saw successful experiments made with some vegetables (chillies, if we remember aright) to obtain leaves and fruits of required colours by watering the plants with liquid colours.

The Mineral Wealth of India.

According to *Commerce*, in the course of a lecture on "The Mineral Wealth of India" delivered in Madras, Dr. Gilbert Slater observed :—

The mineral wealth of a country moulded the

economic destinies of a nation. The natural element was more important than the human element in any industry and in any country. As an economist he would emphasise the value of chemical knowledge to the student of economics. The importance of chemical research was now understood by all. One of the duties of the Indian Government was to promote chemical research in India by Indians. Hitherto, most of the work had been done by Indians going to other countries, but Indians should train themselves in India hereafter.

The lecturer was right in pointing out the duty of the Indian Government and the Indians.

That "the mineral wealth of a country moulded the economic destinies of a nation" is true in more senses than one. The silver mines of Peru led to the enslavement and almost utter extermination of the native Peruvians by the Spaniards. The aboriginal inhabitants of the Transvaal cannot be congratulated on their country's mineral wealth, as it has led European Christians to subjugate them. The mineral oil of Mesopotamia is the reason why the people of that country are sought to be subjected to European domination. These and other facts show that the "human element" in any country may be at least as important as the "natural element." If the people of a country cannot defend it against robbers professing Christianity or any other faith its mineral wealth is a curse instead of being a blessing.

Scholarships and Free University Education.

The British bureaucrat in India says that boys should receive the kind of education suited to their station in life; that is to say, that the majority of them, sons of poor people, must not aspire to university education. But British opinion and practice at "home" are different. Sir Michael Sadler writes in *Indian Education*:

The names of thirty undergraduates holding senior scholarships from the London Education Committee have appeared in the Tripos lists which have been issued during the last few weeks at Cambridge. Twenty-three of these scholars received their early education in public elementary schools. In other words, they have climbed the ladder of public education from its

foot. Twelve of the thirty were placed in the First Class of their Tripos: seventeen in the Second Class, and one in the Third. All over the country, so far as we can judge, the scholarship systems are helping effectively boys and girls of promise from the elementary schools to the secondary, and from the secondary schools to the University. And right to the end of their University course those who are diligent and capable to do well. The public services and the professions are drawing upon a far deeper source of supply than was available twenty years ago. Parents in humble station are becoming more ambitious for their children, and willing to make great sacrifices for their higher education. They are encouraged to do this by the offer of scholarships, often accompanied by fairly generous allowances for maintenance, and there is being formed a new social outlook which is in harmony with the spirit of the times.

Accordingly the British Government have just decided to increase the number of scholarships tenable at universities.

As a first instalment they will provide this year one hundred and eighty new scholarships which will be awarded on the results of the examinations held this summer by the various University authorities. With each Government scholarship will go a maintenance grant, adjusted to the private circumstances of the elected candidate. This will help the scholars to pay for the cost of living at a University. This, excluding vacation expenditure, amounts to £200 a year at Oxford and Cambridge, and a little less at the modern Universities. The scholarships will be open on the same terms to men and women. Moreover, in addition to this benefaction for new scholarships, the Government are now pledged to pay a sum of more than eight million pounds in providing University and higher technical education for promising young ex-officers and men who have been demobilised after active service in the army. This expenditure, which began eighteen months ago, is likely to justify itself. Such reports as have already been made show that, as a rule, the ex-service men have worked hard and done well. At Leeds their record is above the average reached by the other members of the University.

What has been the result? Sir Michael says:—

Thus, almost unawares, the scholarship system has been enlarged until it extends nearly half way to the point of free University education. In many Universities in England about half the undergraduates have their tuition fees paid for them from public money. No small proportion of them enjoy in addition fairly liberal grants towards maintenance. The scholarship system carries with it selection according to merit. We are well on the way to

free University education in the modern Universities. But I doubt whether fees will be abolished. Side by side with the scholars there will be undergraduates who come at their parents' expense. And the latter category will be especially large at Oxford and Cambridge. The new system is elastic. It imposes no rigid and uniform test. It leaves the door open for those who, being qualified for admission, prefer to come at their own charges. But it meets the needs of the poor students who show promise for higher education. And there is no social discrimination between the undergraduates who hold scholarships and those who have none. *The country is feeling its way towards free University education for the most deserving. It has made good progress towards that goal.* The help given is not indiscriminate. And in an increasing number of cases it is adjusted to the personal needs of the beneficiaries. This is a point of crucial importance.

The Future of Indian Culture.

Writing on the Future of Indian Culture in *Everymans Review* Mr. P. V. Aghoram Iyer says that he pleads for the enlightenment of woman neither on "selfish grounds" nor on "chivalrous grounds."

The first is demoralising to us and the second is an insult to womanhood. I maintain the equal right and privilege of all life, irrespective of sex, to carry the torch into the gloomy places of the mind. My view is based on the recognition of a humanity common to both sexes and a core of divinity which dwells in both. Any culture which relegates womanhood to an insignificant place, and sets at naught the quiet moral power, and the motherly wisdom and caution characteristic of supreme womanhood recoils upon itself, and loses its distinctive marks as a culture. Notwithstanding the repeated charges about the oriental woman's inferiority and subordination, the same trustfulness and co-operation readily extended to man in the hour of crisis by woman at home will not fail in the larger concerns of life. The Indian woman to-day smarts under the gratuitous injury done to her honour by the wanton impiety and heresy of a barren age. A warped vision puts plumes of self-esteem on the crest of man by subjecting woman to a cynical taunt. I think such aspects of religious thought in India as have dealt with woman in a relation of mental and moral inferiority,—and what is worse as a tempter to man and the invader of his spiritual kingdom will no more raise their ugly heads. I need hardly say that woman has an equal right to an average general education as man. She who will be trusted for a life of ideas should not be denied the efficient use of materials and resources

available to the educated man of to-day. She has a right to experiment with the ideas and sentiments which govern his life. Her powers of mind must be brought into play to try conclusions with his opinions. Then, the virtues which have crowned the character of the Indian woman in home life and in communal and social relations shall be reinforced in their original sphere as surely as they will exhibit themselves in wider spheres of action.

The writer says he has never wavered in his faith that "the moral survival of the Indian people is as sure as the destruction of every dominating material civilisation to-day."

The writer's views on a synthesis of Indian culture are instructive.

To the student of Indian history the vital question is the finding of a culture synthesis. Our labours have hardly begun here. This culture-history could be reconstructed in my opinion not merely by presenting the rise and fall, with the subsequent absorption into the nucleus of the original faith and knowledge, of system after system, and type after type of culture, but also by legend and mythology. The foot-falls of Indian History deal with equal insight and sympathy with the story of Buddhism as well as of neo-Hinduism, as told in literature, and sculpture, painting and architecture as with an organic unity. The whole ground has to be covered. Isolated genius can best give in bold relief the outstanding landmarks. It is a council of researchers who should fill in the details and give us the full account. But I should not hesitate to place all available material before the better mind of the country's youth. It is never too late either to establish a real culture-unity by telling short stories from the ample mythology of Hinduism and Buddhism and an infusion of the great elevating stories current among the followers of the prophet of Arabia is of equal importance. At bottom the Asiatic temperament has a common mobility, and a common personal dignity dauntless of poverty and suffering, a common race-pride or kindred instinct which counts no sacrifice of personal ease or wealth too great for the guarding of its own treasure, and a common wealth of imaginative sympathy born of knowledge of political vicissitudes and the cataclysm through which communities have passed. The great social achievement of Islam, viz., of a solid democracy among its adherents comes in as a much-needed complement to the social disparity and heterogeneity of Hinduism. "An Islamic body with a vedantic heart," was the ideal that a great constructive thinker on human societies and institutions dreamt of as the future of Indian society. May we not promote this consummation by mingling the

streams of faith and love; sacrifice and knowledge of the two communities into a common stream? An aspect of education so little cared for, in the present system, except under the stimulus of botanical or biological interest is travel which I include among the essentials of a good education.

He concludes his enquiry into the present condition of culture in this country by giving due warning of an unhealthy symptom, growing in educated India, of seeking to build up "a fabric of culture without a basis of manliness and asceticism."

Educated India shrugs its shoulders at the mention of the Ascetic, and yet he is a very familiar figure in the Indian horizon. Taken all in all, he has most honourably fulfilled his trust, and his office among Indian humanity cannot in any sense be said to be completed. He was a part of the social continuity and cohesion of ancient India. To-day he is ignored and ridiculed by the disciples of a foreign secular culture, while he is merely pampered and looked upon with superstitious veneration by the orthodox. A change of outlook in both quarters is a crying necessity in order that the services of God's good man might be secured to enrich the national mind. Our best men believe that Indians have enough faith and morals even in this age of degeneracy to prevent the disruption of the old integral thought-life. All high culture wraps itself in an atmosphere of sweet and engaging simplicity, and a cheerful asceticism in the inner life of man has never interfered in India with the aesthetic excellence of the race and the harmony of the inner life often found striking expression in the graces and elegances of the outer life also. Only it came with its rich suggestion of religious colour and meaning.

Christian Missionaries and Politics.

Writing in the *Young Men of India* on the Place of the Missionary in Reformed India, Mr. S. C. Mukerjee observes:—

A man's life, however complex it be, is one complete whole. You cannot subdivide it and touch it in parts, leaving the other parts untouched. You cannot say that you will touch only the spiritual, moral and social side of a man's nature and leave the political side untouched. I have never been able to understand what this political side of a man's life is. If it means the side which relates him to the government of his country, I say—it is as important as his spiritual or social side. A man can never have a healthy spiritual or social growth if his growth as a political being is unhealthy. He must grow

—if he is to grow at all—as one complete unit. To me it is a contradiction in terms that the Missionary is concerned only with one side of a man's life. I consider this to be an absolute misconception of a Missionary's function. Either he must touch the whole life of a man or he will fail to touch it at all.

Is the Missionary then to take part in all the political controversies of the day? Is he to join the Indian National Congress or take part in all political meetings? Is he to give up the legitimate task of preaching the Gospel and spend his time in dealing with the great political problems of the day? These are very natural and important questions for the Missionary to ask. My answer is *one emphatic No*. But, and this is an important *but*, he is bound to make his attitude perfectly clear when any political question involves a big moral issue. Take, for example:—the Missionary should have spoken out when the Rowlatt Act was passed; or, he should have made his position perfectly clear in the matter of the Dyer controversy (not now of course). Whatever has appeared in the Press in this connection has made confusion worse confounded. The net impression that has been left on the minds of the people is that the bulk of European Missionaries have practically sided with the bulk of Europeans in defending General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh. There are political questions which involve big moral issues, and here the Missionary is bound to speak out. He will be charged with cowardice or with culpable negligence of duty if he does not make his position perfectly clear but takes shelter under the common plea that he has nothing to do with politics.

As regards the present attitude of the European missionaries in India, the writer says:

I am afraid an impression is going abroad that the bulk of the European Missionaries in this country are not heartily in favour of the grant of responsible government to the people of India. The impression may be wrong but it is there. It is believed that the European Missionary has not yet succeeded in shaking off race supremacy and thoroughly identifying himself with the Indian. It is also believed that he is more identified with the bureaucracy and the average Britisher, and is more anxious to side with him than to take up the cause of the Indian and to fight his battle for him. If this impression grows and develops into a conviction it will spell disaster to the Missionary cause in this country.

Raja Rammohun Roy.

The *Young Men of India* publishes a very thoughtful address on Raja Rammohun Roy delivered at Bangalore by Mr. C. R.

Reddy, Inspector-General of Education, Mysore State. In the lecturer's opinion Rammohun Roy "is the forerunner of liberalism in all its aspects. His outlook was perhaps more cosmopolitan than merely national. These phases are connected with each other and with the historical conditions, Indian and foreign, amidst which he lived." Mr. Reddy's estimate of the Raja's work and personality will be partly understood from the following passage :—

In ancient times the Hindus treated the rest of the world as outcaste Mlechas and would not have anything to do with them. As a result we very nearly became the outcastes of the world ourselves. It is by a renewal of cultural intercourse with the sister nations of the world that we have now begun to develop our strength and progress. Ram Mohun was a believer in enlightenment, and he applied reason with deadly effect and shook the conservatism which had dragged us down to the depths. He did not follow a popular course; if shouting with the majority had been the rule of his conduct he would not have been a reformer. For sometimes he went in fear of his life; but truth survives popular prejudices; and in essentials his message has passed into the life of the nation. Defeat produces different effects on tempers. It drives the weak and feeble deeper into despair, fatalism and resignation. To the strong, on the other hand, it is a call that they should re-form their troops, think out new tactics, and pursue new courses to achieve the end in view. It is to the credit of Ram Mohun that, instead of being cowed down and depressed by the crushing weight of the changes that his country had undergone and by the dark irrationalism of his people, he stood forth as an Apostle to preach a new doctrine and lead them by a newer and better way to the promised land. He is the first of our moderns, the pioneer amongst our Nation Builders. Of him it may be said that he awakened and let loose the forces of progress in our country. He is the genius of modern India.

National Waste and National Economy.

Mr. B. Seebom Rowntree, author of *Land and Labour*, &c., writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal*.

When a business is passing through a period of acute strain and financial stress, a period so critical that its managers cannot afford to make even trivial blunders, a wise firm will do its utmost to eliminate all waste. The manage-

ment will ruthlessly scrap all effete or slipshod methods, and organize the enterprise with a view to utilizing every ounce of raw material, every hour of the working day, and every fraction of human effort. The slightest leakage will be detected, and promptly remedied, while much expenditure which might have been permissible in prosperous times will be tabooed.

And yet, the more prudent the members of the management, the less they will be tempted to cut down any expenditure that is essential to the life and soul of the business, and to its industrial future. They will scrap no improvement (such as the introduction of a costing system, or the appointment of a high salary of a first-rate chemist) which more than pays its way in increased business efficiency. In short, they will discriminate unerringly between wise though ample outlay, and extravagance or waste.

After laying down these sound principles, he applies them to the state.

Now, the State is really a giant firm, which runs a wonderfully vast and complicated business, and which must adjust its outlook, not only to the needs of the community to-day, but to needs which will arise twenty years hence. Therefore, like the business management, in this period of acute national stress, it will drastically check all waste. But it will never fail to distinguish clearly between a wasteful policy, and one of liberal, but judicious expenditure. From the national standpoint, all economies should be condemned which, although they reduce or check expenditure in some directions, do this by methods which handicap the community as a whole, and militate against its mental, physical, or moral welfare. Let us consider some of these false economies.

First of all we must taboo any policy which penalises education. Our motto with regard to education should be: "Look after the nation's brain-power, and the nation's wealth will look after itself."

Everywhere "the workers are taking more power into their own hands, day by day, not only in the world of politics but that of industry." In order that the phrase "government by the people, of the people, for the people" may mean "the government by intelligent people of other intelligent people for their mutual benefit," the workers must be educated to use power wisely, must acquire a mental training which will at least enable them to choose leaders who are leaders indeed, and must gain a historical perspective and some knowledge of the evolution and structure of present-day industry and economics.

Having laid down that education must not be penalised, Mr. Rowntree asserts :

In the second place, we must not economise by unduly restricting our provisions for the economic security of the workers. The need to increase our national output is imperative in the last degree, and the effect upon output of a widespread sense of insecurity in the ranks of labour disastrous.

FOUR EXPENSIVE ECONOMIES.

In the third place, we must shun all measures that affect the health of the community adversely. I may mention four spheres in which the results of a false economy are especially harmful.

- (a) Housing.
- (b) Wages,
- (c) Medical and hygienic provisions.
- (d) Temperance reform.

(a) Some people say that "we cannot afford to build good houses for the workers." My answer is that far less can we afford to leave them without houses much longer, or to build them bad ones. There are far too many thousands of bad houses already, houses which, even if not technically insanitary, are inadequate from the mere standpoint of physical requirements. In the future, the house of the rank and file worker must be sunnier and more spacious, more convenient in every way, and better suited to his growing mental and social requirements. If possible, it must have a garden. Space forbids me to say half I should like to say on this point. But a garden is not only a storehouse of fresh fruit and vegetables. It is Dame Nature's sanatorium, her rest-home for the jaded worker, and her unfailing "counter attraction" to allurements more costly, but less sane.

(b) I will not dwell on the evil results of economies which involve a rate of wages below the figure necessary to maintain the workers in physical efficiency. From the national point of view, such "economies" only mean that outlay in the right direction is being diminished at the cost of a vastly increased outlay in the wrong direction. We are, as it were, robbing Peter of sixpence to pay Paul a bad penny. An inadequate scale of wages means a heavier burden on the taxpayer. It means general inefficiency, and shortage of national output. It means a high rate of infantile mortality. It means parish relief, or the workhouse, for many thousands of men and women who should be self-supporting in any wisely ordered community.

THE HEALTH OF THE NATION.

(c) We must not make economy our watch-word in connection with preventive and remedial measures destined to safeguard the national health. When, as a community, we promote the actual vigour and fitness of human lives,

whether we establish clinics, or sanatoria, or provide maternity benefit, or Infant Welfare Centres, we are, in effect, buying "Health Bonds." And that bed-rock investment ensures all our other investment.

(d) I believe that our present hesitation to put the liquor traffic under national control arises very largely from the prevalent false perspective in the matter of economy. Some people say that any scheme of State purchase is "economically unsound." It is true that such people seldom approach the problem with academic calm. It is also pretty certain that they have not thought out its pros and cons, nor studied, for example, the famous Carlisle experiment. But, do they consider that the present system, which actually puts a premium on the vice, disease, and suffering that are inseparable from the excessive consumption of alcohol, is economically sound? Any policy that tends to sap, not only the physical, but the moral fibre of a nation—however lucrative it may seem—is economically indefensible, and any policy that raises the general level of efficiency and integrity is "economically sound," although it may involve some slight initial risk, or even loss.

Finally, with regard to every proposed economy, or to any proposed expenditure, we should, I think, honestly ask ourselves the following questions:

"Will the policy in question, viewed from the standpoint of the whole community, and over a number of years, enrich human life, or impoverish and waste it? Will it help us and those who come after us to build up a better world—a world of justice, comradeship, and high achievement? Or will it mortgage the nation's future to serve the private ends of a group, or a party to-day?"

The Necessity of an All-India Historical Association.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* Mr. V. B. Alur thus argues the necessity of an All-India Historical Association :—

The history of Karnatak—why, as a matter of fact, the history of India—cannot be properly worked out unless we have got such an association wherein scholars from all parts of the country come together and discuss the various problems in all their aspects. The history of one part of the country is inextricably united with that of the other parts, and we cannot write a satisfactory history of one without a knowledge of that of the others. Take for instance the Maratha country. Certainly the early history of the country lying between the Narmada and the Krishna requires a knowledge of Karnatak—

history. Therefore Maratha historians are perforce required to study the history, language and literature of the Karnatak. The history of the dynasties that ruled over Maharashtra for about sixteen centuries is to be traced with the help of Kanarese inscriptions, copper plates, literature, temples, etc. So also is the case with the Karnatak. This country was ruled over by the Marathas and the Peshwas from the beginning of the 17th century. I shall show how we are likely to commit blunders if we do not study more systematically and more scientifically. An enthusiastic member of the Bharata Itihasa Mandala, Poona, had gone to the south for research work, and found fortunately the tomb of Shahaji in the village Hodigere. He inquired into its history and gave a detailed account of it to the Maratha people. But some serious mistakes have crept therein owing to his ignorance of the Kanarese language. A member of our own society, Mr. Rajapurohit, had been to the same village for research and found out the mistakes that had been committed by Mr. Patwardhan in his accounts. Mr. Patwardhan read a certain word as Kudurelaya, and thinking that the word was the Sanskrit Laya created a story of his own over that phrase. The word Laya in Kanarese means a stable for horses, which gives an opposite colour to the whole story. A mistake was quite natural on his part. I could fix the boundary in the south-east of the old Karnatak country from a reference to the Tamil book called Kuruntokai. The life of Chaitanya by Mr. Jadunath Sinker gave me some new incidents in the life of Madhwa. From a Telugu book I could suspect that the mothertongue of the great Krishnaraja of Vijayanagar was Kanarese and not Telugu as is generally supposed. So mutual help will go a good way to facilitate our work and correct our mistakes. If an All-India association is formed with a central library of reference and an information bureau attached to it and if scholars from different parts study the history of their own tracts and report their results, a mass of materials will be collected from which a synthetic and authentic history of India can very well be afterwards compiled.

In conclusion, I may quote the warning given by Mr. Vincent Smith in his history: "Attention has been concentrated too long on the North, on Sanskrit books, and on Indo-Aryan notions. It is time that due regard should be paid to the non-Aryan element," in the hope that it will not be left unheeded any longer.

Wanted Workers' Educational Associations.

In the opinion of Mr. N. M. Joshi, as

expressed in the *Bombay Social Service Quarterly*,

The most outstanding drawback of the labouring classes in India is their universal illiteracy and there is at present a paramount need for effort being concentrated on the solution of this problem. It is, as a matter of fact, the chief stumbling block in the way of the progress of the working classes and prevents them from reaping the fullest benefit even of such small improvements of factory conditions as have taken place in recent years. It has often been complained that the various schemes of welfare work provided by some of the mill-owners at much cost are taken advantage of mainly by clerks, jobbers, and other well-paid persons who form the only literate section of the employees, while the bulk of the workmen for whom welfare work is a real necessity go without deriving any benefit from the ameliorative measures undertaken by the employers. The housing conditions of the labourers in Bombay are at present deplorable and the scandals of slumdom have attracted the attention of the Local and Imperial Governments. But there is very little prospect of improving this state of things even though more facilities for improved and spacious housing are provided, unless by the spread of general education the labourers are made to realise the importance of living in clean and well-ventilated rooms. It is only then that they will see the danger of over-crowding and will take steps to avoid it. It is a well-known fact to those who are closely acquainted with the life of working men in Bombay that the little savings which the recent rise in wages have enabled them to make are in many cases spent over drink even at the cost of the most urgent needs. But what, it may be asked, is expected of an illiterate man who has no idea of what a healthy and decent way of living means?

The workers, it is said, sadly lack in organization. Complaints are often heard that the workers are dupes to agitators and wire-pullers who instigate labour troubles to serve their individual ulterior purposes. But this lack of organization, which may result in the workers playing into the hands of agitators, is a logical outcome of their illiteracy. Unlike labourers in Western countries they are hardly intelligent enough to understand the force of organized effort.

In England systematic attempts are made not only to impart to the working classes elementary education but to give them facilities to receive secondary and even higher education, "and especially to interest them in the problems with which they are vitally concerned, by means of tutorial classes, settlements, working

men's colleges, adult school unions, and branches of the Workers' Educational Associations." In Bombay, with which the writer's article directly deals,

Individual attempts are made here and there by some mill-owners, who are conscious of their responsibility, to provide facilities for the education of their own employees, but they have proved quite inadequate, to meet the ever-increasing demand. The only successful attempts worth mentioning in this connection are those made by the Prarthana Samaj and the Social Service League, Bombay. The Prarthana Samaj long ago gave the lead by opening several night schools in the working-class quarters and at present conducts seven night schools with 107 pupils on the rolls. The Social Service League, which followed suit, has, at present, under its charge 24 night schools and 4 half-time day schools with more than 1,700 pupils on the rolls. There are a few more night schools conducted by some other institutions, but their number is very small.

To meet this grave situation, there is an immediate need for an organization planned on the model of the Workers' Educational Association in England.

Impoverishment and Physical Degeneration.

In an article in the *Hindustan Review* Mr. Pramathanath Bose shows that impoverishment is a primary cause of our physical degeneration. Says he :—

Of the causes which have brought about the deplorable state of health which is now noticeable all over India, probably the most potent is the impoverishment of the mass of the people. It has been observed that "fever is a euphemism for insufficient food, scanty clothing, and unfit dwelling." We venture to think that, if to "insufficient" be added "unsuitable" the dictum would hold not only in the case of fever, but also in that of an infinity of other ailments. The clothing of our people is not scantier than what it was half a century or so ago. The influence of modern civilization has been rather to make it less scanty though, unfortunately in the great majority of cases at the expense of food, which, especially in a climate like ours, is a far more important factor of health. The dwellings of our people are much the same as they have been for centuries, except in cities and large industrial and commercial towns where congestion has led to the growth of those hotbeds of disease, the slums, on a most appalling scale. The increased prevalence of disease must, therefore, be ascribed mainly to increased insufficiency of

food in any form, or of wholesome nourishing food due to increased poverty. A well-nourished body can resist the attacks of disease in a way an ill-nourished body cannot. When we consider that all but five or six millions of our population has been impoverished either absolutely or comparatively, we can easily understand why disease has been obtaining such a foothold among them.

As regards death from malaria, he writes :—

At the Imperial Malaria Conference of 1909, Captain R. S. Christopher, I. M. S., showed that the amount of mortality in any town or village was "determined very largely by the relative proportion of well-to-do to partially poverty-stricken dependent classes." He says, "comparing statistics showing the price of food-stuffs and the prevalence of epidemic conditions in different years, we see that out of the nine great epidemic years described seven, namely those of 1878, 1879, 1890, 1892, 1897, 1900 and 1908 were during times of high prices. A great epidemic in 1869, and one in 1870 also occurred at a period of specially high prices."

Discussing the origin of malaria, Dr. Bentley observes: "Two main factors are concerned. In the first place the presence of an agent of infection, and in the second place the occurrence of intense economic stress, short of actual famine, but leading to privation among a large or small portion of the population."

He quotes other authorities to prove the connection between insufficiency of food and high death-rates, which common sense leads us to believe in without any such proof.

Comparing the annual death-rates of Bombay from 1872 to 1906, he has shown that the number of deaths increases as the price of food advances. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mortality in London was eight per cent. greater in years of dear corn. Mr. Charles Booth found that the rates of mortality in 27 districts of the city of London were "generally in the order of their poverty." In "England now," observes Marshall, "want of food is scarcely ever the cause of death; but it is a frequent cause of that general weakening of the system which renders it unable to resist disease."

The following comparison of the material conditions of India and England will be found instructive:

All the evidence we have goes to show that previous to the close of the eighteenth century the material condition of India was, on the whole as good as, if not better than that of England. Then India became gradually poorer and poorer as England became richer and richer. This fact, in our opinion, mainly accounts for—

the gradual deterioration of the Indian physique and as gradual improvement of the British. With improvement of economic condition, the food and sanitary condition of Great Britain improved, and disease, in consequence, became less rife. With deterioration of economic condition, the food and sanitary condition of India deteriorated and disease became more rampant.

Moslem Culture.

Indians in general and Indian Muslims in particular will be interested in the paragraphs reproduced below from the *Collegian* :—

MARWARDI THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER OF MESOPOTAMIA.

One of the greatest secular achievements of medieval Islam to which the eyes of scholars have been directed in recent years is the Arabic *El-Akham es Soultaniyah* by Mawardi (972-1058), Chief Justice of Bagdad. This book, complete in twenty chapters, has been translated down to the fifth as *Les Regles du Pouvoir Souverain*, by L. Ostorrog, in two volumes (Paris, 1901-1906). The Moslem theory of liberty may be seen in the translator's Introduction. A complete translation of the same book in French by E. Fagnan is entitled *Les Statuts Gouvernementaux* (Paris 1915). The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1901) has an English summary of the first three chapters. In the *J. R. A. S.* of 1910, 1911 and 1916, H.F. Amedoroz contributes papers on "the Office of the Kadi" and other important topics dealt with by Mawardi.

A PERSIAN ARTHA-SHAstra.

A most celebrated Moslem name in *Artha-Shastra* (political philosophy) is that of Nizam-ul Moulk, the Kautilya of Persia from 1063 to 1092. Premier of Seljuk Sultans, Alp Arslan and Malik Shah, for twenty-nine years, this Persian vizier is famous in literature as the patron of Omar Khayyam. His *Siasset Nameh* (treatise on government), which *en passant* is a Persian and not an Arabic book, has fifty chapters. It is available in French (Schefer's version, Paris, 1893). The author's statesmanship is described in P. M. Syke's *History of Persia*.

THE PLATO OF ISLAM.

Contemporary Moslem scholarship is interesting itself in the philosophy of Farabi (950) of Bagdad. This philosopher, encyclopaedist as he was, is reputed to be the greatest intellectual of Islamic history. His *Model-City*, based on Plato, may be seen in B. Carra De Vaux's *Avicenna* (Paris, 1900). Farabi was the teacher of Avicenna, An essay on Farabi has appeared in the current number of the *Indian Journal of Philosophy* (Bombay).

What Women Demand.

Hind Mahila has done well to print the resolutions adopted at the eighth congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Geneva, June 1920. The second resolution, in part, and the third run as follows :—

It holds further that the free and full self-expression in government of men and women is essential to the highest development of humanity.

The Congress calls upon all the women of the world to use their power to prevent future wars, and to educate the children to a greater and truer understanding of all the peoples of the world.

The object of the Alliance was thus amended.

The object of this Alliance shall be to secure the enfranchisement of women of all nations by the promotion of Woman Suffrage, and such other reforms as are necessary of establishing a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women.

The programme of women's rights adopted at the congress is quoted below.

Political Rights.

1. That the suffrage be granted to women, and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, be recognised.

Personal Rights.

2. That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

3. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.

Domestic Rights.

4. That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and that she should not be under the tutelage of her husband.

5. That the married mother should have the same rights over her children as the father.

6. That the children of widows, if left without provision, should have the right to maintenance by the State, such maintenance to be paid to the mother as guardian.

7. That research for the father of a child born out of wedlock should be authorised; that such a child should have the same right to maintenance and education from the father during the period of dependency as a legitimate child, and that an unmarried mother, during the period that she is incapacitated, should also

have the right of being maintained by the father of her child.

Educational and Economic Rights.

8. That all opportunities of education, general, professional and technical, should be open to both sexes.

9. That women should have the same opportunity as men for training and for entering industries, professions, civil service and all administrative and judicial functions.

10. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.

11. That the right to work of both married and unmarried women be recognised; that no special regulations for women's work, different from regulations for men, should be imposed contrary to the wishes of the women themselves; that laws relative to women as mothers should be so framed as not to handicap them in their economic position, and that all future labour regulations should tend towards equality of men and women.

Moral Rights.

12. That a higher moral standard, equal for men and women, should be recognised; that the traffic in women should be suppressed; the regulation of vice and all laws and practices differentiating against women, or any class of women, in this matter be abolished.

In order to combat prostitution and venereal disease the congress passed two resolutions, which are printed below :

1. This International Congress of Women, being deeply concerned with the protection of the race, urges that a vigorous campaign be undertaken against venereal disease by all means compatible with freedom and justice.

This Congress affirms its belief that :—

- (a) A high moral standard equal for men and women should be recognised.
- (b) That laws which strike at women without touching men are ineffective and unjust.
- (c) That the regulation of prostitution in any form should be abolished.

(d) That education in sexual matters should be extended.

(e) That numerous centers for the free treatment of venereal disease should be established.

2. This Congress notes the resolution of the League of Nations on the question of the traffic in women and children. Since the regulation of prostitution is an important contributing cause of the continuance of this traffic in women, this Congress declares for its abolition, both nationally and internationally. It therefore urges the League of Nations to adopt the following policy :—

(a) To recommend to its constituent states the abolition of the state regulation of prostitution.

(b) To grant mandates for the administration of undeveloped countries, subject to the condition that within the mandatory territory there shall be no regulation, segregation, or official toleration, of prostitution.

The Social Evil.

Mrs. R. M. Gray informs the reader in *Hind Mahila* that "scientific opinion confesses to a mature and deliberate hopefulness" in the fight against the social evil. She holds that the grounds of hope are to be found in the

(1) *Publicity* which the question is receiving and the consequent (2) *public indignation*, now that people are beginning to realise the facts. (3) *The emancipation of women* has entirely altered the position. The passivity of women has been destroyed. European opinion is steadily maturing towards an attitude of equal condemnation for both participants. (4) *Medical opinion* has also made enormous strides, and no longer declares that the degradation of one sex is justifiable in order to preserve the health of the other. The preposterous doctrine that a woman's soul is of less account than a man's body is obsolescent.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Asians to Present an United Front.

The October number of the *Asian Review*, which, by the way, contains about

two dozen articles and other items relating to India, says :—

The meeting of the League of Nations is going to take place shortly in Geneva. Here is another chance for the white man to demonstrate his good faith and to

prove that his utterances about humanity and justice were not made with the tongue in his cheek. Asia has been reborn. She has been dehypnotised. She has awakened to a sense of her rights and duties. Her onward progress is assured. Is it worthwhile for the white man to evoke a feeling of resentment, if not vengeance, in her mind? Can he gain anything by antagonising the majority of human beings? The manner of the solution of this question will have a far-reaching bearing on future world politics. It will decide whether humanity or brute force will be the determining factor in future.

Apart from the question of the change in the angle of vision of the white man, as proclaimed by him now and then, what is of paramount importance for the coloured people if they wish to get this ranking injustice removed once and for all is to present an united front. There may be differences of opinion amongst them on many subjects, but they have a community of interests so far as the racial equality proposal is concerned. God helps those who help themselves. Unless the coloured people unite in their demand and exert their utmost for the abolition of the fallacious doctrine of the superiority of the white races, they are not likely to meet with success. We therefore call upon all our coloured brothers—Asians and Africans—to make it a common cause and press it on the attention of the white man till their efforts are crowned with success.

"The New British Empire."

Judson C. Welliver writes in the *Century Magazine* :—

There has never been under single sway so great a part of the earth as is now British. Before the World War the empire was credited with 13,153,712 square miles, distributed thus :

	Square Miles
In Europe	121,512
In Asia	2,187,550
In Africa	3,618,245
In North America	3,893,020
In Central America	8,600
In the West Indies	12,300
In South America	97,800
In Australasia	3,214,685

13,153,712

To the foregoing may now be added the areas acquired in the late war and later peace. The Library of Congress states them thus :

	Area sq. Miles	Population
German colonies and dependencies in Africa, the Pacific, and the South Seas	1,027,620	11,897,092
Palestine, including Sanjak of Jerusalem and Vilayet of Lebanon	7,790	541,600
Mesopotamia	143,250	2,000,000
Arabia (Hedjaz and Yemen)	107,380	1,060,000
Persia	628,000	9,500,000
Egypt	350,000	12,569,000
	2,264,040	37,567,269

Thus is made up an empire of 15,417,752 miles and about 500,000,000 souls. In three continents, North America, Africa, and Australia, the empire is the largest landed proprietor; in the fourth, Asia, her 3,073,970 square miles represent nearly twice the extent of imperial Rome!

Of her 500,000,000 souls, about 65,000,000 are self-governing citizens; the rest, subjects.

India and the League of Nations.

Miss Hilda M. Howsin, associate editor of the *Venturer*, has an article in it on India and the League of Nations, in course of which she observes :

India was made an original member of the League of Nations, but as long as she is represented at the Councils of the League by nominees of the British Government, as long as she is a subject and not a free nation, so long is her position not only untenable but a menace to the integrity of the League itself, since she is merely a convenient pawn in the hands of England and a means of doubling the British vote. It is significant that no other subject nation has been elected a member of the League. It is implicit in the very constitution of such a League that its members must be free to discuss and vote as their conscience and judgment dictate. Neither slaves nor slave-holders are logically eligible, and their presence is both an anomaly and a serious hindrance to the successful development of the League and its legitimate aims. England herself has no moral right to be a member as long as she retains despotic rule over India. The moral invalidity and precariousness of her position was exposed in the House of Commons at the Amritsar debate by General Surtees who, speaking in defence of General Dyer, explained the necessity for "frightfulness" because "if a plebiscite were taken in India to-day the withdrawal of the British from India would be decided by an overwhelming majority."

"Independence" for Egypt.

The *Venturer* contains an interview with Saad Pasha Zaghlul, the great Egyptian patriot. One of the questions put to him was : "Suppose the negotiations fall short of complete independence : would you be prepared to accept self-government within the Empire?" Thereupon,

Saad Pasha Zaghlul's whole body became rigid, implacable, his voice stern and passionate :

"Egypt never recognized the British Protectorate : no international sanction was ever given to it : successive generations of British statesmen from Gladstone and Salisbury downwards have formally repudiated it : at best apologising for it as a temporary expedient to tide over an awkward emergency. No less a personage than your King guaranteed the independence of Egypt when the war should be victoriously concluded. We were never a dependency of the British Empire and we shall never accept 'self-government' or any other euphemious status within it. We want at least as

much independence as Belgium and Poland. We do not ask for new territory, but we claim absolute and undivided authority over our own."

A French Law to Aid Artists.

According to the *Living Age*,

MERCURE DE FRANCE calls attention to a new law promulgated in the *Official Gazette* of May 22, giving painters, sculptors, and artists of every class and their heirs permanent rights in their works of art for fifty years from the artist's death. This means that when an artist sells a picture he does not, and indeed cannot, dispose of any future increment in the value of the picture which occurs during his life time and the following half century. In cases of all future sales he or his legal representatives has a right to a percentage of the new price. The tariff is as follows :

	per cent.
On sales of Fr. 1,000 to Fr. 10,000.....	10
On sales of Fr. 10,000 to Fr. 20,000.....	15
On sales of Fr. 20,000 to Fr. 50,000.....	20
On sales of Fr. 50,000 and upwards.....	30

Had this law been in force when Millet was alive, the huge price commanded by such a painting as the 'Angelus,' which never benefitted that impecunious artist, would at least have been a source of profit for his heirs.

The Hegemony of the Pacific.

Neue Zurcher Zeitung, a Swiss Liberal Republican Daily, contains an article on the hegemony of the Pacific. Japan would seem to claim it. The strongest foothold which the Japanese have acquired in the Pacific lies in the Hawaiian Islands, where they form about half of the population. But the passage which has a special interest for us relates to India.

Meantime, let us remember that the Indian question is closely tied up with the Pacific question. Natives of India reside in the Pacific territories. They are especially numerous in the Fiji islands, whither they have been imported to labor on the sugar plantations. They multiply rapidly and good observers say that within twenty years they will outnumber the natives in the latter archipelago, converting into an outpost of their own country. Were a war to break out these Indians would naturally sympathize with a Japanese. Most people already know that the Indian nationalist movement has excellent connections in the Land of the Rising Sun. In case of a serious conflict this fact may have far reaching consequences, and is likely to prove a much greater danger than the passing Bolshevik infection, which may run its course in a

few years. The well-known Indian poet and philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore, personally visited Japan during the war and probably made a recognizance of the country. He could be proffered no aid officially, and returned from that country, as he did from America, considerably disillusioned. But the mere fact of his visit is significant. Tagore believes, as one of the Indian nationalist leaders, that Japan has a great mission in the East. He says in his work entitled 'Nationalism' that Japan, as the first Oriental power which has broken the barriers Europe has opposed to the progress of eastern nations, has become a beacon of hope for all the people of Asia, to which they look for their salvation.

Railway Electrification.

The *Living Age* gives information regarding several important projects which have been added to the movement to electrify the steam railways of the world.

France proposes to operate three great railway systems by water power, developing 480,000 horse power for this purpose. This will afford a large surplus for industrial and other objects. It is estimated that the scheme will result in a large saving, and will possess the further advantages of absence of smoke, practically inexhaustible motive power, and relieving a whole industrial population of an underground existence.

Meantime the Austrian government has submitted to the National Assembly a bill for the electrification of all the steam railways of that country, a movement which will go far toward freeing the nation from its present dependence upon its neighbors for coal. The first construction period extends to June 30, 1925, when it is hoped to have completed the electrification of the lines between Vienna and the Swiss frontier.

Sweden proposes to electrify the Gothenburg and Stockholm railway. Chile, following the example of other European countries and Japan, is preparing to operate a section of the state railways with electricity. The government proposes to float a loan of £32,000,000, partly abroad and partly in the country, for this purpose. It is expected that this improvement will reduce railway operating expenses by £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 annually.

Snake-breeding in India !

The following passage occurs in an article about Indian snakes by Major G. Burrard in *Land and Water* :—

The mortality among natives from snake-bite is terrific. Europeans and the more wealthy Indians are protected by boots, and so the deaths are almost

entirely among the poorer classes. Every effort has been made to combat this great danger, but the natives are their own worst enemies. When the government started offering a reward for every cobra killed, numbers of villagers at once started breeding them, thinking that this was bound to become an exceedingly lucrative employment on which a minimum of labour need be spent! What can one do with such people? Undoubtedly, snakes form a very convenient excuse in the case of many murders. In a country where snakes abound and inquests are unknown; this is inevitable, and it is certain that many an unwanted mother-in-law or superfluous aunt has succumbed through a convenient 'snake-bite'.

We never heard before that our countrymen had taken to breeding snakes. Do any of our readers know anything of this industry?

A New Thing in Japan.

Some time ago, so says the Living Age, the halls of the Lower House of the Japanese Diet were filled with feminine visitors requesting the right to attend political meetings. The occasion was the introduction of a bill granting this permission. The member of the diet who introduced it said:—

The liberty of the press and the platform is being materially curtailed by the all-powerful police. The war, however, has occasioned a great awakening among all classes of people in the countries of the world, and it would be well for Japan to discard Article 5 of the police regulations, which prohibits women from attending political meetings. In Japan, people are agitating for universal male suffrage, but in many civilized countries of the world women are agitating for the suffrage. Among the Japanese Diet members there are so many conservative people that even universal male suffrage is treated as a dangerous thought. The war has brought a complete change in the political and social position of women. This is due to the fact that they shared so largely in the labor of the nation then, that they have become an important producing factor.

American Cruelty in Haiti.

The "benevolent despotism" of a "superior" people over an "inferior" one can never be free from cruelty. The latest example comes from Haiti under American rule. *The New Republic* of New York writes:

A military occupation of Haiti that results in the death of two hundred and fifty natives for every American soldier killed stands utterly condemned by its own figures. It is impossible to believe that the discrepancy between the two casualty lists is accounted

for wholly by the superior marksmanship of the Marines. "Indiscriminate killing" and "illegal executions" undoubtedly helped swell the total of 3,250 bandits slain. There is more that the figures do not tell: how many uncounted bandits crawled off to die in the wilderness; how many, tried or untried, were shot as captives; how many were killed escaping from illegal forced labor on the military roads.

A complete investigation to unveil the full extent of the savagery in Haiti must be made at once. Secretary Daniels has already started an investigation of his own, by a board of naval and military men. This is investigation by the executive power of itself, and is far from what the situation requires.

The fact of American cruelty in Haiti is established; its extent, which remains to be determined, is comparatively unimportant. If we accept our military occupation of Haiti, we must be prepared to accept military atrocities with it. When an alien people are ruled by force, force and savagery are unavoidable. Rule over "inferior" peoples for their good corrupts the "superior" peoples. Amritsar and Balbriggan are earlier examples of this. The real guilt is on a government whose policy makes such barbarities unavoidable. The United States "intervened" in Haiti to restore order, both political and financial, and also, in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, to prevent such restoration from being accomplished by some other Power. The intervention blossomed into over five years of military occupation and dictation, as well as complete humiliation on the part of Haiti. It is this seizure of a pitifully weak neighbor, and imposition upon her of a government and a foreign soldiery that constitutes the real crime, and since it is committed by an administration that has in the past seldom refrained from pious sentiments about the rights of small nations, it has added flavor of hypocrisy. What protection have we against a repetition of this? When we participate in some future League of Nations we should not only insist on a scrupulous and active supervision over mandated areas but voluntarily subject our insular possessions and receiverships to such a League.

What Does India Want?

Rev. John Pierpont, a highly honored New England clergyman, philanthropist and poet of two generations ago, has answered exactly. In her struggle to attain once more the place of honor and influence among the nations, which once she held, India wants:

"A weapon that comes down as still
As snowflakes fall upon the sod,
But executes a freeman's will.

As lightning does the will of God;
And from its force nor doors nor locks
Can shield you—'tis the ballot-box."

—Young India.

The Service of Silent Living.

Swami Paramananda has contributed

a beautiful article on the service of silent living to the *Message of the East*. Its tenour can be judged from its introductory paragraph.

The definite sign of a spiritually-minded person is his silent, tolerant attitude. Bees, until they have found the flower and tested the honey, make a loud, buzzing noise; but the moment they taste the honey, they become absorbed and cease to make any sound. So is it with human beings. Before we find the Truth, we argue and dispute and challenge others who differ from us; but when we come in contact with something deeper, we grow silent and do not try to force it on other minds. We try to live it in our own life; and as we live it in our own life, inevitably it reaches other lives.

Is Poetry Important?

Munsey's Magazine asks "Is poetry important?" and answers, "even in this materialistic age there can be only one answer"; and that answer is:—

Poetry very surely is important, has always been important, and bids fair to continue important.

Of course, the importance of poetry varies greatly in degree and in kind. Great poetry cannot always be had—that is, the work of living poets—nor is it always desired. We are not always in the mood for it. As Lamb said, "in the five or six impatient minutes, before the dinner is quite ready, who would think of taking up the 'Faerie Queene' for a stop-gap?" Yet, all the same, a great line or two remembered in a crowded street-car may have a very tranquilizing effect on the nerves—a line or two such as these from Wordsworth, for example:

The world is too much with us; late and soon
Getting and spending we lay waste our powers.

If we chance to recall Shakespeare's "Under the Greenwood Tree" amid the rush of city life, leafy glimpses of another world make us magically forget our surroundings. The lover of poetry has always at his command such visions as can make him less forlorn.

The portability of verse is one of the great advantages it has over prose. It is so easy to carry in the memory. A fine passage of prose has to be consciously got by heart, and even then soon becomes vague and difficult to recall; but poetry insists on being remembered, and comes dancing into the mind as lightly as a tune. Of course, it is the music in it which gives it this buoyant life, and floats its deeper meanings.

That in the vast majority of cases, a thing can be said more forcibly, more lastingly, and more economically, in poetry than in prose.

Verse has a way of condensing our thoughts and feelings into epigrammatic phrases—of which Pope, in his day, and Kipling, in ours, are proved masters—or into mysteriously moving lines, "jewels five words long," that poignantly suggest what prose would take whole sentences merely to say; haunting us with natural and spiritual beauty, "thoughts beyond the

reaches of our souls," that seem to come independently of, and "too deep for," words. The very meters of verse hold a secret of conveying mood as well as meaning, subtly spreading about them the atmosphere of the thing expressed.

Then mere riming—whatever the free-versifiers may say—has a charm of its own, the charm of harmonious patterns and lightly dancing feet. It is a special pleasure to see the rhymes falling so pat in their places, words and meaning, so to say, treading a measure together. And the amusing qualities of clever riming, the point given to a humorous idea by the mere wit of the meter, has been proved over and over again by the peculiar pleasure we get from comic and nonsensical verse, such preposterous masterpieces, for example, as "The Ahkoond of Swat."

German Chemical Industry Prospering.

German industry in general may be in a bad way, but certain figures published in *Drug and Chemical Markets* indicate that the German chemical companies are doing very well from a financial view-point. *The Chemical Foundation* finds these returns interesting enough to quote in its *Bulletin*:

Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik made a net profit of twenty-seven million marks as compared with 10.85 millions in 1918. A dividend of 18 per cent. has been declared (12 per cent. in 1918).

Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedrich Bayer & Co., at Leverkusen, earned 29.1 million marks against 13.1 millions in the previous year and distributed 18 per cent. (12 per cent. in 1918).

Chemische Fabrik J. D. Riedel, Berlin, distributed 16 per cent. plus a bonus of 10 per cent. as compared with a total dividend of 16 per cent. in the former year.

Chemische Fabriken vorm. Weiler-ter-Meer made profits of 2.58 millions (1.15 millions in 1918) and declared a dividend of 12 per cent. as compared with 10 per cent. in 1918.

Chemische Fabrik auf Aktien, vorm. E. Schering, Berlin, issued a statement which reveals that production had been seriously hampered during the past year by lack of fuel and raw materials. A slight improvement has latterly taken place and the outlook is declared to be more hopeful. A dividend of 18 per cent. on common and 4½ per cent. on preferred stock has been distributed.

Farbwerke vorm. Meister, Lucius & Bruening at Hoechst am Main have increased their profits from 14.96 million marks to 24.2 millions and declared a dividend of 14 per cent. (12 per cent. in 1918).

Aktiengesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation Berlin, distributed a dividend of 18 per cent. against 12 per cent. in 1918.

Kalle & Co., Aktien Gesellschaft, at Biebrich, has also done good business. Most of the stocks

are in possession of the Farbwerke vor. Meister Lucius & Bruening at Hoechst. Dividend 11 per cent. as compared with 7 per cent. in the former year.

Chemische Fabrik Griesheim Electrok at Frankfort have almost doubled their earnings, the return showing a profit of 8.4 million marks. A dividend of 12 per cent. has been declared (7 per cent. in 1918).

Aktien Gesellschaft fur Chemische Industrie, at Gelsenkirchen, distributed a dividend of 25 per cent. against 16 per cent. in 1918.

Shall We Stop Shaving.

Dr. Arthur Macdonald of Washington writes in *The Medical World* of Philadelphia to discuss the fashion of shaving. Says he :—

"You might as well shave the fur off the squirrel and cut the feathers from a bird as to shave the hairs from the face. To-day the most civilized peoples who inhabit the temperate zone, the most favored by nature, have the richest growth of hair upon the face...."

He meets objections.

"At the present time the habit of shaving, especially in our country, appears to be at its maximum in history. It is a form of egomania, the results of which may culminate in death before death is normally due...."

"It is objected that the beard and mustache are uncleanly affairs. But it goes without saying that they should be kept scrupulously clean. People's feet are sometimes dirty, but that is no reason for cutting them off. It is claimed that hairs on the face make one feel uncomfortable. This may be the case with some, but it may be due to the fact that by continuous shaving the hairs have become coarse and stiff; it may also result from carelessness in caring for the beard, including uncleanness. A soft, silky beard is not only not uncomfortable, but, if properly kept, is a thing of beauty.

"But how about women? As a rule, women have more fat beneath the skin than men have, especially in the neck and face....It is a protector of the summits of the lungs, the main air-passages, and the great blood-vessels. The larynx and trachea in women appear to be deeper-seated than in men. Yet notwithstanding such safeguards, women are said to have more facial neuralgia than men...."

He notes two facts of experience.

"Among bearded railroad men who are often exposed to the elements, it has been found that pulmonary and respiratory affections are comparatively rare. It is said that the sappers and miners of the French army, who are remarkable for the size and beauty of their beards, enjoy a special immunity from bronchial affections.

Then follow some of his arguments.

"Just as the hair protects the head, so does the beard the face. The mustache is nature's respirator, which the hair covering the jaws and throat gives warmth and protection to the delicate structures under

it, especially the fauces and the larynx. The hair of the mustache absorbs the miasma and moisture of fogs; the beard takes heat from the warm breath of the mouth as it leaves the chest, and supplies it to the cold air taken in...."

"If a man would have increased immunity from toothache, relaxed uvula, coughs, colds, inflammation, desquamation, and all the rheums, let him grow a beard. It helps to avoid the irritating effects of the sun's rays, tending to protect from freckles."

"The beard also helps to protect the skin from insects, especially mosquitoes, the main, if not the only, cause of malaria..... Relatively few people die of malaria, but it weakens their resistance to other diseases, especially pneumonia, which often ends in death....."

"In changeable climates the beard is useful as an equalizer of heat and cold. Shaving appears to render persons more susceptible to violent changes of temperature, and consequently more liable to disease. In cold localities the beard is an important defense..... The injurious effect of removing this protection, even in midsummer, is shown in huskiness and hoarseness of the voice. Medical men have recommended that public speakers, who have a tendency to relaxed uvula or clergyman's sore throat, let the beard grow under the chin...."

"Too little attention is given to early indications in the upper air-passages.....The air entering the nose during an hour contains about fourteen hundred organisms of various kinds.....the large outside doors, the mustache and beard, which at the very first could stop much of the dust and organisms, are omitted in many cases.....Here the mustache can be of service, and even the beard, which can stop some of the dust before coming up to the nose, aiding the mustache, really being a double protection from dust, which if allowed to pass can facilitate the development of inspiratory pneumonia.... Beard and mustache tend to lessen colds and thus further protect from greater dangers.

The Literary Digest thus summarises the result of an experiment.

A preliminary study of the beard cited by Dr. Macdonald has been made on fifty-three strong, healthy men from twenty-five to forty-five years of age, who shaved the face after having previously worn the full beard. At first, all of them experienced unpleasant sensations of cold, and only fourteen of them became speedily accustomed to the change. The others suffered with affections of the teeth and jaws, rheumatism of the gums, enlargement of the sub-maxillary glands, and rapid increase of cavities in previously affected teeth.

The Doctor does not forget to note the aesthetic advantages of a beard.

"The beard may be grown to hide facial defects, to cover up an uneven face and make it look more symmetrical; in short, to improve the personal appearance. Symmetry, the often ignored, is the basis of esthetics. The beard may hide homely and coarse features, or cover up wrinkles, scars, warts, and other abnormal formations. Where the face is thin or sunken, the beard may be left heavier; where the face is full, it can be closely trimmed. The mustache can serve to conceal an ill-shaped mouth, bad teeth, thick, ugly lips, and hide the defects of some peculiarly shaped

noses; for instance it can shade off a long nose. Briefly, the beard and mustache can very often improve the looks as well as suit the fancy by the many styles in which they may be cut:....."

Paper, the Textile of the Future.

According to an article in *Chambers's Journal* by Frederick A. Talbot, paper is the textile of the future. What fabrics can be prepared from paper? An incomplete list can be prepared from the following passages:

Sand-bags, yarn for the manufacture of explosives, containers, camouflage material, twines, cords, and ropes have been contrived therefrom. The diversion of jute to more vital duties resulted in paper being used for the fabrication of bags and sacks for grain, potatoes, flour, seed, and fertilisers.

It provides excellent material for boot laces, braiding, webbing, and belting, being not only stronger than the ordinary materials therefor, but having the additional advantage of being fireproof and waterproof, so that it will neither contract with damp nor stretch with dryness. It is a first class insulator, and so is being employed for insulating flexible electric wire, the wire being threaded through the outer paper casing or armour. It makes a capital stair-carpet, being more durable and substantial than jute for this purpose, while any desired pattern and colouring can be obtained in the weaving. It not only offers a good upper for tennis and other shoes where canvas or jute is ordinarily employed, but can be used for soling purposes, as a leather substitute, with every success. Its ability to pass through a printing process after being woven renders it an excellent art fabric for covering walls and for other domestic purposes. Dressed with a varnish and given an outer surface, it can satisfactorily take the place of rattan cane, and be employed in place of popularly accepted substitutes for costly leathers in upholstery and binding. It also assists in the manufacture of trunks and bags.

But its domestic applications are by no means limited to the decoration of walls and the upholstery of furniture. At the moment it is being exploited for the production of art carpets, and in this respect holds out many inducements. Wear and tear are appreciably less than in the case of woollen carpets. A paper carpet is not only far more durable, but is every whit as warm; and it is more hygienic, inasmuch as the covering may be washed. While the paper fabric may be made as flexible and pliable as desired, it can also be presented in a hard, solid form and of any desired thickness. Consequently it will develop into a serious competitor for household favour as an alternative to linoleum and other floorcloths. Here, apart from equal wearing qualities, it will be able to offer serious competition to the article of this character contrived from cork and other materials not omitting linseed oil, which for some time to come must command a high price.

What will my lady say to delicate lace curtains wrought from paper, carrying all the fragile-looking tracery of the cotton article, to grace the windows of her house? Yet it is perfectly feasible. Or how about

the snowy-white tablecloth and its lustrous finish? Paper can fulfil the purpose as well as demask linen.

It is quite feasible to produce tweed suiting, or a costume in paper, and in such a manner as to defy ready detection; but the paper suit or dress, while having good wearing qualities, would probably reveal its composition within a short time; creasing would assert itself in a somewhat aggressive manner. Some brilliant mind may overcome this objection, in as much as at the moment research and experiment concerning the possible applications of paper textiles to wearing apparel constitute one of the most fruitful fields of endeavour.

Paper yarn possesses one other distinct virtue. It can be blended with hemp, jute, and cotton in the weaving of cloth, either in the warp or the weft, and this proportion can be varied within wide limits.

"A Great Adventure in Education."

'A Great Adventure in Education' is a term used to describe the Summer School at Balliol College, Oxford. Most of the students are manual workers between 35 and 50 years of age, chiefly from winter classes of the Workers' Educational Association. The London *Daily Chronicle* says of this enterprise:—

Several of the tutors are 'sweet girl graduates,' and it is interesting to see them sitting in the shade of Balliol trees, expounding economic theory, or revealing the beauties of literature to men old enough to be their fathers. It is a great thing that the eager desire for knowledge among the adult population should be satisfied by the winter tutorial classes; in a sense it is an even finer thing that when the students of Balliol 'go down,' their places should be taken by men who come from mines, mills, and workshops—from narrow, ugly, and depressing conditions of many kinds—to associate with each other and with cultured men and women in the magic atmosphere.

The Hopes of Science.

Ninety per cent of the industrial problems of society are soluble by a cheap and abundant source of energy. At present this is found by burning fuel—coal or oil, and from water power. *The Spectator* says:

We know now that a practically inexhaustible source of energy is to be found in the rapid motion of the electrons which, like a miniature solar system, constitute the atoms of all bodies. It has been calculated that the intra-atomic energy which might be liberated from a pound of coal, if we could find any way of setting it free, and harnessing it to a motor, would do as much work as the burning of one hundred and fifty tons of coal.

The real problem is to discover some kind of atomic detonator which will start the electrons of a cheap and common substance like wood, or water,

giving out this internal energy at such an orderly rate that we can utilize it to drive our machinery. The achievement of such a discovery is perhaps the strongest and most assured hope which post-war science has to offer to a waiting and over-burdened world. It may be, after all, that the problem is insoluble: but the best authorities seem to hold that it might be solved within a very few years, if men devoted to its study a tithe of the ingenuity and money which were lavished in the last five years on the simpler problem of wholesale destruction.

Regarding the problems of transport, supply and sanitation the hopes of science are running very high.

Science applied to these matters has a reasonable hope of making vast improvements within the next generation—electric-driven passenger expresses running at two miles a minute; goods trains on special lines with proper arrangements for loading which will enable the companies to pay dividends again while reducing their rates; a network of glass or rubber motor roads covering the whole of Europe with a regular service of five-ton lorries and fast cars; great submarine liners which are independent of wind or weather, and cargo boats which will dwarf the Olympic or the Mauretania; above all, the development of aircraft for peaceful purposes on a scale comparable to that achieved in five years by the needs of war, till the Atlantic is bridged within a day, and Sydney is brought as near London as Edinburg was a century ago, while the motor cycle is superseded by the cheap and handy aeroplane for Sunday jaunts and week-end excursions.

As regards the supply of food and clo-

thing the hopes of science are almost limitless.

We are only on the threshold of the marvels which may be produced by a scientific treatment of agriculture. The introduction of machinery, the development of new forms of animal and vegetable life, the abolition of noxious insects, the modification of soils by manure, and of climates by forestry and irrigation, are still in their infancy. Science has even gone so far as conceive an age in which some future race of men instead of sitting down to dinner, will attach themselves to something akin to an electric lamp socket and draw thence from the public mains the supply of pure physical energy required for the day's work—but that is not so much a hope as a devout imagination, based, perhaps, on the popular but misleading conception of the 'scientist' as a lean and arid individual who takes no interest in his meals.

In the great field of health problems, too, the hopes of science run high.

Is it too much to say that we are within measurable distance of the abolition of preventable diseases, the stamping out of syphilis and tuberculosis, the elimination of physical unfitness? High medical authorities will assure us that the thing can be done within a generation or two, so far as science is concerned; but, unfortunately, human nature will creep in, and the problem is a political and social as well as a medical one. As for that blessed word eugenics, we hardly dare mention it here, it is so beset with thorny dangers. But hope is not forbidden—as the troops used to say, some hope.

A LETTER TO MR. H. G. WELLS ON 'THE OUTLINE OF HISTORY'

I CANNOT express fully in words what pleasure and instruction I have derived from the series of volumes entitled 'The Outline of History.' Specially the boldness with which you have narrated the real facts about the origin of Christianity calls forth my admiration.

There is one subject, which I would venture to bring before you with regard to India, where your information seems to be at present incomplete, namely, the independent growth and development of philosophy and science which went on in India from the times of the Upanishads to the beginning of the Muhammadan period. You are not to blame in this, because all your knowledge regarding the India of these times has been derived from second-hand sources and consequently you are not furnished with any criterion, with which to test the correctness of the various writers of Indian history, none of whom possessed a sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit—an indis-

pensable condition for the task which they undertook to perform. For this reason, the philosophic and scientific and literary movement of pre-Muhammadan India was a blank to them, affording a free scope to their imagination, greatly to the detriment of a knowledge of the facts derived from firsthand sources.

Especially has it pained me to think, how blind are these authors to the close relationship of ancient Indian thought to primitive Ionian thought. The best way to make my meaning clear will be to translate from Chhandogya Upanishad and thereafter place in parallel columns the world-soul theory of the Upanishad and the Hylozoism of the primitive Ionian philosophers, by way of comparison. In answer to the question put by the King Ashwapati of the Vedic times to each of the Brahman enquirers, who came to him for the purpose of obtaining an insight into the new philosophy relating to the soul, (which was not as yet made known to the Brahman

sages, but kept in reserve in custody of the king himself, who was its propounder), when the question was put to each of them :—

"What is the spiritual being you worship?"

The first of these enquirers, Burila, said,—

"I worship water."

The second, Jana, said,—

"I worship aether."

The third, Indradyumna, said,—

"I worship air."

Then hearing these words, King Ashwapati told them :—"Each of you has obtained a vision of one particular aspect of Vishwa-nara (The World Soul) and therefore, by his grace, you eat food in the bodies of all beings (i.e., you penetrate, as it were, into these bodies). But the truth is that none of the separate members of the World Soul is Vishwa-nara, himself. For Vishwa-nara is not many, but one."

"His head is the celestial region :

His eyes are the sun :

His breath is the air :

His body is aether :

His thighs are the water :

His feet are the earth :

His heart and mind and mouth are the fire."

Now let us see what James Adam says in his "Religious Teachers of Greece" about primitive Grecian philosophers who worshipped the World Soul :

"The first three thinkers of whom we have to seek are, Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes. They each attempted to explain the Universe from a single cosmological principle, which Thales identified with water, Anaximander with the boundless,—a material substance of infinite extent,—and Anaximenes with air."

Thus we arrive at a high middle ground, where we can obtain a bird's-eye-view of two parallel streams of well-authenticated facts running on either side of the Himalayas :

(i) Concerning the worship of Vishwa-nara (the World Soul) in the shape of some one or other of the widespread elementary phenomena of the physical universe, which was prevalent among the higher class of the ancient sages of India.

(ii) Concerning the worship of the same all-pervading World Soul among the higher class of the ancient sages of Ionia. The interconnection may be seen at a glance from the following table :

Worshippers of the World Soul.		Object of
Indian.	Greek.	Worship.
Burila.	Thales.	Water.
Jana.	Anaximander.	Boundless aether.
Indradyumna.	Anaximenes.	Air.

James Adam further says by way of comment :—

"According to the conjecture of Aristotle,—it is a conjecture and nothing more,—Thales had in his mind the philosophical conception of an indwelling soul."

What we have just seen from the Chhandogya Upanishad enables us to convert at a stroke the conjecture of James Adam into historical fact. I purposely say "the conjecture of James Adam" and not of Aristotle, for I believe that Aristotle knew more about the fountainhead of Ionian philosophy than is dreamt of by modern historians such as James Adam.

James Adam continues,— "If Aristotle's conjecture

is correct, germs of the Platonic belief in a World Soul, sustaining and moving all that is, are as old as Thales."

I should myself assert that, to an impartial observer of truth, they are as old as the Vedic Rishis and the Upanishads. For the philosophy of the Vishwa-nara (lit. the World Man, or the World Person) is clearly akin to the Ionian doctrine of the World Soul, which Plato inherited from the early Ionian philosophers.

I would avail myself of this opportunity to draw your attention to points of similarity between the teachings of Pythagoras and those of the ancient Indian sages. Both enjoin regulation of diet (especially vegetarianism), restraint of senses, and purity of life generally, on the aspirants to spiritual perfection. This, if it stood alone, would be by no means convincing. But it is combined, in Pythagoras, with a definite doctrine of transmigration which differs alike from the Homeric and the Egyptian doctrines of the dead.

Probability of interconnection is almost changed into a certainty when we find two curious restrictions which were foreign to the Greek mind, as such, and are only found elsewhere in the Hindu Authoritative Shastras. The first of these is that one shall not eat beans, which is found in Maitrayani Samhita i. 4. 10 (cf. also Kathak Samhita Yajaman Brahmana 32 : 7) and the second is that one should not rinse the mouth out or spit before fire,—which is found in Chhandogya, ii. 12. The reasons for not eating beans are given as follows : (i) 'for verily they are impure' (ii) 'for verily they are unfit for sacrifice.'

In the last paragraph of the first column of page 433, in your book, I find the following quotation from Thatcher and Schwill :—

"Zero" was unknown till the twelfth century, when it was invented by an Arab Mathematician named Muhamad-ibn-Musa, who also was the first to use the decimal notation and who gave the digits their value of position."

Let us see how far this statement can stand the test of truth. William Fleetwood Sheppard, M. A., D. Sc., writes in the Encyclopædia Britannica :—

"The system which is now universally used among civilized nations for representing the cardinal numbers is the Hindu—sometimes, incorrectly called the Arabic system."

The same writer states :—

"The modern system which is now employed of placing the numerator above the denominator is due to the Hindus. The Hindu treatises on Arithmetic show the use of a fraction, containing the power of 10 as a denominator, as early as the beginning of the sixth century A. D. The Arabs, by whom the Hindu notation of integers was brought to Europe used mainly the sexagesimal division in the notation."

Another article in the Encyclopædia Britannica written by the same writer, contains a section, headed "Indian Algebra," which runs thus :—

"Investigation of the writings of Indian Mathematicians has exhibited a fundamental distinction between the Greek and Indian mind, the former being preeminently geometrical and speculative, the latter arithmetical and mainly practical. We find that geometry was neglected, except in so far it was

of service to Astronomy. Trigonometry was advanced and Algebra improved far beyond the attainments of Diophantus."

This is not altogether accurate, because we find that the Indians had a fair knowledge of geometrical truths which they had discovered for themselves. This has been put beyond a doubt by the researches of Dr. Thibaut. In the Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. 44, he writes:—

"Whatever is closely connected with Indian religion may be considered as having sprung up from the Hindus themselves, unless positive evidence of the strongest kind points to the contrary.

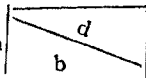
He gives a few extracts from the Sulva Sutra of Bodhayana, together with the following translation:—

(i) "The cord stretched across the diagonal of a square produces an area of double the size."



$$(d^2 = 2a^2)$$

(ii) "The cord stretched across the diagonal of an oblong produces both areas, which the cords, forming the longer and shorter sides of the oblong, produce separately.



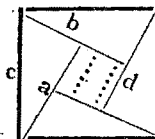
$$(d^2 = a^2 + b^2)$$

These two propositions are, in substance, the same as the 47th proposition of the 1st Book of

Euclid, which has all along been classed as among the original discoveries of Pythagoras.

DWIJENDRA NATH TAGORE.

P. S. The celebrated Hindu treatise on Algebra called Vija Ganita has the following curious diagram, which can easily be shown to demonstrate Euclid, Bk. I, Prop. 47:—



Let 'a' represent the longer side, 'b' the shorter side and 'c' the hypotenuse of each right-angled triangle so that 'd' = a - b.

Then the difference between d^2 and c^2 is equal to the 4 right-angled triangles; that is to say,

$$(a-b)^2 = d^2 = c^2 - 4\left(\frac{1}{2}ab\right)$$

$$= c^2 - 2ab,$$

$$\therefore a^2 - 2ab + b^2 = c^2 - 2ab,$$

$$\therefore a^2 + b^2 = c^2,$$

i. e., the sum of the squares of the two sides which contain the right angle is equal to the square of the hypotenuse.

D. T.

NOTES

Rabindranath in Holland.

The poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has written the following letter from Holland, which will be read with deep interest by Indian readers. It should be mentioned, that the people of Bali Island (near Java) have remained Hindus for nearly 1200 years, and have kept all the while their independence. The poet writes:—

"Since I came to this country (Holland) I have been hearing a great deal about Java and especially about Bali Island. Everybody agrees that these Balinese are delightful—and what I have seen about them in the Museum of the Colonial Institute makes me think that the people there are very like Bengalis. A gentleman, who knows and loves them intimately, came to see me this morning, with a bag full of photographs, all from Bali. He

speaks very enthusiastically about these people,—in fact, he and his wife have settled down among them and they do not care to come back to Europe. They have not only preserved in their life the perfume of the spring-time of some past centuries of India; they are loveable on their own account.

"They have the true spirit of the artist in all their expression of life. Now that I have come in touch with Holland, it will be easy for us to visit the Dutch Indies and study their ruins and their people. We shall be able to establish a bond of sympathy with them, and through it we shall be greatly benefited. Simplicity is the best casket for gems of truth; and these people, who had their seclusion, that saved their simplicity from all the hurts of the present day, have, I am sure, kept pure

some of the beauty of truth, that belonged to India. And I am assured that this is the fact; and this has made these simple people so singularly attractive..... We must found in *Vishva Bharati*, at Shantiniketan, a special chair for the study of Greater India. We must train teachers by sending them to places such as these, and to China and Japan. The relics of the true history of India are outside India. For our history is the history of ideas,—how these, like ripe pods, burst themselves and were carried across the seas and developed into magnificent fruitfulness. Therefore, our history runs through the history of the civilisation of Eastern Asia.

"To study a banyan tree, you not only must know its main stem, in its own soil, but also must trace the growth of its greatness in the further soil; for then you can know the true nature of its vitality. The civilisation of India, like the banyan tree, has spread its beneficent shade away from its own birthplace. Let us acknowledge it. Let us feel, that India is not confined in the geography of India,—and then we shall find our message from our past.

"India can live and grow by spreading abroad,—not the political India, but the ideal India. We must know this ideal India; and then will come the time, when we shall be able to carry her abroad. And once again, her history will find its fulfilment in the present age. Our modern politics has come to tempt us with its power,—but let the spirit of our Maitreyi, find its voice in our midst and say again and again,—'*Yenāham nāmritā syām kim-aham tena kuryām ?*' " *

The Esher Report.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has written to us as follows :

"I would wish to be allowed a space in this present issue of the "Modern Review" to express my own personal opinion, that no graver menace of an external character has ever threatened India during the present century than this reactionary Esher Report. It is strange to me to see how

very little notice has been taken of it. We can now understand, from this Report, what it means for India to be 'within the Empire.' Apart from all other considerations, of a most humiliating character, which at once arise in the mind on finding out how India is to be made the tool of aggressive British economic imperialism in the Middle East, there is this supremely important issue :—*India is by far the poorest country in the whole world.* Its peasantry are already taxed, often beyond the margin of subsistence, by the land revenue and other burdens. It has been proved, beyond a doubt, that the agricultural districts of India have become poorer instead of richer, over a series of recent years. With the possible exception of certain areas in the Punjab (which have been opened up by irrigation) the comparative poverty of the agriculturalists is being more and more keenly felt. The slightest shortage of rain, in any district, means hunger and want and misery to hundreds of thousands of people, and in certain cases, to millions. Yet this Esher Report, if actually put into practice, is certain to mean increased Army Expenditure just at the very time that we have been promised a reduction of all armaments. It is this *Army Expenditure*, which has every year, hitherto, depressed the rural Indian population. It is this *Army Expenditure*, which has made progress in Education and Sanitation well nigh impossible for lack of the necessary funds. It is this *Army Expenditure*, which has lain like a dead weight on the whole country, and has made the lightening of the heavy incidence of the land revenue charges impossible. Yet now, it is as clear as anything can be, (and the London papers have quickly noticed the fact) that the heavy burden of the militarism of the past is to be made still heavier for the poverty-stricken people of India. The thing is humanly impossible. The new burden cannot and must not be borne."

Rabindranath Tagore and German Literature.

Conrad Haussmann, in his "Uralte-Lieder aus dem Morgenland," (Ancient

* 'What shall I do with that by which I cannot become deathless ?'

Songs of the East) has given in turn translations of some of the best Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hebrew, Chinese, Arabian, Persian and Indian songs. But, in the Indian songs, he has made an exception. In addition to some of the Vātsāyana songs, he has given, in an appendix, five songs from 'The Gardener' of Rabindranath Tagore.

In his notes, Conrad Haussmann has written as follows, about the Indian poet:—

"Modern India has, in Rabindranath Tagore, given birth to such an incomparable Indian poet, that I cannot withstand the desire to make him, through my writings, more and more at home in Germany. As a single exception in the whole book, I have given, after the ancient songs of Asia, the songs of the Indian Poet, who has become the poetical bridge from the past to the present, Rabindranath Tagore.

"The songs have been taken from the Lyrics of 'The Gardener.' Rabindranāth Thākūr, as his Indian name is pronounced, is in the 59th year of his age. He has grown up to manhood on the Ganges and the Himalayas, and he traces his princely family back to the tenth century.

"The poetical charm and genius, and the beautiful humanity of Rabindranath Tagore, seem to me to be so great, that one should not be satisfied merely with regarding him as the rightful winner of the Nobel Prize of Europe, but should also seek a personal relation between German Literature and Indian Poetry through him. From the great volume of his writings, a selected edition should surely be published in Germany. For his musical harmonies carry a deep tune to the ears of the German people. Perhaps my publisher may send a copy of this German "Asiatica" to the Ganges, as a greeting of gratitude and a sincere witness to the fact, that we, Indo-German barbarians, know well what a debt we owe to the culture of Asia."

Many questions have been asked concerning a mysterious Reuter's telegram, which appeared to carry the information, that the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, had been prevented, for political reasons, from

entering Germany. From letters which have been recently received, it is now clear, that this was not the fact. Rabindranath Tagore found out at the last moment, that the frontier regulations for international travel had not yet been abandoned between France and Germany, and that at least a week would be needed in order to get necessary 'permits'. As his continental visit would hardly allow of such delay, he determined to postpone his visit to Germany, till his return from America. In Holland and Belgium, where he addressed the universities and other public gatherings, his welcome was one continuous act of homage from the whole people. The poor working men, as well as the learned and the wealthy, vied with one another to do him honour.

The East African Impasse.

The Pronouncement of Lord Milner concerning British policy in East Africa has brought matters to an *impasse*. Among many unsatisfactory and undesirable things in this new State Document, the worst is that particular section, which insists on race segregation being carried out, and which gives a *carte blanche* to the East African Government to effect this segregation immediately on the lines of Prof. Simpson's Report. The Government has not lost a day in carrying out the Colonial Secretary's order. A notice has been already served on the Hon. Abdul Rasul Alladin Visram, prohibiting him, by means of an injunction, from selling his property in Mombasa by public auction, "because it lies in the area marked out for European quarters in Prof. Simpson's map." It will be seen from this that the whole scheme of race segregation is now to be carried out in detail as soon as possible.

It is to be noted, that Lord Milner regards Professor Simpson's plans for segregation as eminently reasonable and fair-minded. This fact is so astonishing, from the Indian point of view, that one seriously wonders whether Lord Milner, in his preoccupation with Egypt, took the trouble to examine Professor Simpson's Report at all. A mere glance would have

shown him the gross unfairness of the division of areas which the Professor makes. I can perhaps best explain it by the parallel of Calcutta and Howrah. Prof. Simpson would wish, as it were, to send all the Indians over to the 'Howrah' side and keep the 'Calcutta' side of the river for the Europeans. He would also give more than two-thirds of the whole suburban area to the Europeans. With regard to packing the Indians off across the river, his words are quite explicit. "The majority of Indians and Asiatics would occupy the zone north of the river, the majority of the Europeans would occupy the European zone south of the river, which is the natural development of Nairobi as the *European capital* of British East Africa."

The words I have italicised beg the whole question,—*Why* the European capital? This is a political question, and not a sanitary question at all.

Again Prof. Simpson writes:—"Unless the measures I have indicated (i.e., the removal of the Indian population across the river) be taken for Nairobi, it will lose the opportunity of *becoming mainly a European town* or of maintaining the *characteristics of a European town*, which, as a centre of a European district, and as the capital of the country, it *by right and destiny* ought to possess."

Here again, these sentences which I have quoted and italicised are, quite obviously, full of politics. *Why* should Nairobi become mainly a European town? *Why* should the capital of East Africa be mainly European by "right and destiny"? These, as I have just said, are political questions and not sanitary questions at all.

I have not, unfortunately, the map of Prof. Simpson's town-planning for Mombasa with me; but I have seen it, and it appeared to me, if anything, even more pro-European than the town-planning proposed for Nairobi. To take one feature only,—as far as my recollection serves, the Indian merchants are to be excluded from practically all the land along the harbour frontage. It would be, as though in

Calcutta, the Indians were excluded from Strand Road.

I have read through Prof. Simpson's Sanitation Report many times; and just as the Economic Commission Report was an *ex parte* statement, so is this 'Sanitary' Report. No impartial government could take it as the basis of a settlement.

It would, therefore, seem clear, that the only possible way out of this *impasse*, is for Lord Milner's Pronouncement to be put entirely on one side, and an independent Royal Commission appointed to deal with this and other East African subjects on the spot. Lord Curzon's Pronouncement about Egypt, declaring Egypt a Protectorate, has now been withdrawn. It is necessary that this Pronouncement about East Africa should be withdrawn also, and it is difficult to see how this could be done without a Royal Commission.

C. F. A.

The Prince of Wales in Fiji.

The truth has come to light at last about the Prince of Wales's extraordinary speech in Fiji concerning the Indian Community, wherein he was reported by Reuter to have said, that he was glad to hear the news that the recent disturbances in the Islands *had not been due to any racial feelings*.

What actually happened was this. The Indian leaders sent, for the approval of the Governor of Fiji, the following representation:—

"We do not think it is proper for us to pain your Royal Highness by describing our secular difficulties and grievances, which will not remain hidden to your Royal Highness. One thing, however, we are compelled to bring to your notice. It is the fact, that we are misrepresented, to the effect that our recent agitation for better rights and economical improvements was based on racial feelings. This has wounded our hearts. This surmise, on the part of the authorities, is not only without any foundation, *on our part*, but is a great slur and an irreparable stain on our characters, which should be removed at once." [Italics ours. Ed., M. R.]

The meaning of this is quite obvious. The Indian Community had been deeply wounded by the charges which had been brought against themselves, that the Indians had acted from racial feelings. But this differed entirely from the proposition, that no racial hatred had been actively felt against them *by the Europeans*. For the Fiji Statute Books themselves proved the contrary. Racial discrimination was practised immediately against the Indians by the Governor himself. Yet, when the above-mentioned Indian representation was put before the Governor, he cleverly altered it, and insisted on the Indian Community presenting their address in the following substituted words:

"We do not think it proper to refer to political matters. It is inevitable; however, that your Royal Highness should have heard of the recent Indian troubles in Fiji, and we desire to assure you that they were due solely to economic causes, and not to any racial feelings."

The Indian Community protested against this alteration, which condoned entirely the racial conduct of the Europeans. But the Governor insisted, that, either the Address must be presented *in those very words*, or else there would be no Address allowed at all.

Unfortunately, the Indian Community weakly gave way and allowed the Governor to insert this equivocal sentence, implying directly that there had been no racial feeling on *either* side. The result has been that the Governor of Fiji could afterwards declare to the civilised world, a message which seemed to assert that the Indians and the Europeans in Fiji were very good friends with only some economic differences between them. He has thus been able to whitewash the black deed, which his Government itself committed in racially discriminating against the Indians and passing direct racial legislation in their disfavour.

C. F. A.

Emerson as Philosophical Anarchist.

"My friends ask, whether there are any Americans?—any with an American idea,—any theory of the right future of that country? Thus challenged, I bethought myself neither of caucuses nor

congress, neither of presidents nor of cabinet ministers, nor of such as would make of America another Europe. I thought only of the simplest and purest minds; I said, 'certainly yes; but those who hold it are fanatics of a dream which I should hardly care to relate to your English ears, to which it might be only ridiculous,—and yet it is the only true. So I opened the dogma of *no-government and non-resistance* (italics ours), and anticipated the objections and the fun, and procured a kind of hearing for it. I said, it is true that I have never seen in any country a man of sufficient valour to stand for this truth, and yet it is plain to me that no less valour than this can command my respect. I can easily see the bankruptcy of the vulgar musket-worship,—though great men be musket-worshippers; and 'tis certain, as God liveth, the gun that does not need another gun, the law of love and justice alone, can effect a clean revolution.'"—English Traits, Ch. XVI.

The man of valour who could command Emerson's respect, by the test he put in the above passage, was perhaps Jesus Christ; Buddha was surely such another, who said that only by love can hatred be conquered. Two Russians of modern times, Prince Kropotkin and Count Tolstoy, would perhaps be counted by Emerson among these men of valour whom he could respect; and M. K. Gandhi would be sure to be such a man. Rabindranath Tagore is another, though only a few men know the fact. Emerson's own country, for which he predicted a future of no-government and non-resistance, has not produced a single man of outstanding eminence who accepts his dogma; and the world generally, in spite of the bankruptcy of the vulgar musket-worship so palpably demonstrated by the late war, continues to burn its incense in the same shrine. Isolated individuals there have been, both before and after Emerson, who are 'of sufficient valour to stand for this truth,' but one wonders if any nation in the progressive West is even within a measurable distance of accepting it as a practical ideal. In the fabled Golden Age—*Satya Yuga*—of India perhaps Emerson's dogma was something of a reality, and even when kings ruled in Ayodhya and Indraprastha, the Rishis and Brahmans—the religious and the intellectual leaders of the Aryan race—largely stood outside the influence of the central administrative authority. In

the age of Chandragupta Maurya, government had become as thoroughly centralised as now. Is human nature never to be sufficiently advanced to give philosophical anarchism a chance in practical politics, and is it to remain for ever but a beautiful dream? Those who believe in the infinite capacity of the human soul for development and a benevolent purpose in the universe can hardly remain satisfied with such an answer.

"Non-resistance."

The following story of non-resistance, taken from the *Vedic Magazine*, may be appreciated :—

The story of the Bodhisattva refusing to offer resistance to the invading king of Koshala has been referred to before. The cause of this self-abnegation can best be put in the words of the Jataka.

"I want no kingdom that must be kept by doing wrong," said the king.

"Do nothing at all. Open the gates of the city."

The orders of the king were reluctantly obeyed, and the gates were flung open. Then rushed the invading soldiers, and, maddened with unexpected success, they maltreated, nay even tortured the unresisting king and his courtiers. However, they soon repented, restored their gains to the lawful owner and withdrew to their own dominions.

Emerson on British Rule in India.

"They are expiating the wrongs of India by benefits; first, works for the irrigation of the peninsula, and roads and telegraphs; and secondly, in the instruction of the people, to qualify them for self-government, when the British power shall be finally called home."—*English Traits*, ch., XVIII.

Thus wrote Emerson nearly three quarters of a century ago, in summing up the result of his impressions of the English people, in a chapter beginning with the sentence, "England is the best of actual nations." Had Emerson any idea that nearly three quarters of a century after he wrote the above, only about five per cent of the people of India would be found to be literate, and the slimmerings of the dawn of self-government would just begin to be faintly visible on the verge of the horizon, he would not perhaps have written in the optimistic vein he did, for in the same chapter he recognises that the

foreign policy of England "has not often been generous or just" and he also admits the 'wrongs of India.'

A Serious Menace to Rural Bengal.

Those among us who, unable to spend the Pujah holidays in some health resort outside lower Bengal, were compelled to spend the season at home, found, especially if their homes happened to be in the river districts of Eastern Bengal, an evil of the first magnitude encompassing their homesteads, of which the newspapers make no mention and the politicians seem to be ignorant. The fault, of course, lies largely in the villagers themselves, who have borne the evil, like all the others they have been hitherto accustomed to, with the patient resignation of the East, regarding it no doubt as another visitation of Providence. But in Europe, under similar or much less serious circumstances, the people would have made the welkin ring with their cries, and would leave the Government no peace till the grievance had been remedied. The evil we refer to is known in Bengali as the *Kachuri* and in English as the water-hyacinth. None but eye-witnesses can understand how a water-weed can prove such a menace to health, life and even civilisation itself. Its fecundity is simply prodigious, and from one single plant, a multitudinous progeny, sufficient to overspread an entire tank, may grow in a few days. Its high stems, broad leaves, and rank and dense vegetation, so completely choke up the canals, creeks, and waterways, that it is impossible for boats, which are the only means of locomotion in the deltaic districts during the rains, to cut a passage through them. The result is that communication between villages during the rainy season, when travelling used to be most easy and pleasant in these parts, has nearly come to a standstill; even markets cannot be attended for the necessities of life; and trips which would otherwise take a few hours now take entire days, with corresponding increase in the cost and trouble of the journey. Entire villages have been cut off from surrounding tracts, with all that it means of stagnation of social

intercourse. Nocturnal journeys by boats from markets and other places, when the plaintive tunes of the *Bhatial* songs of the villager, returning home in his boat after his day's work, used to sound so sweet to our unaccustomed ears, have practically come to an end. The sense of isolation can be appreciated only by those who have felt it, and the hopelessness of the situation fills the mind with a gloom sad to note. This, however, is not the whole of the mischief for which this abominable pest is responsible. It seriously pollutes the water, causes the current to stagnate, and the fish to die out. Fishing in the canals and watercourses, which supplied the villager with his daily meat during this season, has become physically impossible. The water-hyacinth is a prolific breeding ground of mosquitoes, and this has been officially admitted. The result is an appreciable increase of malaria, and its outbreak in regions where it was practically unknown, owing to the annual flushing during the rains. The vitality of the plant is such, that though in the dry season it appears to be all but extinct, with the first few showers of rain it springs into vigorous life, and blocks all the water-courses in no time. To exploit it commercially or utilise it in domestic economy is impossible. Its food value is nil, over 75 per cent of its composition being nothing but water, and it cannot therefore be used as fodder. Nor can it be used as manure for the fields, for a huge quantity of the weed only yields a microscopic amount of potash. All this has been recognised in the Government resolution on the subject, from which we learn that the original home of the plant is in South America, whence it has travelled round to India via Australia, the Straits Settlements, Burma and Ceylon. Everywhere its extermination became a serious administrative problem, and by stringent laws and vigorous administrative measures and the expenditure of much money and organised effort could this most obnoxious of pests be stamped out. The tradition, also alluded to in the Government resolution, is that a jute merchant of Naraingunje, fascinated by the insidious beauty

of its lilac flowers, introduced it for ornamental purposes into his garden tank from Western Bengal, where it could not do much mischief owing to the confined and circumscribed area where it could grow. From the jute merchant's tank the plant spread throughout Eastern Bengal, half choking even the smaller rivers, so phenomenal is its power of propagation. The Government in its resolution exhorts the Municipalities, and district and local boards to eradicate this dangerous pest. But hitherto the exhortation has not proved more effective than a mere pious wish. Only burning can eradicate the weed, but it is so abounding in sap that it is difficult to burn it completely. Nothing but widespread organised effort, on the part of the public as well as the State, and the expenditure of large sums of money, which are beyond the resources of local bodies, can cope with this serious evil. Already men of means in the villages are thinking of migrating to towns, thus threatening the further depopulation of rural Bengal. The entire resources of the people and the Government will be taxed to the utmost to bring the danger under control, but it is so palpable, and felt so acutely by the villagers, that it can be confidently asserted that they will be ready to co-operate with the Government in any measure of relief that may be proposed to root out this evil, which in magnitude threatens to eclipse every other evil that Eastern Bengal has suffered from. An organised endeavour should, therefore, be made without further loss of time to grapple with the problem and devise means for the extermination of the water hyacinth in consultation with the leaders of public opinion. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay will do a greater service to the country by devoting his energies to it in preference to his favourite hookworm. The Bengali villager has walked barefooted and unshod since the creation of the race, and the hookworm is not likely to cause serious depredations to his feet, if allowed a few years' longer lease of life, though the shoemakers may mourn the delay. The water-hyacinth, however, is a pest hitherto unknown in Bengal, and its



STATUE OF GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE
By G. K. Mhatre.

tangible depredations are likely to desolate rural Bengal in a few years. We should like to know what the Government has done, beyond recording a resolution, and issuing circulars on village unions to stamp out the obnoxious plant by burning it, to avert the danger which threatens the depopulation of villages in Bengal in the near future.

Mhatre's Statue of Gokhale.

By the courtesy of Mr. G. K. Mhatre, the sculptor, we are enabled to reproduce a photograph of his clay model of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale's statue. The statue, which is to be seven feet high will be done in marble for the Bombay memorial committee and in bronze for the Madras committee, the clay model for both being the same. The photograph shows how the statue will appear to the spectator looking at it from below. It represents Mr. Gokhale as about to deliver an address. The expression is animated and intellectual.

The All-India Gokhale Memorial Committee wanted to have a statue of the great patriot to be erected at Delhi. It is to be hoped that the work will be entrusted to Mr. Mhatre, who has already prepared a marble bust for the Imperial Council at Delhi, subscribed for by the European non-official members and unveiled by the Viceroy some time ago.

It may not be inappropriate in this connection to suggest that, along with other memorials of Lokamānya Tilak, paintings, statues and busts of him should also be prepared and kept in public places. We should not take a narrow utilitarian view of memorials of our great men. Of course, statues of this bureaucrat or that are perfectly useless to us. But as regards our own great men, we should not forget the claims of art to keep alive their memory. Utilitarian memorials are certainly necessary. But art and literature enshrine the memories of our great ones in a manner that no utilitarian memorial is likely to do. Undoubtedly we should erect libraries, economic institutes, political institutes, technological institutes, and the like, to commemorate our great men. But it is also in the fitness of things that there

should be within the precincts of these very buildings some likeness of the hero in the shape of a portrait, a bust or a statue, to give to the visitors, workers and students there a vivid representation of the form and features of the man. That is a vital need for feeding the imagination and appealing to the sentiments of the nation. The natural and healthy human instinct of hero-worship is satisfied thereby.

Voice of Canadian Independence.

In the opinion of *The Canadian Nation*, published at Ottawa, the development of the idea of Canadian independence is undoubtedly the most important phase of recent Canadian political thought. According to that paper, "it would not be greatly overstating the case to assert that the majority of Canadians realize the necessity for a change" in relation to the rest of the world. In support of this view that journal says :—

"This is to be seen in the demand which was made during the war for Canadian control of the Canadian Army in France; it was seen again when the Canadian delegation at the Peace Conference insisted upon the inclusion of Canada as a member of the League of Nations; it is to be seen in the practical unanimity with which Canadians now insist upon a Canadian navy owned and controlled by the Government of Canada; and it is advanced further by the arrangement for separate Canadian representation at Washington. These are only a few instances, but they all tend in the same direction, and, on the other hand, there are no cases which show a tendency upon the part of any considerable section of the Canadian people to insist upon any curtailment of the status of a Canadian among the nationals of the world."

Many Canadians are not fully aware how far their gradual change of mind has advanced; others, for business or personal reasons, are content to profess an impartial attitude, but a private canvass of opinions, says this journal, "reveals the fact that many, who a few years ago were known as staunch imperialists, now admit their belief in the ultimate independence of Canada." *The Canadian Nation* concludes :—

"Many schemes of imperial federation have been advanced, but none has been found feasible. The principal reason is that the aggregation of

peoples known as the British Empire is not homogeneous and consists of countries whose interests do not always lie in the same general direction.

"Canada's most natural ally is the United States and after that England. The bogey of annexation has been paraded whenever this question has been discussed, but there is great sentiment in Canada in favor of annexation even among those of former United States citizenship, and annexation only becomes a possibility in the event of the failure to attain Canadian independence.

"The idea of Canadian independence is not necessarily anti-British, and there is no reason why there should not be the most ready co-operation between Britain and an independent Canada for the common good. The Englishman will have more respect for a Canadian when he meets him as an equal, and—what is of much more importance—the Canadian will have much more respect for himself than he can ever have while he remains content to be a colonial."

Many old and middle-aged Indians appear to hold the view that Dominion Home Rule is and ought to be the ultimate goal of Indian political aspiration. This betrays ignorance of human nature on their part. The political goal of many persons of their generation may be Dominion Home Rule. But the ultimate goal can only be the greatest freedom which any country now enjoys or may enjoy in future.

Bertrand Russell on Self-government for Asia and Africa.

Bertrand Russell writes in "*Roads to Freedom*" (G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.), pp. 162-3:

"The problem of Africa is of course a part of the wider problems of Imperialism, but it is that part in which the application of socialist principles is most difficult. In regard to Asia, and more particularly in regard to India and Persia, the application of principles is clear in theory, though difficult in political practice. The obstacles to self-government which exist in Africa do not exist in the same measure in Asia. What stands in the way of the freedom of Asiatic populations is not their lack of intelligence, but only their lack of military prowess, which makes them an easy prey to our lust for dominion. This lust would probably be in temporary abeyance on the morrow of a socialist revolution, and at such a moment a new departure in Asiatic policy might be taken with permanently beneficial results. It does not mean, of course, that we should force upon India that form of democratic government which we have developed for our own

needs. I mean rather that we should leave India to choose its own form of government, its own manner of education, and its own type of civilisation. India has an ancient tradition, very different from that of Western Europe, a tradition highly valued by educated Hindoos. The Hindu Nationalist feels that his country has a type of culture containing elements of value that are absent, or much less marked, in the West, he wishes to be free to preserve this, and desires political freedom for such reasons rather than for those that would appeal to an Englishman in the same subject position. The belief of the European in his own Kultur tends to be fanatical and ruthless, and for this reason as much as for any other the independence of extra-European civilization is of real importance to the world, for it is not by a dead uniformity that the world as a whole is most enriched."

We do not see why Africa should be thought incapable of managing its own affairs. Internecine fight and bloodshed there would undoubtedly be. But the deaths and disablement produced thereby cannot be considered greater evils than the deaths and disablement brought about in Africa by the Belgians, the Germans, the British and other Europeans. Moreover, when there is anarchy and bloodshed in Russia lasting for years, no philanthropic European nation pronounces the Russians incapable of self-government. Why then should the probability of similar conditions lead to a different judgment in regard to Africa? No doubt, Africa is incapable of self-defence against European robbery. But on that ground every thinker, poet, artist, statesman, etc., who cannot defend himself against a robber pugilist ought to be enslaved by the latter. The African may not be able to evolve or work the complex administrative machinery of the West, but his own simpler methods may serve his purpose,—particularly if he has the guidance of genuine civilised philanthropists, not of greedy exploiters masquerading under that name.

The lack of military prowess of the Asiatics is said to stand in the way of their freedom. Prowess means military bravery combined with skill. We do not think Indians and many other Asiatics are less brave or skilful in fighting than any European nation. What they lack is modern weapons of destruction and training in their use. Perhaps Mr. Russell has

chiefly in view of the fact that Indian soldiers can die bravely fighting as mercenaries or slaves of Europeans, but are not known to fight equally bravely on their own account. When one can fight only under the "inspiring" or "terrorising" leadership of another, one may be justly described as lacking in prowess.

"Queen Tishyarakshita and the Bodhi Tree."

There is a legendary story that "after the death of his faithful consort Asandhimitrā, King Asoka, late in life, married Tishyarakshitā, a dissolute and unprincipled young woman.....She was young and vain, and very sensible of her personal charms. The King's devotion to the bo-tree [Bodhi-tree] seemed to her to be a slight to her attractions, and in the fourth year after her elevation her jealousy induced her to make an attempt to destroy the holy tree by art magic. The attempt failed."

(Asoka, by V. A. Smith).

In the picture, which forms our frontispiece, the tree is seen decked with jewelry, and with flowers near it offered in worship.

During the visit to India of King George V and Queen Mary, the queen having expressed a desire to possess a picture of the new Bengal School of Indian Art, the original of this picture was chosen for her acceptance and was presented to her.

Terence Macswiney.

Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, who recently died in an English prison on the 74th day of his fast as a hungerstriker, was characterized by the *Boston Globe* as "a young man with the head of a poet and the heart of a stoic philosopher," and even the numerous American editors who were not sure whether his self-immolation pointed towards martyrdom or suicide agreed that "in his emaciated body is concentrated the cause of Ireland."

Mayor MacSwiney, according to a recent Irish bulletin forwarded to *The Irish World* and *American Industrial Liberator*, of New York, took his extreme course "after four years of alternating imprisonment and attempted arrest by the British military government, which seeks

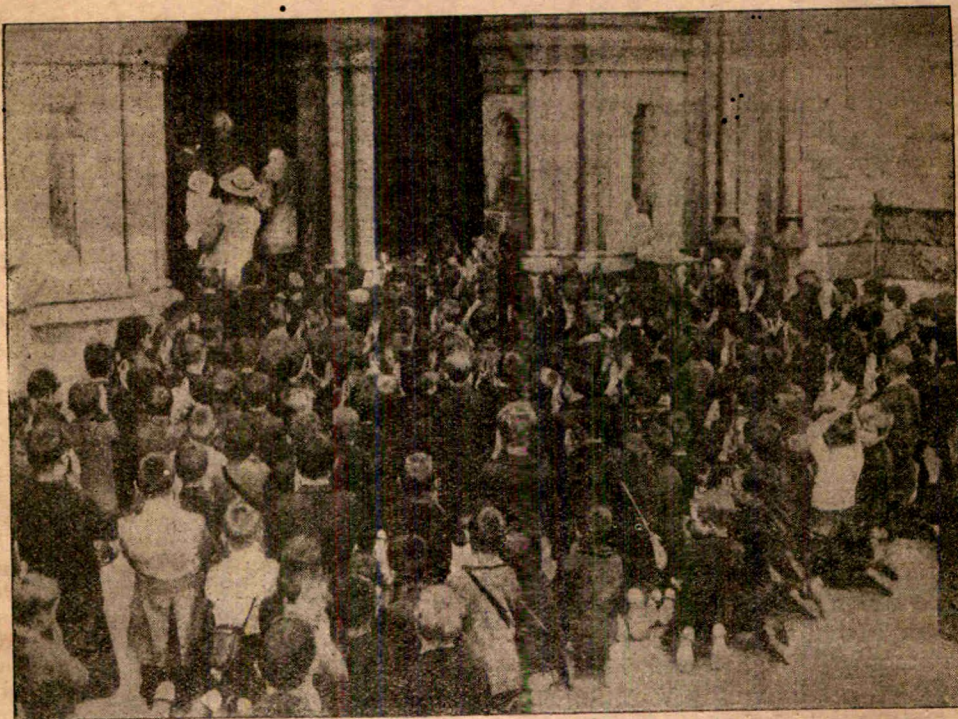
by these means to prevent the representatives of the Irish people from serving the Irish people." He was a "commercial instructor" by occupation, with the degree of B. A., and is the author of some national dramas and poems. After he became prominent in the Sinn-Fein movement his life consisted mainly of arrests. According to the bulletin:

"Alderman MacSwiney was first arrested in



Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, told the British court which sentenced him to two years in prison that Great Britain could no more keep him in prison than she could keep down the cause of Irish independence. He would be free, he declared alive or dead, within a month.

May, 1916. He was deported without trial or charge to Wakefield Prison, England. He was released without explanation or apology some months later. He was re-arrested in February, 1917, and was again deported without trial to England. He escaped and returned to Ireland in June, 1917. He was re-arrested in November, 1917, and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for a seditious speech. He was released in ill-health in February, 1918, and was re-arrested in March of that year. He was sent to Belfast Prison to complete sentence, and was discharged in broken health on September 6. In spite of his condition he was re-arrested at the jail gates and deported without trial or charge to England. He was released without explanation or apology



DUBLIN PRAYS WHILE MACSWINEY FACES DEATH.

Special services were conducted at the Church of the Oblate Fathers for the Lord Mayor of Cork. Four thousand railroad-workers crowded the church, and little children knelt in the street to offer up prayers for the release and recovery of the hunger-striker.

in March, 1919. Warrants were issued for his arrest in September, 1919, November, 1919, January, 1920, and March, 1920. Many efforts were made to arrest him. He was finally arrested on August 12, 1920, was for the fourth time deported to England, and is now dying there.

"Girl sympathizers with the Sinn Fein paraded the streets of New York, not long since, bearing huge placards, which read:

And shall MacSwiney die?
And shall MacSwiney die?
There's several million Irishmen
Will know the reason why."

The Literary Digest writes:

The world at large, whose attention has been turned to Ireland by MacSwiney's hunger-strike as, perhaps, by no other single event in the whole tragic history of the island, is not so certain as to the reason why. American newspapers, especially, seem to be puzzled by the spectacle of an intelligent, well-educated, well-balanced young Irishman deliberately starving himself to death because he has been sentenced to two years in a British prison for conspiring against British military authority. Perhaps the best explanation of the whole matter, as well as the best side-light on Mac-

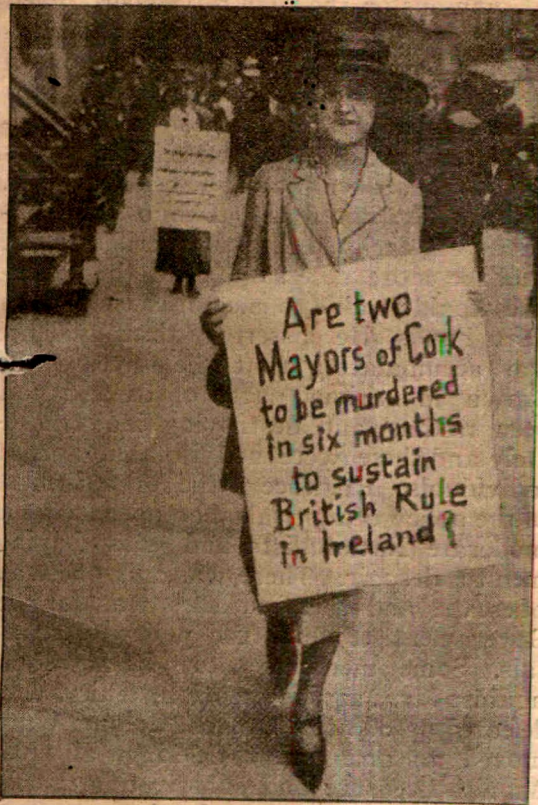
Swiney's character, that has so far reached this country is contained in the issue of the *Cork Weekly Examiner* for Saturday, August 21, which contains a detailed account of the court martial which sentenced the Lord Mayor. In MacSwiney's reply to questions, and especially in the brief statement which he was permitted to make, is set forth his own position and the position taken by the Sinn-Fein revolutionists in general. The account concludes with the Lord Mayor's declaration that, whatever the British Government might do, he would be free, alive or dead, within a month.

When in the district court martial trying him Mr. MacSwiney was asked if he was represented by counsel, he said:—

"I would like to say a word about your proceedings here. The position is that I am Lord Mayor of Cork and Chief Magistrate of this city. And I declare this court illegal, and that those who take part in it are liable to arrest under the laws of the Irish Republic."

He was then asked if he objected to the personnel of the court, and replied: "What I have said covers that."

When asked to plead, his Lordship said to the president: "Without wishing in any way to be personal to you, I want to point out



A NEW YORK ECHO OF MACSWINEY'S
HUNGER STRIKE.

Sinn-Fein sympathisers picketed the British Consulate in New York City during the early days of the Irish Mayor's imprisonment. One of the placards by means of which they attracted attention to their cause is shown in the above photograph.

that you are guilty of an act of presumption to question me."

The *Cork Weekly Examiner* thus describes the conclusion of the trial :—

The court then retired, and after an absence of fifteen minutes, during which time the Lady Mayoress conversed in Irish with the Lord Mayor, returned to court, when the President announced that the findings were not guilty on the first charge and guilty on the second third and fourth.

The Lord Mayor: "I wish to state that I will put a limit to any term of imprisonment you may impose as a result of the action I will take. I have taken no food since Thursday; therefore, I will be free in a month."

President: "On sentence to imprisonment you will take no food?"

Lord Mayor: "I simply say that I have decided the term of my detention whatever

your Government may do, I shall be free, alive or dead, within a month."

An Indian Inventor.

Among our "Gleanings" will be found an extract relating to the invention of a type-casting machine by Mr. Shankar Abaji Bishey, to which we have added a portrait of the inventor. Referring to this gentleman, *The Collegian* writes :

At a meeting of the Executive Board of the National Institute of Inventors (New York) the name of an Indian was submitted as an Inventor of International Fame as having invented the Ideal Type-Casting Machine, and upon recommendation, he has been duly elected an Honorary Member of the institute, August 11, 1920. The name of this Indian inventor is Shankar Abaji Bishey, a Maratha engineer of Bombay. Mr. Bishey's achievement thus secures for an Indian the equality of rank with such world-famous men as Marconi, the Italian inventor of wireless telegraphy, Major General Swinton, inventor of the British tank, Simon Lake, the American inventor of the submarine, and others, whose names have previously been placed upon the honorary roll of the institute.

Bishey's Inventions.

The world came to know of Bishey's work for the first time in 1895 when he exhibited optical illusions in London through his own invented machines. In 1897 he won a British prize for inventing a machine for automatically weighing and delivering powdered goods. In this he defeated eighteen European competitors. The inventions of the period from 1899 to 1908 were various automatic advertising machines. Some of these are revolving lamps with lights of different colours for display, exhibited at the London Coronation Show 1902. These were produced for the Bishey Inventions Syndicate in which Dadabhai Naoroji was financially interested. The Type-casting machines of the period were designed and manufactured under the auspices of the Biso-type Ltd., of which Hyndman was the director. In the next series of inventions relating as they did to the improvement of Type-Casting Machines, Tata's interest was awakened and the Tata-Bishey Inventions Syndicate was founded in London. Bishey is naturally a national hero among the Marathas. During his last sojourn in India in 1909 he was enthusiastically greeted with Marathi and English addresses. At the Indian Industrial Conference held in Madras in 1909 his work was brought to the notice of delegates by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar as president. Bishey was born in 1867.

In drawing attention to Bishey's

latest invention, *The Scientific American* writes:—

While the Hindu race has achieved brilliant success in science, literature and arts, it has given very little to the world in the way of inventions; in fact, the prevalent impression among the Occidental peoples has been that the Indian brain was imitative and assimilative and sadly lacked inventive faculties. Whatever may have been the opinion of the world, the work of Mr. Bishey should do much to dispel this illusion.

These observations are substantially true. We have only to add that if the fame of Sir J. C. Bose as a great scientist had not made the world forgetful of his claim to be considered a great inventor, the "illusion" that the Indian brain "sadly lacked inventive faculties" would have been partly dispelled even before Mr. Bishey's inventions had received their just recognition and meed of praise. In reviewing Prof. Bose's biography by Prof. Patrick Geddes, *Science Progress*, edited by Sir Ronald Ross, observes:—

"His [Prof. Bose's] physical training, and the fact that he was accustomed to measuring various constants with accuracy, showed him the need, as indeed it had showed others, of tackling physiological phenomena with more delicate instruments than had hitherto been the case, instruments not subject to such gross limitations as the human senses, that were so commonly used as recorders. Sir Jagadis not only perceived this need, but he possessed what is indeed a rare gift, the inventive powers necessary to produce such instruments, and the infinite patience which enabled him to wait, for years in some cases, until the inspiration necessary for the completion of some particular instrument, or part of an instrument, came to him." *Science Progress*, October 1920, p. 317. [Italics ours. Ed., M. R.]

The Irish Problem.

For the fact that Ireland presents to-day a problem so tangled and difficult of solution, both Britishers and the Irish are responsible. But centuries ago, it was the British people who were the aggressors and it is in their interests that Ireland has been kept deprived of independence so long. And, therefore, though we abhor bloodshed by both parties, we hold the British people more responsible for the seriousness of the situation than the Irish.

The Irish debate opened in the House

of Commons on the 24th November, when Mr. Asquith proposed a motion condemning outrages in Ireland, also the "action of the executive in attempting to repress crime by methods of terrorism and reprisals" and urging that immediate steps should be taken for pacification. Mr. Asquith denounced the Dublin assassinations but declared that such crimes made it all the more necessary that the executive should be able to encounter them with clean hands. He asserted that evidence was accumulating that the forces of the Crown in various parts of Ireland had been raiding and destroying indiscriminately and these were not isolated acts of individuals. Evidence of the organisation of the policy of reprisals had alienated the moderate Nationalists and was driving men to despair. There was only one way of escape and the first step was for the Government to drop the policy of reprisals. Some members spoke for and some against Mr. Asquith's motion, which was defeated by 303 to 83 votes. Colonel Ward moved an amendment deleting all Mr. Asquith's censure and substituting thanks to the military, police, and other servants of the crown for their courage and devotion to duty in time of un-exampled difficulty, and approving the steps of the Government to restore peace in Ireland.

Previously on the 19th of November Mr. Asquith in a speech at the National Liberal Club delivered a most trenchant attack on the Government in connection with reprisals in Ireland. He said that soldiers and constabulary in Ireland had been placed in a false position, because they were regarded not as guardians, but as the agents of repression. He declared that Ireland during the past six months had been in a state of civil war. Justice had been replaced by a policy of blind, pitiless and indiscriminate revenge. Recent reports did not justify the assertion of the authorities that things were better and it was impossible to believe official assurances. Cold-blooded and deliberate murder had been traced to uniformed servants of the Crown, and he maintained that things had been done in Ireland by the authority and incite-

ment of the Executive, equal to the blackest annals of the lowest despotism of the European world. He would not rest until he had explained to the people of Britain what dishonour was being done in their name. He urged as the motto throughout the whole of their political activities the words of John Bright: "Be just, fear not."

In Reuter's telegrams the British reprisals are not always mentioned, and when mentioned, they are not described in as distinct a manner and in language as plain as the Irish outrages. To gain an idea of the extent and nature of these reprisals we have to go to other sources. In a statement issued at Dublin on October 12, Arthur Griffith, "Vice President of the Irish Republic", says:—

"Since January 1, 1919, the British forces in Ireland have murdered 77 civilians, including women and children; sacked 102 towns, committed 1604 armed assaults; arrested and imprisoned 4982 persons, and have made 38,720 armed raids on private houses."

According to *The Catholic Herald of India*,

The list of Irish towns and villages sacked between September 9, 1919 and September 1920 by police and soldiers stands at 111, without a single inquiry being made. General Sir N. Macready holds that "it is only human that they should act on their own initiative." General Gough has a different opinion the purely military point of view which we defended in this journal from the outset: military oppression will not break the Irish people, it will break the British Army.

The same paper observes in another issue:—

Evidence is fast accumulating that the reprisals in Ireland are the outcome of a set policy and though repudiated by the British public, are openly countenanced by the Coalition Party. The regime of terrorism followed immediately after the famous declaration of a new policy, formulated at the end of last session by Sir Hamar Greenwood, that gentleman from Canada, so "deeply versed in democratic institutions," when it was announced that Carson's hooligans were to be supplied with arms and given a free hand. At the same time spies and policemen were enlisted from among prisoners and unemployed, and the game was set going.

Locally, the present conflict is nothing but a determined effort of radical Protestantism to exterminate Catholicism in its last stronghold. Before the war the campaign was carried on

with buckets of soup; "souperism" having failed, the Ulster heroes are trying what tins of kerosene oil will do. Shops, stores, creameries, crops are burned to ashes, women and children are sent adrift. It is the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers and good Queen Bess having a last flicker.

In yet another issue, *The Catholic Herald of India* writes:—

We view this campaign without the slightest bitterness, for we know what the end of it all will be, though politically we share the indignation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, one honest man in Parliament, who severely condemned reprisals, which "besmirched the reputation of England." An Irish correspondent views the matter otherwise: "We owe it to the present reprisals that the Irish national spirit will not die out for a considerable time to come. Under the peaceful pre-war regime, we were fast betraying alarming signs of Imperialism in politics and eclecticism in religion. This meant disintegration, which gallons of kerosene oil and Ulster's incendiary bombs have fortunately put a check upon. Go on, Ulster! We were succumbing to your blandishments, but the danger of surrendering our national spirit has gone for another five hundred years."

Ireland and Military Necessity.

Whatever may have been the reasons for denying freedom to Ireland in former years, at present she is not given the independence which she claims, because if she were free she might deliberately help Britain's enemies in war against Britain, and her numerous creeks and harbours might be made use of by enemy vessels. Briefly, it is Military Necessity which Mr. Lloyd George pleads as the spokesman of Britain. This means that Ireland must not be free if Britain is to remain free. But what, if Ireland argued in the same way and said, "Ireland must become free even at the cost of British freedom?" Certainly, it would not be more wrong for Ireland to think of becoming and remaining free by sacrificing British freedom than it is for Britain to safeguard her own freedom by holding Ireland in subjection. And whose fault is it that Ireland is hostile to Britain?

However, it is not absolutely beyond the resources of statesmanship to devise means whereby Ireland and Irish waters may be prevented from becoming military and naval centres for Britain's enemies;

and De Valera is ready to provide guarantees whereby that result may be secured.

It is impossible for imperialistic politicians to be consistent and to agree to be judged by the same principles by which they judge others. During the war, British statesmen poured scorn on Germany's plea of military necessity and called the Germans Huns, brutes and what not. But they are themselves now urging the same plea. Therefore it is that the *New Republic* of New York writes :—

Think for a moment what it means to find Britain arguing Military Necessity. When Germany argued military necessity in regard to Schleswig, Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, the whole English-speaking world was revolted. Such a savage principle went against the liberal and democratic tradition of the English-speaking world. Yet to-day, attended by the silence of Lord Bryce and the other liberal oracles, Britain talks Military Necessity in regard to Ireland in the best Germanic style.

Untraced Arabic and Persian Passages.

We have received the following letter from Professor Jadunath Sarkar :—

Sir,

On behalf of the Radhanagar Ram Mohun Memorial Society, Babu Pratul Chandra Som is bringing out a scholarly edition of the works of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. The exact sources of the following Arabic and Persian passages incorporated in the Rajah's pamphlet *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin* have not been traced. If any of your readers can trace them and cite chapter and verse, we shall be obliged to him and acknowledge our obligation to him.

Yours, &c.,
Jadunath Sarkar,
Modern Review Office.

نَعُوذُ بِاللّٰهِ مِنْ شَرِّهِمْ اَنْفُسًا وَمِنْ سَيِّئَاتِ اَعْمَالِنَا *
مَنْ يَهْدِي اللّٰهُ فَلَا مَضَلَّ لَهُ وَمَنْ يَضِلَّه فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ *
اللّٰهُمَّ اعْطِنِي الْقُوَّةَ الرَّاسِخَةَ فِي امْتِثَارِ الْعَادَةِ عَنِ
الطَّبِيعَةِ *

چندین فنون شیخ نیرزد به نیم خس -

راحت بدل رسان که همین مشرب ست و بس *

A Delegate to the Indian National Congress from America.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose of Iowa University,

who is an American citizen, is well known to our readers. He is now on a tour round the world. *The Collegian* says that he comes to India authorised "to lay before the Indian National Congress and other public assemblies, as well as educational leaders and financiers of industrial and scientific movements in India the facts bearing on the difficulties which our students have to face in the United States even at the very door, owing to the humiliating immigration laws and the equally discriminating social prejudices of the American people." We hope Dr. Bose will everywhere receive the attentive hearing which he and the cause he represents deserve.

The Buddhist Vihara in Calcutta.

On Friday the 26th November last Calcutta was privileged to witness an important and impressive ceremony the like of which had not been performed in India during the last seven or eight centuries. On that day His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal, handed over a relic consisting of a small piece of bone of the Lord Buddha to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as the representative of the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta, to be kept in the new Vihāra constructed by that body in College Square. The relic is the oldest body relic of the Lord Buddha, having been deposited in Bhattiprolu Stupa about 2,200 years ago. It was discovered in a rock crystal casket in 1892 during excavations at Bhattiprolu in the Krishna District of the Madras Presidency and has been kept ever since in the Government Central Museum, Madras. The relic was offered to the Mahabodhi Society on condition that it was enshrined and adequately safeguarded in a worthy Vihāra. The offer was accepted and the Vihāra being an accomplished fact the relic was made over on the 26th November. Funds for the building of the Vihāra have been contributed by Buddhists and Hindus alike, but the most munificent donation has come from Mrs. Forster of Honolulu.

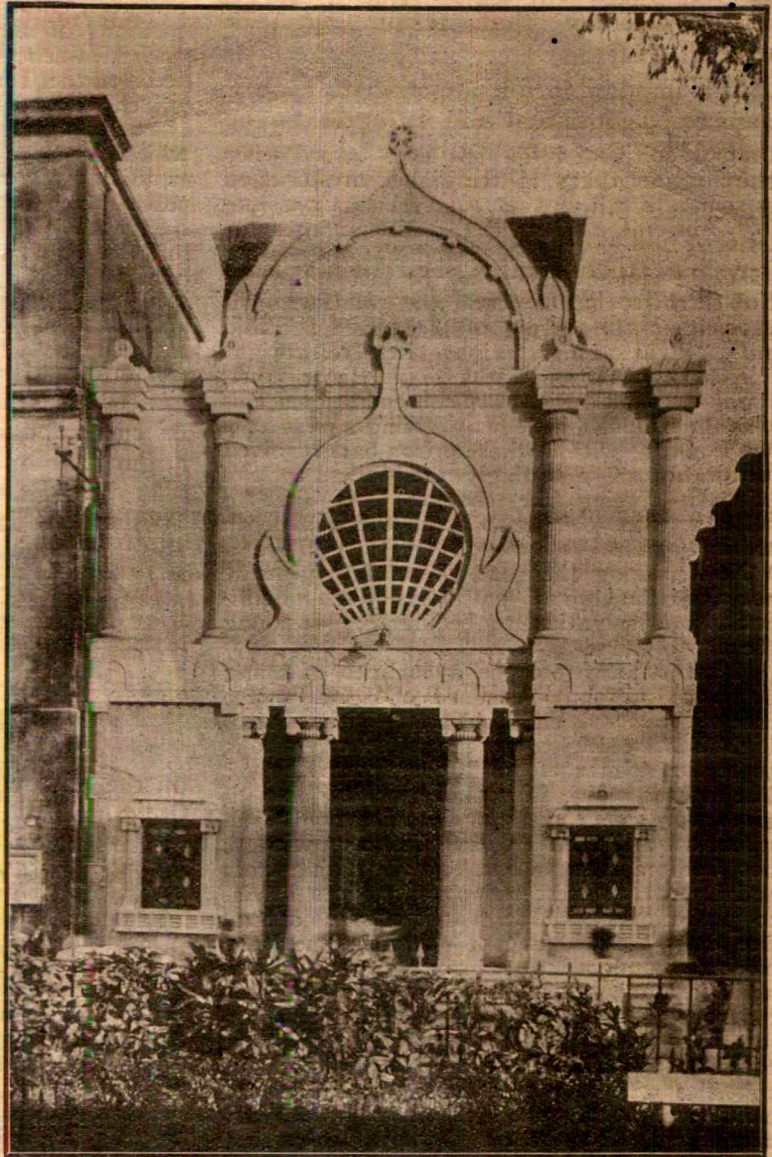
When receiving the relic from the hand of Lord Ronaldshay Sir Asutosh was dressed in silk dhoti and chadar and bare-footed. He had rightly insisted upon putting on

the same priestly dress for this sacred ceremony garbed wherein he would be entitled as a Brahman to touch and worship the image of any Hindu deity.

Lord Ronaldshay's eloquent and scholarly address was appropriate to the occasion. He began by referring to the history of the relic.

As to the antiquity and importance of this relic there can be no doubt. For long centuries it lay buried in a stupa at Bhattiprolu, a small place not far from the Kistna River in Madras, in the centre of a tract of country covered by a whole series of Buddhist monuments in brick and marble. It is clear from papers in the archives of the Archaeological Department that but for the intervention of the British authorities these monuments would sooner or later have disappeared; and, indeed, much of the material composing them had already been made use of for road-making and other secular purposes, when a careful and systematic examination of them was carried out by Mr. Rae, an officer of the Archaeological Department, in 1892. The result of this examination was the discovery of three caskets, two of which contained crystal phials in which were enshrined relics of Buddha with inscriptions to that effect. It is one of these—the holiest of holy relics—that has now found a worthy resting place in this Vihara, the erection of which, thanks to the inspiration and enthusiastic perseverance of the venerable the Anagarika Dharmapala has been undertaken for the special purpose of maintaining it.

There are some grounds for believing that this sacred relic was deposited in the stupa at Bhattiprolu at least twenty-one centuries ago; and we may hazard the conjecture that it was



VIHARA IN CALCUTTA CONTAINING THE BUDDHA'S RELIC.
Specially photographed for the 'Modern Review' by Mr. Niranjan Ghosh.

one of the eight stupas which are said to have been erected by the eight kings among whom the cremation ashes of Gautama Buddha were distributed. So much in brief for the history of the relic.

His lordship characterised the story of Buddha as "the story of the spirit of India. His quest is the eternal quest of India."

The picture which we are given of his early days is typical of India. We see a young man,

thoughtful, sympathetic and observant, sorely troubled in mind at the inexplicable inequalities of life. Then we see him giving up comfort, wealth, family and home and going forth in search of an answer to the riddle of the universe. That he should have set out along the path of asceticism was natural, for it is to renunciation that the spirit of India has ever turned when searching for a key to the higher mysteries of existence. But it was not in a selfish or passionless abstention from the duties and responsibilities of life that he found the answer for which he sought; it was in the last of the four Noble Truths that he found the solution of his problem—in the pursuit of the sacred eightfold path, Right Faith, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Living, Right Effort, Right Thought, Right Self-concentration. This was the famous middle way giving egress from the iron cage within whose prison bars revolved inexorably and unendingly the pitiless cycle of existence—ringing the changes from birth to old age, from old age to death and from death to birth again.

Neither along the road of worldly pleasure nor along the gloomy pathway of self-mortification was salvation to be found; but along the way of duty.

I am well aware of the difficulties of laying down any absolute standard of right. In the case of the sacred eightfold path—Right Faith, Right Resolve, Right Speech and so on—who is to be the arbiter of what constitutes Right? The answer which is implied in Buddhism is given more categorically in the Bhagavad Gita, wherein it is definitely stated that man winneth not freedom from action by abstaining from activity nor by mere renunciation does he rise to perfection; "but he whose works are all free from the mingling of 'desire'; he who having abandoned attachment to the fruit of action; hoping for naught, his mind and self controlled, having abandoned all greed, performing action by the body alone, he doth not commit sin." It is this ideal of lofty altruism this idea of complete selflessness, this sublime indifference to the fruits of works which, running like golden threads through the ethical teaching of Buddhism and repeated over and over again in the "Song of the Lord" is one of the outstanding glories of Indian thought.

Lord Ronaldshay was right in observing that "the value of the ethical teaching of Buddhism is not a mere matter of speculation." As an extensively travelled man, he was entitled to say: "No one who has travelled in Buddhist countries can fail to have noticed the atmosphere of gentleness and kindness in which the people live."

In such countries the keynote of human relationship is the word "Ahimsa", which we translate inadequately by the word "harmlessness".

It is a golden word before which all the crude and fierce emotions, the elemental and barbarous passions of man—anger, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness flee ashamed. We have sore need of the kindly spirit of Buddhism, of the golden rule of "Ahimsa", in the world to-day. Is it too much to hope that this ceremony in which we have taken part to-day may prove symbolical of a return once more to man of that peace which is the most treasured offspring of the gentle and lofty teaching which Gautama Buddha bequeathed to men two thousand five hundred years ago?

There will now be an additional place of pilgrimage in India, for Buddhists, like Buddha Gaya, Sarnath, Rajagriha, and this new shrine is situated in a centre of culture like Calcutta. This ought to augur well for human brotherhood in general and Eastern and Central Asiatic brotherhood in particular. Calcutta ought now to provide a guest-house for pilgrims from all over the Buddhist world and an Institute for the cultivation of Buddhistic learning.

The Government Resolution on "Non-co-operation."

In the Government of India's resolution on the Non-co-operation Movement, the Government, as was to be expected, nowhere recognise their responsibility for the origin of this movement. The Resolution says:—

Its principal exponents have frankly avowed that their object is to destroy the present Government—"to dig up the foundations of the British Government in India," and they have promised their followers that if only their gospel be generally accepted India shall be self-governing and independent within one year. The full consummation of their hopes would leave India defenceless alike against foreign aggression and internal chaos. All the benefits of a stable Government and undisturbed peace, the results that have been attained by the orderly progress of India for more than a century, and the still greater results which, it is hoped, will attend her advance under the Reforms Scheme, her material prosperity and her political progress, are all to be sacrificed to the irresponsible caprice of a few misguided men.

Should the full consummation of the hopes of the non-co-operators "leave India defenceless alike against foreign aggression and internal chaos," it would be because of the unrighteous British policy in India of keeping the people deprived of a real

national army manned and officered by Indians. As for "all the benefits of a stable government and undisturbed peace," the less said the better. India has enjoyed this "undisturbed peace" longer than any civilised country in Europe, America and Asia; and yet India is poorer, more illiterate, more famine-stricken, more disease-ridden, and inhabited by a worse fed and physically weaker population than any civilised country in those continents. During the many ^{besides} ~~the~~ ^{years} of undisturbed peace in India this country has lost more men than any equal area with an equal population anywhere on the earth where peace has been disturbed. And during these decades of undisturbed peace in India more of India's wealth has left her shores, of course along "lawful" channels, than from any other country of equal area plundered by invading and conquering hordes. We do not mean to say that war and anarchy are better than peace and a stable Government; what we mean is that the latter have not done India that good which they do to self-ruling nations.

India's "material prosperity," in the sense of the prosperity of the indigenous population as a whole, has still to be proved. Will the Government of India name any materially prosperous nation having a death-rate equal to that of India?

The Government of India speak of "political progress" being "sacrificed," in the event of "the full consummation of their [Non-co-operators'] hopes." But their hopes are to attain Swarājya or full autonomy. Can the Government hold out the prospect of any greater political progress than the "consummation" of the hope of India being "self-governing and independent within one year"?

The Resolution concludes with some sanctimonious and hypocritical passages, which are quoted below in part.

The best weapon to combat both dangers lies in the practical help and sympathy of sober-minded and moderate men, and Government therefore call on all who have the good of India at heart to organise themselves and take concerted measures to assist the cause of law and order by active opposition to the movement, by the exercise of their influence over the minds of the ignorant and the immature, and by

public exposure and denunciation of the evils of non-co-operation and of the anarchy to which it must inevitably lead.....

Government realise that it is to enlightened public opinion they must chiefly trust for a dissipation of the danger that now envelops India, as it is on that same public opinion that India's political future must depend.... How long, with due regard to their ultimate responsibility for the public safety, Government will be able to maintain that policy, will depend largely on the success which attends the efforts of sane and moderate citizens to check the extension of the movement and keep its dangers within bounds.

Government may rest assured, that, apart from the innate strength or weakness of the Non-co-operation movement itself, "sober-minded and moderate men" can exert little "influence over the minds of the ignorant and the immature," unless Government themselves punish the oppressors of the Panjab, treat Moslem opinion as regards Turkey and the Khilafat with respect, and repeal the Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures.

In passing the Rowlatt Act and taking other more recent oppressive and repressive steps, Government showed the greatest contempt for "enlightened public opinion," and yet now it is to this same opinion that bureaucrats appeal! It is difficult to choose the right word to characterise this sort of statecraft. If Government really believe that "India's political future must depend" on "enlightened public opinion," why did they not listen to this opinion when it expressed itself unanimously against the Rowlatt Bill, against the atrocities in the Punjab and against the continuance of martial law there? It was not mere "Extremist" opinion, but "Moderate" opinion as well. Government must not delude themselves with the fiction that the responsibility for facing and bettering the situation rests in the least with any Indian political party. Should the bureaucrats have recourse to greater repression in future, they must do so on their own responsibility, and not because "moderate men" had failed "to check the extension of the movement and keep its dangers within bounds." Non-co-operation may fail, but unrest will continue in some other form so long as Government do not

do their duty and so long as full national autonomy is not attained. From what we have read in the *Leader*, the *Citizen*, and the *Indian Social Reformer*, it is clear that 'moderate' men are expressing themselves, against this or that item in the non-co-operation programme or against the whole movement, simply from their sense of duty to the country, not from any confidence in the Government or from any regard to the official appeal embodied in the Resolution. "Co-operators" and "Non-co-operators" are alike dissatisfied with the Government, though the degree and extent of their discontent may not be the same. The situation can improve only if the Government repent and have the courage and the statesmanship to act justly and righteously.

Our criticism of the Non-co-operation programme is not due to any confidence in the Government or any belief that the Reforms are adequate or substantial. We should be as pleased as Mr. Gandhi if the present Government could be substituted early by a national one and if we could be free and independent. We do not think Non-co-operation is unconstitutional. When Carson threatened to resist Home Rule in Ireland by force of arms and drilled the Ulster volunteers, even that was not considered unconstitutional, for the man was not prosecuted or even censured. If India were ripe for Non-co-operation by reason of previous political education and propaganda, we would consider it a proper and effective constitutional weapon. Should the inception of the movement at our present stage of political evolution and preparedness make us better prepared for a future occasion, even its failure on the present occasion would not be in vain.

Gujarat National University.

We welcome the foundation of the Gujarat National University at Ahmedabad. Mahatma Gandhi, the Chancellor of the University, said in the course of his inaugural address :

Many people conceived of our Universities and Colleges as so much of brick and mortar, so many buildings, so many other equipments. The new University and the College had much less of these than any existing University or

College. He wished he could remove all superstitions like the above from the minds of the audience as possess them. He said to his audience to judge the aim, object, and future work of this University by its outlook, standard and measure. The Viceroy, in was founded on the best patriotic ideal, impregnated with the best Sindhi, Deccani, and Marathi professors. From the principal, the teachers, and organisers of the college, it is quite ask to develop the college by building up the character of their charges, the students, to the best possible influence and ideal, to plant the seed of true freedom in the student, to nourish the seed with the tenderness of a mother, so that it might grow in them and grow up into a nation of brave, fearless, and energetic men and women. If the teachers and students fulfil their mission, he would have no more to say for the students. But he reminded them that the students of to-day had to be trained, they could not be called perfect 'Brahmins' or true followers of Satya and Ahimsa. He asked them to ed them to uplift themselves. Students who had joined the new national college were only students but partially teachers. They were preceptors who had set a fine example in their conduct to their co-students. He asked them that, if the preceptors failed them, they, the students, should replace them from among themselves.

"His Own Property."

It has been reported in the Press that at Lucknow, Mr. Gandhi, on being asked why he used the Post Office and telegraphs, replied that he considered them his own property. The report says whether Mr. Gandhi said this with a smile or quite seriously. In view of the reply was not quite felicitous, and he laid himself open to the retort, Government, you not consider the law courts, my public schools and colleges as my property, and why do you ask to be boycotted?" Theoretically, that acts such and all its institutions of all India are equal to us, the children of the soil. Last December Gandhi was perfectly right. He said that he would be said to be actually a man's property when he can control its use, as in the Punjab, reduce its expenditure, and in the Punjab deal with it as he likes. The Government do with the Posts and Telegraphs, Railways, the Law-courts, the colleges, etc. Therefore, though they may all be our property, this is the none of them are our property. We must gain these merely as property in the ours or other's), one would be equal.

ing in using any of these institutions
ised life. Mr. Gandhi's answer could
een more convincing. One may say
he Posts and Télégraphs are run
ur money and they do not seek,
or indirectly, to influence and
ur character and mentality to serve
interests, to the extent and in the
at Government-controlled univer-
colleges and schools do ; and, there-
e may be justified in using the Posts
graphs while urging the boycott of
alised educational institutions. We
resume to instruct Mr. Gandhi ;
a spite of difference of opinion as
etails, we respect his high and
character and lofty aims, we could
et he had not said things which
ot stand examination and which
ounds without the reality behind
d which might therefore be
ised as merely playing with

Analogy and Argument.

at first Mr. Gandhi and his
urged students to leave Govern-
sided institutions, it was thought
object was wholly or mainly to
a "national" education, either in
" institutions or in their homes
prentices to patriotic merchants
ns. It now appears that the
the students are required mainly
propagandists. For instance,
delivered at Benares, Pandit
ehru "called the non-co-opera-
ment a spiritual war,

er requires the services of able-
s, he wanted the students, who
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forward and join the movement.
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and train them...Students must
career and future prospects just
ths did in the last war.

analogy has been made to do
ument. English youths forgot
s and future prospects in the
true. But those who required
not destroy the British
res, with the result

that the surviving students are now able
again to pursue their studies if they like.
But Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and his collea-
gues are seeking to destroy the existing
universities and almost all our colleges and
schools. The analogy, therefore, does not
hold good in every respect. Moreover, the
British students received training for war
and were maintained by the British
Government while they were under training
and in service. Similarly Mr. Nehru and
his colleagues should be able to make
arrangements for the training of non-co-
operating students for spiritual war, and
for their maintenance during training and
service. Spiritual war certainly requires
not less training and definite instructions
than physical warfare. Nor would it do to
ask the students to disobey their parents
for conscience's sake, if need be, and yet to
expect the parents to maintain their sons.

In a speech delivered at Allahabad Mr.
Mohammed Ali is reported to have said :

Besides, the students were not so spirited
as they used to be before and the more the
influence of western education spreads, the
weaker would they grow in spirit and con-
science, and it was time that they should be
taken out of this baneful effect of Education....
Another answer to such questions was that it
was not wise in the absence of another food
to eat poison. They considered this education
to be a poison and Education was as necessary
to them as food.

"Poison," no doubt, has been used here
in the sense of mental or spiritual poison.
If "this education" be really poison in
that sense, it may then be asked, how is it
that it has not killed the mind or the soul
of Mr. Mohammed Ali and of all the
hundreds of students who are responding
to his appeal ? Are they all *mrityunjayas*
(conquerors of Death) ? The Sub-Com-
mittee entrusted with the duty of prepar-
ing the draft instructions regarding the
Congress Non-co-operation resolution, ad-
mitted in their report that, on account
of (or in spite of ?) "this education,"
grown-up students and their guardians
had become politically-minded and there-
fore the boycott of Government-controlled
colleges and schools "ought really to be the
easiest" step. So the "poison", instead of
killing those to whom it was administered,
may have done them some good after all.

Is it then a very weak poison, or a poison administered by mistake in medicinal doses?

Analogy may not always be argument.

In Mr. Mohammed Ali's opinion, such is the effect of this poison that "the students were not so spirited as they were before and the more the influence of western education spreads, the weaker would they grow in spirit and conscience." If that were true, Indians ought to have been most spirited and conscientious at the time when there was no western education at all. But as a matter of historical fact we find that at that time our ancestors fell a prey to westerners because of want of sufficient spirit and civic conscience. At present, hundreds of students are found to respond to the appeal to leave their colleges and schools. We admire their spirit, though we cannot praise their judgment. Five or ten or fifteen or twenty years ago, would an appeal for non-violent revolt for winning Swarājya been responded to by a larger or a smaller number of students? To be more particular, what would have been the response in Aligarh? Greater or less than now?

An analogy should not be mistaken for an argument. We know there are serious defects in our "western education." But it is not poison. Those who call it poison should prove by detailed analysis of its character and results that it is. There may be a poisonous element in it, but the antidote is also there. Servility-germs cannot thrive to any great extent in the intellectual atmosphere growing out of a study of English history and English literature.

Sriyut Dwijendra Nath Tagore, the venerable sage of Shantiniketan, has written in a letter to Mahatma Gandhi :—

When an individual becomes enslaved, body and soul, to a pernicious habit like 'drink', the way to wean him is ever double-edged, or to use the opponents' phraseology, at once 'negative and positive.' If the physician wishes to succeed in his cure, he must primarily employ all his energy in enabling the patient to resist the temptation and overcome the evil, ere he prescribes to him some substitute in place of the poison. The new recipe must needs fail to produce an effect, if, concomitantly, the patient

persists in his old habit : from which it may be deduced that the initial 'negative' of destruction is as essential for the later 'positive' stage of recuperation, so our country should first shake itself free of the shackles of emasculating institutions, before the advance of any constructive program of work that may be undertaken for its regeneration.

In the abstract this argument is flawless and unanswerable. But if intended to apply it to the case of educational institutions, whether owned or recognised by Government, the school at Santiniketan, merging and sending up students for examinations conducted or recognised by Government—for one does not know where to draw the line—it simply proved that the education given in these classes of institutions is in all material respects like drink or poison.

Mr. Gandhi to Every Englishman

In his letter to every Englishman in India whom he addresses as "Friend," Mr. Gandhi writes :—

Let me introduce myself to you in my humble opinion, no Indian has ever come to terms with the British Government. I have lived for an unbroken period of twenty-nine years in public life in the face of circumstances which well have turned any other man into a madman. I ask you to believe me when I tell you that non-co-operation was not based on the punishments provided by your laws, but on other selfish motives. It was free and voluntary co-operation based on the belief that the total of the activity of the British Government was for the benefit of India. I perceived four times for the sake of the

After describing these he says

I did all this in the full belief that as mine must gain for my country, so must the status in the Empire. So late as 1914 I pleaded for a trustful co-operation. I believed that Mr. Lloyd George would keep his promise to the Musalmans. The revelations of the official atrocities would secure full reparation for the wrongs. But the treachery of Mr. Lloyd George and the lack of appreciation by you, and the continuation of the Punjab atrocities have completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the Government and the nation which is supposed to be the guardian of the rights of the

When he says that he "did all this in the full belief that acts such as these were for the good of his country and

it shows his simplicity and trust.

But it does not show that he has read British history and the character of the British Imperial governing classes aright. We had no such "full belief." We thought and said during the war to many friends that if Britain came out victorious a treble dose of repression would fall to our lot. That anticipation has unfortunately proved right.

In the passage quoted below, there is in another misreading of the character of imperialists and exploiters.

I know you would not mind if we could fight and wrest the sceptre from your hands. You know that we are powerless to do that, for you have ensured our incapacity to fight in open and honourable battle. Bravery on the battlefield is thus impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us. I know you will respond to that also. I am engaged in evoking that bravery. Non-co-operation means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice. Why should we co-operate with you when we know that by your administration of this great country we are being daily enslaved in an increasing degree. His response of the people to my appeal is not due to my personality.

Englishmen would certainly "mind" if we could wrest the sceptre from their hands. Only, in that case they would make a virtue of necessity and on some future occasion, when standing in need of friendship and help, they would "generously" garland the statue of our Washington as Mr. Balfour did that of the American liberator during the war. But that is neither here nor there.

Mr. Gandhi says, his religion forbids him to bear any ill-will towards "you." I would not raise my hand against you even if I had the power. I expect to conquer you only by my suffering.

You are in search of a remedy to suppress this rising ebullition of national feeling. I venture to suggest to you that the only way to suppress it is to remove the causes. You have yet the power. You can repent of the wrongs done to Indians. You can compel Mr. Lloyd George to redeem his promises. I assure you he has kept many escape-doors. You can compel the Viceroy to retire in favour of a better one. You can revise your ideas about Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. You can compel the Government to summon a conference of the recognised leaders of the people, duly elected by them and representing all shades of opinion as to devise

means for granting *Swaraj* in accordance with the wishes of the people of India.

"The other solution, namely repression, is open to you. I prophesy that it will fail." Here he is a true prophet.

Success or Failure of Non-co-operation.

The leaders of the Non-co-operation movement have, for the time being, concentrated their attention and energy on the boycott of "non-national" schools and colleges. Their efforts have been attended with some amount of success in about half-a-dozen or so among the places visited by them, and in a few other places also. The student population throughout the country seem affected by the movement so far as thought and sentiment are concerned, but the vast majority have not yet taken any action.

A few "National" educational institutions, variously styled universities, colleges or schools, have been established. Nothing definite can as yet be said regarding their permanence or impermanence.

We have been and still are opposed to the destruction of any class of educational institutions. We advocate their reform. We are in favour of the foundation on a stable basis of independent educational institutions, giving cultural and vocational education.

A small number of lawyers have given up their practice, the most outstanding name among them being that of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. The number of arbitration courts established is probably smaller.

We shall always welcome any decrease of litigation, due to the improvement in the character of our countrymen, or brought about by amicable settlement by arbitration or other similar peaceful means.

We should have been pleased if the degree and extent of "political-mindedness" in the country had made it possible to boycott the enlarged councils altogether; for then there would have been a probability of our obtaining at least some substantial powers, if not full *swaraj*. But as the country is not yet as politically-minded as could be desired, the result of Non-co-operation as directed against the Council

elections has been the abstention of many of the most prominent nationalists from seeking election, the unopposed return of members from a considerable number of constituencies and the election of many men who have not been hitherto known to have taken any part in public political life. In consequence the councils will not be as representative as they might otherwise have been, nor would they have adequate fighting strength. Non-co-operation has told to same extent—whether for good or for evil, the future will show by results. No seats, however, would remain vacant. All this we had anticipated. The country will not have cause to regret the abstention of the nationalist politicians from seeking election, if they devote to public affairs the time and energy which they would have had to devote to council work in case they had sought election and been returned. The gentlemen who have sought election and been returned have had their responsibilities greatly increased owing to the Non-co-operation campaign. Ordinarily whoever seeks election as a representative of the people has to show by his work that he deserves the name and status of a representative. Owing to the state of political feeling among a large section of the public (whether forming a majority or a minority we need not say), opposed to any one entering the councils, members of councils will have to prove by their strenuous work and by success, if possible, that they were right in seeking election in defiance of the declared opinion of the aforesaid section of the people. Let us hope, therefore, that the elected members will work hard and will in their labours seek solely the good of the country in utter disregard of and indifference to the fear or favour of the powers that be.

Boycott of foreign goods has received little attention. We have not seen the report of a single Indian merchant or shopkeeper, dealing in foreign goods, ceasing to deal in such articles. Lawyers have shown more public spirit and self-sacrifice, in that some of them have given up their practice. We have held all along that it is neither practicable nor desirable to refrain from buying each and every class

of things imported from abroad. Of the kinds of foreign goods we cannot do without; clothing, for example. Production should be mainly directed to the production, sale, and purchase of the public.

There is no means of knowing how far literate and illiterate men have ceased to seek service in Mesopotamia and other foreign countries. It is a sin and a degradation—an offence against international morality, to help in any way in the jugation and exploitation of foreign people. The degradation is greater in our case, as we are used merely as mercenary and servile tools in the enslavement and impoverishment of foreign countries.

Esher Committee's Report

The Esher Committee's Report, officially designated "Report of the Army in India Committee 1919-1920" can now be had of booksellers at Re. 1 per copy. It is of the greatest importance for journalists and public bodies to consider it very carefully and pronounce their opinion on it. In our present issue there is room for only a few words. The Committee "are aware that the present cost of the army in India (1920-21) is already below the pre-war cost." "Our proposals will further increase the annual cost of the army in India." India is too poor to pay this increased cost. But suppose India were able to pay. Why should she pay for imperial purposes? For her the Empire still means helotry and degradation, not honor, glory and privilege.

Is there any special significance in calling the army which India maintains "the Army in India" instead of calling it the Indian Army? The latter expression has been used in the Report a few times but far less frequently than the former; but nowhere has the Indian Army been called the Army in India. The question we have asked is not mere hair-splitting. The Committee consider the army in India "as part of the total armed forces of the Empire." Do British statesmen propose to designate the Canadian Army in this cavalier fashion and call it "the Army in Canada," and intend to do in the case of India?

"The centre of gravity of probable military operations has shifted from West to East. In the future we must contemplate the possibility of our armies operating in the Middle East, based partially on India and partially on home." It is immoral for any nation to conquer any other nation. For a dependent nation like India to be used as a servile tool for the conquest of other nations is the lowest depth of degradation. If England now permanently subdues Asiatic nations with India's help, these nations will in future help England, partly for pay, partly for revenge to keep India down in subjection. On the other hand, the greater the number of free nations in Asia, the more chances would India have of becoming free in future. Greece, Italy, Serbia, Bulgaria,.....could become free because there were other free European nations.

Draft Constitution of the Indian National Congress.

The first article in the draft constitution of the Indian National Congress defines its object to be "the attainment of Swarājya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." As Swarājya may mean either complete independence or perfect autonomy as part of the Indo-British Commonwealth, we do not object to this definition. We should be glad to remain part of the Indo-British Commonwealth if it is consistent with our self-respect and we can be as free as England within it; otherwise complete independence must be our ultimate goal. The omission of the word "constitutional" before "means" has been criticised. We do not object to its retention. Carson's threat to use armed Ulster volunteers to prevent Ireland from getting Home Rule was not considered unconstitutional; and we want to use only peaceful means. So there is no harm in retaining the word "constitutional"—it is not so narrow as "legal". The provision of one delegate per one lakh inhabitants is good. The linguistic division of areas may be difficult, but it may be tried, with some special provision being made for small groups

like the Assamèse and the Malayalis. The laying down of the rule that "All the proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani; or in the local vernacular or in English at the discretion of the president," may often result in great futility, tyranny and discontent. Speeches in Hindustani can be made and understood generally only by educated men from the Panjab, and by Hindustanis, Biharis and some C. P. men. For the present all the proceedings should be conducted in English, it being also provided that there should be at least one Hindustani- and one local vernacular-speaker to each resolution.

The Tagore Collection of Indian Art.

As the collection of Indian Art belonging to the brothers Gaganendranath, Samarendranath and Abanindranath Tagore is for sale and may be purchased, for example, by the Boston Museum of Art and leave India for good, it should be purchased for the nation by some wealthy lover or lovers of Art and kept in Calcutta. If we had power over the public purse, we would purchase it for the nation from public funds. Six lacs were allotted last year for building the European nurses' quarters in the Medical College Hospital.

Should the collection go to Europe or America we may console ourselves with the thought that climatic conditions in India do not favour the preservation of paintings for many centuries; they would keep better in colder climes.

Agitation at Takshasila (Taxila) under Asoka.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal delivered his fourth lecture to the Patna University, as its Honorary Reader in Indian History, on the 13th October, at the Patna College. His subject was "Agitation at Takshasila in the reign of Asoka."

"A constitutional agitation presupposes a high degree of culture in the people. Takshasila, the seat of the northern viceroyalty of the Mauryas, had been the metropolis of letters for centuries before the Mauryas. Youths from Benares and further east went to Takshasila to receive secular and

religious education. Professors of military science and art, medicine and surgery, grammar and sastras lived and lectured at Takshasila. Panini was a product of that home of learning and Susruta was one of its teachers. The Maha-Bharata in its original edition was composed in that town. It had been, in short, the preeminent seat of culture in the Aryan India in centuries just preceding the Mauryas. The intellectuality of Takshasila found expression also in politics. Under the Mauryas on two occasions they carried on serious constitutional agitation."

After dealing with the arrangement of the Mauryan Government and administration, dividing the country into four parts, the lecturer pointed out that Takshasila represented the whole of the Northern Division—the whole of the Punjab including Afghanistan and up to Thaneshwar.

"That city of Takshasila twice in the life-time of Asoka became 'opposed' (*viruddha*) to Government—once under his own viceroyalty and the second time when he was king. The 'opposition' of the northern capital was considered a very serious matter. But Asoka strictly forbade the carrying of arms and army into the capital of Uttarapatha (चतुरङ्ग दशकाय... वातं पहरणं च प्रतिषिद्धम्) in spite of protest from some officials at Pataliputra. He knew that the 'opposition' was not to be met with coercion. The Prince-viceroy deputed by the king from Pataliputra was received by the citizen-assembly (Paura) of Takshasila outside the Town. The Pauras, stepping forward (प्रत्यङ्मुख्य) to receive the Viceroy, told him in their address of welcome that they were neither opposed to the King nor to the Viceroy. They were opposed to the ministers who having come there with rascally mentality had insulted them (दुष्टात्मानोऽनात्मा आगत्या-स्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति). The details of the politi-

cal insult offered to the city known. But the result of the known. For Asoka promises clamation-inscriptions to send those ministers to Takshasila 'not rough' (अककंश), 'not ferocious' and 'who respect life,' and further that their official tenure for 3 years only instead of 5. It is to be noted that the Punjab distinguished loyalty to the Government. The Government made the Government impossible so that armed intervention was at the seat of the central government. Yet their action in their own perfectly constitutional, for, the being disloyal to the Government ministers was not disloyal to the Crown. Then, they could be brave and feel insulted at the Government. That feeling of abjectness towards Government self-respect is too great a trace of that 'Oriental' with which Herodotus became in Persia and familiarised the nations."

The lecturer discussed and explained the reform provisions in the inscription the relief of the city-body of Takshasila that they might not be suddenly and suddenly troubled."

The account of the agitation in the Punjab of Asoka and its result read with profit by the authors of misrule and final blunders.

The Late Dr. J. D. Anderson

When going to press, we learn of the Reuter's telegram with deep regret and sense of personal loss that Dr. J. D. Anderson of Cambridge has been lost last. Our heart goes out in sympathy to his bereaved family. May his soul rest in peace!